Archaeologia Graeca,

OR THE

ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE.

By JOHN POTTER, D. D.

LATE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

A NEW EDITION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE GRECIAN STATES,
AND A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE LIVES AND WRITINGS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED GREEK AUTHORS;

By G. DUNBAR, F. R. S. E.

AND

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL I.

—— *Antiquam exquirite Matrem.* VIRGIL.

——— *Vos exemplaria Græca*
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna. HORAT.

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THE

LIFE

OF

JOHN POTTER, D.D.

Dr John Potter was born at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, about the year 1674. He was the son of Mr Thomas Potter, a linen-draper in that place. Being put to school there, he made an uncommon progress in his studies. At the age of fourteen, he went to Oxford, and entered a student of University College; and in 1693, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. His attention had been particularly turned towards the Greek language, and he soon gave a convincing proof that his success was equal to the diligence with which he prosecuted it. In his nineteenth year, he published an edition of Plutarch's treatise *De Audiendis Poëtis*, with the oration of Basil the Great, *De Legendis Græcorum Libris*, with various readings and notes, Oxford, 1694, 8vo. This publication met with a very favourable reception, and gave the public just grounds to expect some greater undertaking, from an author who, at such an early period of life, had so successfully begun his literary career; and, in this expectation they were not disappointed.

He had already been engaged in an edition of *Lycophron;* but some difficulties having occurred, which

prevented him from proceeding in it, he finished, in the mean time, the two short treatises of *Plutarch* and *Basil*, to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of *Lycophron*, as well as of the other Greek poets. This work, he informs us in the preface, was undertaken by the advice of Arthur Charlett, D. D. master of University College, a great friend and patron of learning. The following year he was chosen Fellow of Lincoln College, and, proceeding Master of Arts, took pupils, and went into orders.

After the publication of *Plutarch* and *Basil*, he resumed the work which he had formerly begun, and, in 1697, completed a very beautiful edition of Lycophron's *Alexandra*, in folio. He had intended to publish Nicander's *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*, along with it, but was prevented from executing this plan by his numerous avocations. He has illustrated *Lycophron* by copious extracts from the Greek scholiast; and, besides his own annotations, has added those of his predecessors, Canterus and Meursius. This work was reprinted in 1702, dedicated to Grævius, at whose suggestion it was undertaken, and is reckoned the best edition of this obscure Greek poet.

It has been the fate of *Lycophron* to be edited by a series of young critics. Canterus published his edition, at the age of twenty-four (Basil, 1566, 4to.); Meursius, at the age of eighteen (Lugd. Bat. 1597, 8vo.); and Potter, at the age of twenty-three. In the present century, the Rev. Henry Meen, B. D. a critic of mature learning and judgment, has distinguished himself by "Remarks on the Cassandra of Lycophron," 1802, 8vo., interspersed with specimens of translation, exhibiting ample proofs of his qualifications for executing a complete version of "the tene-

brous poet," with notes and illustrations; which it would be desirable to see*.

The same year, 1697, he gave to the world the first volume of his *Archæologia Græca, or The Antiquities of Greece*, 8vo., and the year after, he published the second volume. Several additions were made by him in the subsequent editions of this useful and learned work, of which the seventh was published in 1751. The character and peculiar usages of the Greeks are here minutely and clearly explained. The authorities from which the information is obtained are accurately stated; and the numerous quotations from the poets, with which the work abounds, give a satisfactory illustration of the phrases and customs they are intended to illustrate. The language is simple and perspicuous, without being elegant; and, notwithstanding the numerous productions of a similar kind that have since appeared, this is unquestionably entitled to hold the first place.

These publications established his fame in the literary republic, both at home and abroad, and engaged him in a correspondence with Grævius and other learned foreigners. Both publications, particularly the last mentioned, could not fail to be generally acceptable. The poem of *Lycophron*, containing a long course of predictions which he supposes to be made by *Cassandra* daughter of Priam king of Troy, is very obscure, and needed illustration. The *Antiqui-*

* The last commentator of "Lycophron" is known to the learned world as the editor of Fawkes's "Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius," to which he contributed all the notes and some of the translations. He is also the translator of "Coluthus Lycopolitus," in Dr Anderson's edition of "Translations," in which *C*—— stood for *Coadjutor*, who was *Mr Meen*.

ties of Greece serve as a key to unlock the treasures of Grecian literature.

We are now to view him as a churchman and a theologian. He commenced Bachelor in Divinity on the 8th July 1704, and about the same time was appointed chaplain to Archbishop Tenison; with whom he went to reside at Lambeth. On the 18th April 1706, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and soon after was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the queen.

From this period we find him giving assiduous attention to his professional duties, and drawing forth those stores of learning which he had laid up in early life, to illustrate and defend the principles and discipline of the established church. In 1707, he gave to the public *A Discourse upon Church Government*, 8vo. This treatise, undertaken with the view of establishing the divine origin of episcopacy, contains an account of the constitution, government, and rights of the Christian church, as they are described in the scriptures, and by the fathers of the three first centuries.

In 1708, he succeeded Dr Jane, as canon of Christ-Church, and regius professor of divinity at Oxford. These preferments he obtained by the solicitation of the illustrious duke of Marlborough, who at that time was the great support of the whig interest. The tories recommended Dr. Smalridge, who had been assistant to Dr. Jane, and had discharged the duties of the professorship with great reputation; but the duchess of Marlborough, who had much influence with the queen, urged the matter so earnestly, that her majesty was prevailed upon to grant her request upon this occasion. Soon after obtaining these preferments, he married, and had by his wife a numerous family of children.

In the year 1715, he published an edition of the works of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in two volumes, folio, which he had begun before he obtained the divinity professorship; and which Mr Whiston, in his memoirs, considers as an excellent performance. It is said, however, to be full of typographical errors, for which the following cause is assigned. While the work was printing, a humour fell into his eyes, which obliged him to commit to others the care of correcting the press.

On the 27th April, the same year, he was made bishop of Oxford, in the room of Dr Talbot, by King George I. through the same interest that had procured him the professorship. But, though raised to the episcopal dignity, he still kept possession of the divinity chair in the university; both of which important stations he filled with great reputation. He seldom failed to preside in person at the divinity acts, and held regularly his triennial visitation at St. Mary's church, upon which occasions his charges to the clergy were forcible, and adapted to the circumstances of the times.

Hitherto we have seen Dr. Potter pursuing his literary career undisturbed by any opponent; but in the Bishop of Bangor, he had now to contend with an experienced and able antagonist. In a work which Dr. Hoadly published in 1717, he took occasion to recommend a union among the different religious sects, upon the ground that all held the same fundamental doctrines of belief, and, if sincere in the principles they professed, would all obtain the divine favour. The Bishop of Oxford, the following year, in his charge, pointed out these doctrines to his clergy, and reprobated them, as contrary to the scriptures, and subversive of religion and morality. This charge was published at

the particular request of the audience; and although neither Dr. Hoadly's name, nor the title of his book were mentioned in it, yet he considered it as directed against himself, and immediately published an answer to it; in which he recriminates against Dr. Potter, and vindicates himself from the charges that he had brought against him. Dr. Potter, in a letter to his clergy in 1719, defended what he had published in his charge, and warmly reprobated the severe manner in which he had been treated by the Bishop of Bangor; particularly as his strictures had been directed, not against him, nor any man in particular, but against principles which he considered as subversive of religion. This dispute was carried on with considerable keenness on both sides. And it deserves to be remarked, that bishop Hoadly in his answer declares, that he was more concerned on account of this adversary than with any other with whom he had been engaged.

In 1722, a very learned and interesting correspondence took place between Dr. Potter and Dr. Atterbury, respecting the time in which the Four Gospels were written, which is preserved in the "Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies of Bishop Atterbury," collected by Mr. Nichols, in 5 vols. 8vo, 1798.

About this time, he became a favourite of Queen Caroline, then Princess of Wales. And upon the accession of George II. to the throne, October 11th 1727, he preached the coronation sermon, which was afterwards published, by his Majesty's special command. He had formerly been appointed to preach a sermon before the House of Lords, upon the accession of George I. in 1715; both of which sermons are to be found in the collection of his *Theological Works*. These marks of distinction show that he had

been rising in favour at court. This, indeed, was so much the case, that it was generally thought that the chief direction of the affairs of the church would be committed to his care. Averse, however, to state politics, in which a trust of this kind would necessarily involve him, he left the court, and retired to his bishopric at Oxford. Here he remained assiduously discharging the duties of his pastoral office, till the death of Dr. Wake, in 1737, when he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.

He had now, by successive advancements, arrived at the highest ecclesiastical dignity which his country could confer. This station, which to an ambitious and aspiring mind, opens very extensive views, Dr. Potter filled for ten years with great moderation. He took care not to involve himself too much in secular matters, but devoted his chief attention to the affairs of the church. While thus honourably and usefully employed, he fell into a lingering disease, which carried him off in 1747, in the 73d year of his age. He was buried in the church of Croydon, leaving behind him a fortune of 90,000l.

Of his numerous family, only two sons and three daughters survived him. His eldest son, John, was educated for the church; and, upon taking orders, was presented to the rectory of Wrotham, and the vicarage of Lydd, both in Kent. But having mortified the ambition of his father by marrying below his dignity, the Archbishop, though not to his credit, disinherited him, and left his fortune to his younger son, Thomas; who was bred to the law, and after finishing his studies at the university, took an active part in political affairs. He received from his father the lucrative office of Register to the province of Canterbury. Having afterwards obtained a seat in the House of Com-

mons, he held the offices of Recorder of Bath, and joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. His eldest daughter was married to Dr. Tenison, and died in child-bed in 1730. Of his surviving daughters, one was married to Jeremiah Milles, D. D. Dean of Exeter, and died in 1761; another to Thomas Tanner, D. D. Prebendary of Canterbury, and Rector of Hadleigh.

Few particulars are known respecting the private character of Dr. Potter. From his earliest years, he was attentive to his studies, and had acquired habits of application and industry, which followed him throughout all the changes of his life. To great habits of application, he added an uncommon regularity and economy in the distribution of his time, and in all his domestic arrangements. This particularity, when he attained to the archiepiscopal dignity, and consequently was exposed to a greater number of avocations, gave him an air of stiffness and importance, which he did not formerly show. Hence, he has been censured, particularly by Mr Whiston, as having been too much elated by his high dignity, as assuming great pontifical state, and submitting to flattery even of the grossest kind. If we consider that Mr. Whiston and he differed widely in religious sentiments, we shall be disposed to make some allowance for the harsh manner in which Mr. Whiston speaks of him. It is generally believed, indeed, that there was some ground for the charge; but his conduct in this respect seems rather to have been the effect of that system of order which he had prescribed to himself, which, when his engagements became more numerous and complicated, gave him less time for familiar conversation and social intercourse, than of any change in his sentiments produced by his advancement to the primacy.

He was a learned and exemplary divine, and a zealous guardian of the interests of religion. In ecclesiastical polity he adopted, in their utmost extent, the principles of the high church party. These principles, fostered by successive preferments, made him feelingly alive to any attempt against the ecclesiastical establishment to which he belonged. In all the ecclesiastical offices which he held he was faithful in discharging the duties connected with them. His metropolitan dignity gave him much secular influence; but he seems to have been by no means ambitious of availing himself of it. He wished rather to give his attention to ecclesiastical matters, and to preserve the purity and discipline of the church.

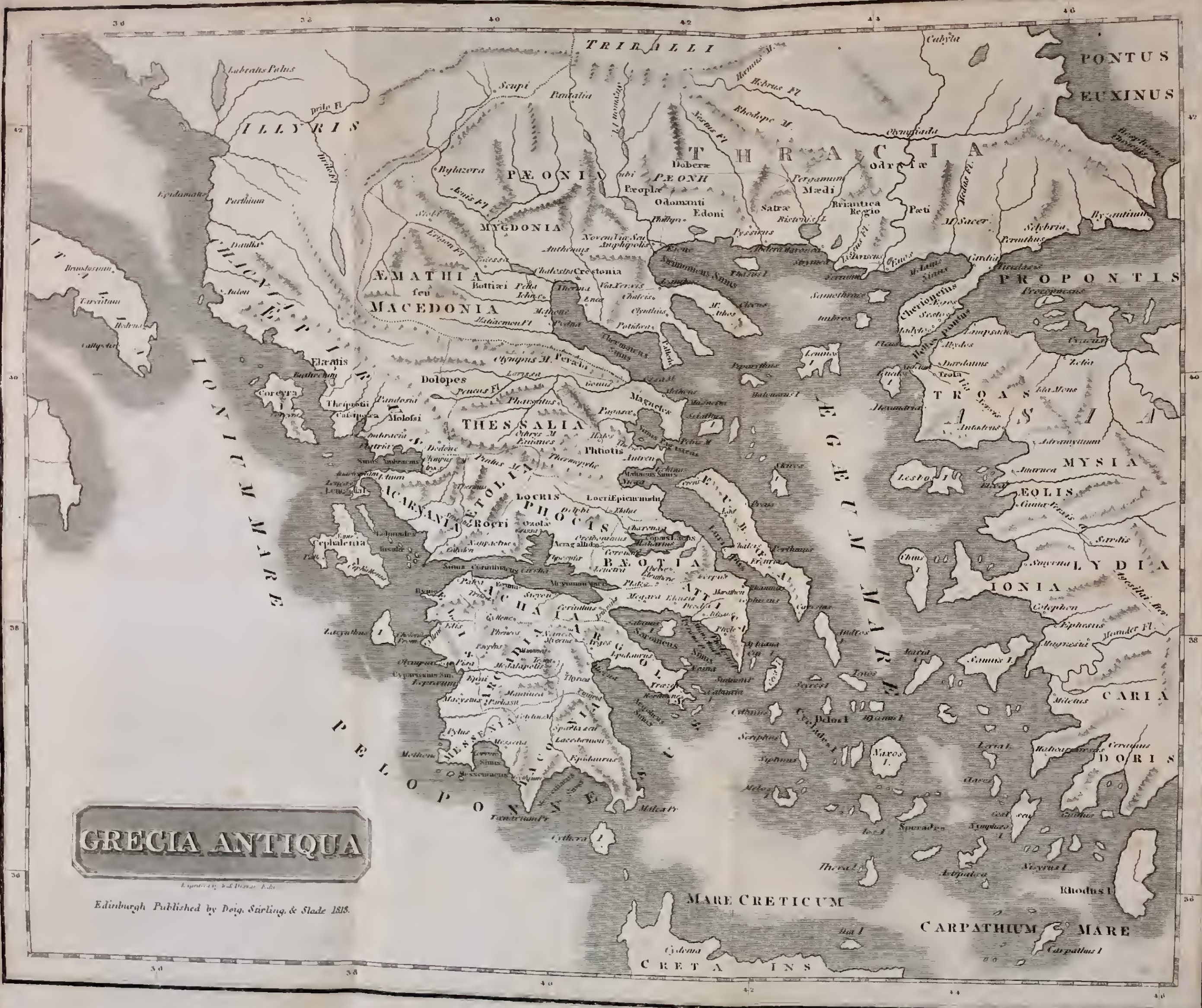
Of his talents and learning, the works which he has left behind him bear ample testimony. Besides those already mentioned, which were published under his own inspection, a collection of his *Theological Works* was published at Oxford, after his death, in 3 vols. 8vo. 1753. These consist of *Sermons*, *Charges to his Clergy*, *Discourse on Church Government*, and *Divinity Lectures*, which last were delivered in the course of his Professorship, and form one continued disquisition on the authority and inspiration of the scriptures. Such of his *Sermons* and *Charges* as were not published during his life, were finished and prepared for the press by himself, and printed according to his particular direction.

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Edinburgh Published by Doig, Stirling, & Slade 1818.
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EUXINUS
ILLYRIS
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MYGDONIA
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ARCHÆOLOGIA GRAECA:

OR THE

ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the State of Athens till Cecrops.

All ages have had a great esteem and veneration for antiquity; and not only of men, but of families, cities, and countries, the most ancient have always been accounted the most honourable. Hence arose one of the first and most universal disputes that ever troubled mankind; almost every nation, whose first original was not very manifest, pretending to have been of an equal duration with the earth itself. Thus the Egyptians, Scythians, and Phrygians, fancied themselves to be the first race of mankind, and the Arcadians boasted that they were προσέληνοι, or before the moon. The want of letters did not a little contribute to these opinions; for almost every colony and plantation, wanting means whereby to preserve the memory of their ancestors, and deliver them down to posterity, in a few generations forgot their mother nation, and thought they had inhabited their own country from the beginning of the world.

Our Athenians too had their share in this vanity, and made as great and loud pretensions to antiquity as the best of their neighbours; they gave out that they were produced at the same time with the sun[a], and assumed to themselves the honourable name (for so they thought it) of Αὐτόχθονες, which word signifies persons produced out of the same soil that they inhabit; for it was an old opinion, and almost every where received among the vulgar, that in the beginning of the world, men, like plants, were, by some strange prolific virtue, produced out of the fertile womb of one common mother, earth; and therefore the ancients generally call-

[a] Menander Rhetor.

ed themselves Γηγενεῖς, *sons of the earth*, as Hesychius informs us[b]: alluding to the same original, the Athenians sometimes styled themselves τέττιγες, *grasshoppers;* and some of them wore grasshoppers of gold, binding them in their hair, as badges of honour, and marks to distinguish them from others of later duration and less noble extraction, because those insects were believed to be generated out of the ground[c]. Virgil has mentioned this custom in his poem entitled Ciris.

Ergo omnis caro residebat cura capillo,
Aurea solemni comptum quem fibula ritu
Cecropiæ tereti nectebat dente cicadæ.

Wherefore she did, as was her constant care,
With grasshoppers adorn her comely hair,
Brac'd with a golden clasp, as do the Attic fair. J. ABELL OF LINC. COL.

Without doubt the Athenians were a very ancient nation, and it may be the first that ever inhabited that country; for, when Thessaly and Peloponnesus, and almost all the fertile regions of Greece, changed their old masters every year, the barrenness of their soil secured them from foreign invasions. Greece at that time had no constant and settled inhabitants, but there were continual removes, the stronger always dispossessing the weaker; and therefore they lived, as we say, from hand to mouth, and provided no more than what was necessary for present sustenance, expecting every day when some more powerful nation should come and displace them, as they had lately done their predecessors[d]. Amidst all these troubles and tumults, Attica lay secure and unmolested, being protected from foreign enemies, by means of a craggy and unfruitful soil, that could not afford fuel for contention; and secured from intestine and civil broils by the quiet and peaceable dispositions of its inhabitants; for, in these golden days, no affectation of supremacy, nor any sparks of ambition had fired men's minds, but every one lived full of content and satisfaction in the enjoyment of an equal share of land, and other necessaries, with the rest of his neighbours.

The usual attendants of a long and uninterrupted peace, are riches and plenty; but in those days, when men lived upon the products of their own soil, and had not found out the way of supplying their wants by traffic, the case was quite contrary, and peace was only the mother of poverty and scarceness, producing a great many new mouths to consume, but affording no new sup-

b In voce Γηγενεῖς. c Thucydides, lib. 1. Eustathius ad Iliad. γ'. d Thucyd. ib.

plies to satisfy them. This was soon experienced by the Athenians; for in a few ages they were increased to such a number, that their country being not only unfruitful, but confined within very narrow bounds, was no longer able to furnish them with necessary provisions. This forced them to contrive some means to disburden it; and therefore they sent out colonies to provide new habitations, which spread themselves in the several parts of Greece.

This sending forth of colonies was very frequent in the first ages of the world, and several instances there are of it in later times, especially amongst the Gauls and Scythians, who often left their native countries in vast bodies, and, like general inundations, overturned all before them. Meursius reckons to the number of forty plantations peopled by Athenians; but, amongst them all, there was none so remarkable as that in Asia the Less, which they called by the name of their native country, Ionia. For the primitive Athenians were named Iones, and Iaones, and hence it came to pass, that there was a very near affinity between the Attic and old Ionic dialect, as Eustathius observes[f]. And though the Athenians thought fit to lay aside their ancient name, yet it was not altogether out of use in Theseus's reign, as appears from the pillar erected by him in the isthmus, to show the bounds of the Athenians on the one side, and the Peloponnesians on the other; on the east side of which was this inscription[g],

This is not Peloponnesus, *but* Ionia.

And on the south side this:

This is not Ionia, *but* Peloponnesus.

This name is thought to have been given them from Javan, which bears a near resemblance to Ἰάων· and much nearer, if (as grammarians tell us) the ancient Greeks pronounced the letter α broad, like the diphthong αυ, as in our English word *all;* and so Sir George Wheeler reports the modern Greeks do at this day. This Javan was the fourth son of Japheth, and is said to have come into Greece after the confusion of Babel, and seated himself in Attica. And this report receiveth no small confirmation from the divine writings, where the name of Javan is in several places put for Greece. Two instances we have in Daniel[h]; 'And when I am gone forth, behold the Prince of Græcia shall come.' And again[i], 'He shall stir up all against the realm of Græcia.' Where, though the vulgar translations render it not Javan, yet

[e] Herodot. lib. i. Strabo Georg. lib. ix. Æschylus Persis.
[f] Iliad. ά. [g] Plutarch. Theseo. [h] Cap. x. 20. [i] Cap. xi. 2.

hat is the word in the original. And again in Isaiah, ‘ And I will send those that escape of them to the nations in the sea in Italy, and in Greece.’ Where the Tigurine version, with that of Geneva, retains the Hebrew words, and uses the names of Tubal and Javan, instead of Italy and Greece. But the Grecians themselves having no knowledge of their true ancestor, make this name to be of much later date, and derive it from Ion the son of Xuthus. This Xuthus (as Pausanias reports) having robbed his father Deucalion of his treasure, conveyed himself, together with his ill-gotten wealth, into Attica, which was at that time governed by Erectheus, who courteously entertained him, and gave him his daughter in marriage, by whom he had two sons, Ion and Achæus, the former of which gave his name to the Ionians, the latter to the Achæans. It is not improbable that Ion himself might receive his name from Javan; it being a custom observable in the histories of all times, to keep up the ancient name of a forefather, especially such as had been eminent in the times he lived in, by reviving it in some of the principal of his posterity.

From the first peopling of Attica till the time of king Ogyges, we have no account of any thing that passed there; only Plato[k] reports, they had a tradition, that the Athenian power and glory were very great in those days; that they were excellently skilled both in civil and military affairs, were governed by the justest and most equitable laws, and lived in far greater splendour than they had arrived to in his time. But of the transactions of these and the following ages till Theseus, or the Trojan war, little or nothing of certainty must be expected; partly, because of the want of records, in rude and illiterate ages: partly, by reason of the vast distance of time, wherein those records they had (if they had any) were lost and destroyed; and partly through the pride and vain-glory of the ancient Greeks, who, out of an affectation of being thought to have been descended from some divine original, industriously concealed their pedigrees, and obscured their ancient histories with idle tales, and poetical fictions; and to use the words of Plutarch[l], ‘ As historians in their geographical descriptions of countries, crowd into the farthest part of their maps those things they have no knowledge of, with some such remarks in the margin as these: all beyond is nothing but dry and desert sands, or Scythian cold or a frozen sea: so it may very well be

[k] Timæo. [l] Theseo.

said of those things that are so far removed from our age; all beyond is nothing but monstrous and tragical fictions; there the poets and there the inventors of fables dwell; nor is there to be expected any thing that deserves credit, or that carries in it any appearance of truth.'

However I must not omit what is reported concerning Ogyges, or Ogygus, whom some will have to have been king of Thebes, some of Egypt, some of Arcadia, but others of Attica, which is said to have been called after his name Ogygia[m]. He is reported to have been a very potent prince, and the founder of several cities, particularly of Eleusis; and Pausanias tells us farther, that he was father to the hero Eleusis, from whom that town received its name. He is said to have been contemporary with the patriarch Jacob; about the sixty-seventh year of whose age he is supposed to have been born[n]; others bring him as low as Moses[o]. His reign is the utmost period the Athenian stories or traditions ever pretended to reach to; and therefore when they would express the great antiquity of any thing, they call it Ωγύγιος, of which we have a great many instances in several of the ancient writers: but I shall only give you one out of Nicander's Theriaca,

Ωγύγιος δ' ἄρα μῦθος ἐν αἰζηοῖσι φορεῖται.

And in allusion to the great power he is supposed to have been possessed of, they call any thing great or potent, Ωγύγιος, as two learned grammarians inform us. Hesychius, Ωγυγίȣ, παλαιȣ̃, ἀρχαίȣ, μεγάλȣ πάνυ. Suidas, Ωγύγιον, παλαιὸν, ἢ ὑπερμεγεθὲς. And therefore ἀγύγια κακὰ are great and insupportable evils; and ὠγύγιος εὐηθεῖα in Philo, extreme folly and stupidity. He reigned two-and-thirty years (for so Cedrenus computes them) in full power and prosperity, and blessed with the affluence of all things that fortune can bestow upon her greatest favourites: but the conclusion of his life was no less deplorable than the former part of it had been prosperous; for, in the midst of all his enjoyments, he was surprised with a sudden and terrible inundation, which overwhelmed not Attica only but all Achaia too, in one common destruction.

There is frequent mention made in ancient authors of several kings that reigned in Attica between the Ogygian flood and Cecrops the first: as of Porphyrion, concerning whom the Athmo-

[m] Stephanus Byzantin. de Urb. et Pop. [n] Hieronym. Chron. Euseb.
[o] Justin Mart. Orat. ad Gentes.

nians, a people in Attica, have a tradition, that he erected a temple to Venus Οὐρανία in their borough [p]. Also of Colœnus [q]; and of Periphas, who is described by Antonius Liberalis [r], to have been a very virtuous prince, and at last metamorphosed into an eagle. Isaac Tzetzes, in his comment upon Lycophron, speaks of one Draco, out of whose teeth he tells us, it was reported that Cecrops sprung; and this reason some give for his being called Διφυής. Lastly, to mention no more, Pausanias and Stephanus speak of Actæus, or Actæon, from whom some will have Attica to have been called Acte; and this name frequently occurs in the poets, particularly in Lycophron, a studious affecter of antiquated names, and obsolete words,

Ἀκτῆς διμόρφου γηγενοῦς σκηπτουχίας.

But small credit is to be given to these reports; for we are assured by Philochorus, an author of no less credit than antiquity, as he is quoted by Africanus, that Attica was so much wasted by the Ogygian deluge, and its inhabitants reduced to so small a number, that they lived an hundred and ninety years, from the time of Ogyges to Cecrops, without any king at all; and Eusebius concurs with him in this opinion [s].

CHAP. II.

Of the State of Athens from Cecrops to Theseus.

It is agreed almost on all hands, that Cecrops was the first that gathered together the poor peasants that lay dispersed here and there in Attica: and having united them into one body (though not into one city, for that was not effected till many ages after,) constituted among them one form of government, and took upon himself the title of king.

Most nations at the first were governed by kings, who were usually persons of great worth and renown; and for their courage, prudence, and other virtues, promoted to that dignity by the general consent and election of the people, who yielded them obedience out of willingness rather than necessity, out of advice rather than by compulsion: and kings rather chose to be obeyed out of love, and esteem of their virtues, and fitness to govern, than by the force of their arms, and out of a slavish fear of their power. They

[p] Pausanias. [q] Idem. [r] Metamorphos. vi. [s] Chronico.

affected no uncontroulable dominion, or absolute sway, but preferred the good of their people, for whose protection they knew and acknowledged themselves to have been advanced, before any covetous or ambitious designs of their own. They expected no bended knees, no prostrate faces, but would condescend to converse familiarly, even with the meaner sort of their subjects, as oft as they stood in need of their assistance. In short, they endeavoured to observe such a just medium in their behaviour, and all their actions, as might neither expose their authority to contempt, nor render them formidable to those, whom they chose rather to win by kindness into a voluntary compliance, than to awe by severity into a forced subjection. They proposed to themselves no other advantage than the good and welfare of their people; and made use of their authority no farther, than as it was conducive and necessary to that end. Their dignity and office consisted chiefly in these things:

First, In doing justice, in hearing causes, in composing the divisions, and deciding the differences that happened among their subjects, in constituting new laws, and regulating the old [t], where they had any; but the people generally reposed such trust and confidence in the justice and equity of their prince, that his sole will and pleasure passed for law amongst them [u].

Secondly, In leading them to the wars; where they did not only assist them by their good conduct and management of affairs, but exposed their own persons for the safety and honour of their country, pressing forward into the thickest of their enemies, and often encountering the most valiant of them in single combat. And this they thought a principal part of their duty, judging it but reasonable, that they who excelled others in honour, should surpass them too in valour; and they that had the first places at all feasts and public assemblies, should be the first also in undertaking dangers, and exposing themselves in the defence of their country; and thus the hero in Homer argues the case with one of his fellow princes:

> *Γλαῦκε, τίη δὴ νῶϊ τετιμήμεσθα μάλιστα*
> *Ἕδρῃ τε, κρέασίν τε, ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν*
> *Ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ, Θεοὺς ὣς, εἰσορόωσι·*
> *Καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ᾽ ὄχθας*
> *Καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο;*
> *Τῷ νῦν χρὴ Λυκίοισι μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἐόντας*
> *Εστάμεν, ἠδὲ μάχης καυστειρῆς ἀντιβολῆσαι* [w].

[t] Tull. de Offic. lib. ii. cap. 12. [u] Justin. Hist. lib. i. [w] Iliad. μ'.

Why boast we, Glaucus, our extended reign,
Where Xanthus' streams enrich the Lycian plain,
Our numerous herds that range the fruitful field,
And hills where vines their purple harvest yield;
Our foaming bowls with purer nectar crown'd,
Our feasts enhanc'd with music's sprightly sound?
Why on those shores are we with joy survey'd,
Admir'd as heroes, and as Gods obey'd;
Unless great acts superior merit prove,
And vindicate the bounteous powers above? POPE.

Thirdly, The performance of the solemn sacrifice, and the care of divine worship, was part of the king's business. The Lacedæmonian kings at their coronation were consecrated priests of Jupiter Οὐράνιος, and executed that office in their own persons. No man can be ignorant of Virgil's Anius, who was both king and priest.

Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos.

We seldom meet with a sacrifice in Homer, but some of the heroes, and those the chief of all then present, are concerned in the performance of the holy ceremonies; and so far was it from being thought an act of condescension, or any way below their dignity and grandeur, that they thought it an accession to the rest of their honours; and the inferior worshippers were no less careful to reserve this piece of service for them, than they were to give them the most honourable places in the banquets, which they refreshed themselves with, after the sacrifices were ended.

Let us now return to Cecrops, whom, as soon as he had established himself in his new raised kingdom, we shall find employed in laying the model of a city, which he designed for the seat of his government and place of his constant residence. And at the most commodious place in his dominions for this purpose, he pitched upon a rock, strongly fortified by nature against any assaults, and situated in a large plain near the middle of Attica, calling both the city, and the territory round it, after his own name, Cecropia. Afterwards, when the Athenians increased in power and number, and filled the adjacent plains with buildings, this was the acropolis, or citadel.

Then, for the better administration of justice, and the promotion of mutual intercourse among his subjects, he divided them into four tribes, the names of which were

1. Κικροπίς. 3. Ακταία.
2. Αὐτόχθων. 4. Παραλία.

And finding his country pretty well stocked with inhabitants, partly by the coming in of foreigners, partly by the concourse of people from every corner and lurking hole in Attica, where they

had before lain, as it were, buried in privacy, he instituted a poll, causing every one of the men to cast a stone into a place appointed by him for that purpose; and upon computation, he found them to be in number twenty thousand, as the scholiast upon Pindar reports out of Philochorus [x].

But the soil being in its own nature unfruitful, and the people unskilled in tilling and improving it to the best advantage, such multitudes could not have failed of being reduced, in a short time, to the greatest extremities, had not Cecrops taught them the art of navigation, and thereby supplied them with corn from Sicily and Africa [y].

Besides this, he was the author of many excellent laws and constitutions, especially touching marriage, which, according to his appointment, was only to be celebrated betwixt one man and one woman, whereas, before, promiscuous mixtures had been allowed of amongst them, as the poet intimates,

> Κάδμος ἐΰγλώσσοι διδάσκεται ὄργανα φωνῆς,
> Θεσμὰ Σόλων ἄρχοντα, τὸν ἔννομον Ἀτθίδι πεύκη,
> Συζυγίης ἀλύτοιο συνωρίδα δίζυγα Κέκροψ [z].
>
> Cadmus with curious art did letters frame,
> The laws invention from wise Solon came;
> But Cecrops fix'd the matrimonial vow,
> Where one sole pair to love's soft fetters bow.

Nor did he only prescribe rules for the conduct of their lives, with respect to one another, but was the first that introduced a form of religion, erected altars in honour of the gods, and instructed his people in what manner they were to worship them.

In the reign of Pandion, the fifth king of Athens, Triptolemus is said to have taught the Athenians how to sow and manure the ground, aud to have enacted several useful and necessary laws, three of which we find quoted by Porphyry out of Xenocrates [a].

1. Honour your parents.
2. Make oblations of your fruits to the gods.
3. Hurt not living creatures.

Cecrops, the second of that name, and the seventh king of Athens, divided his dominions into twelve cities, or large boroughs, compelling his subjects to leave their separate habitations, and unite together for the replenishing of them [b]. Their names were these, as they are delivered by Strabo in his description of Attica [c]: Cecropia, Tetrapolis, Exacria, Decelea, Eleusis,

[x] Olympionic. Od. ix.
[y] Johannes Tzetzes in Hesiodi, Ἐργ. ά.
[z] Nonnus Dionysiac. Lib. xli.
[a] De Abstinent. ab Animal. Lib. iv.
[b] Etymolog.
[c] Geograph. Lib. ix.

Aphidnæ, Thoriccus, Brauron, Cytheris, Sphettus, Cephissa, and Phalerus. But Cecropia still continued the chief seat of the empire, though each of these cities (they are the words of Sir George Wheeler, who refers this division to Cecrops the First, led thereunto by the authority of Eusebius, and some others,) had distinct courts of judicature, and magistrates of their own; and were so little subject to their princes, the successors of Cecrops, that they seldom or never had recourse to them, save only in cases of imminent and public danger; and did so absolutely order their own concerns, that sometimes they waged war against each other without the advice or consent of their kings.

In this state continued Attica, till the reign of Pandion, the second of that name, and eighth king of the Athenians, who was deprived of his kingdom by the sons of his uncle Metion; who themselves did not long possess what they had thus unjustly gotten, being driven out of it by the more powerful arms of Pandion's four son's, viz. Ægeus, Lycus, Pallas, and Nisus. These having expelled the Mitionidæ, divided the kingdom amongst themselves, as Apollodorus reports. But others are of opinion that Pandion himself being restored to the quiet possession of his kingdom by the joint assistance of them all, by his last will and testament divided it into four parts, bequeathing to each of them his proportion. And though it is not agreed amongst ancient writers, which part fell to every man's lot; yet thus much is consented to on all hands, that the sovereignty of Athens was assigned to Ægeus, for which he was extremely envied by his brethren; and so much the more, for that, as most think, he was not the begotten, but only adopted son of Pandion; and for this reason it was (saith Plutarch), that Ægeus commanded Æthra, the mother of Theseus, to send her son, when arrived at man's estate, from Trœzen, the place where he was born, to Athens, with all secrecy, and to enjoin him to conceal, as much as possible, his journey from all men, because he feared extremely the Pallantidæ, who did continually mutiny against him, and despised him for his want of children, they themselves being fifty brothers, all the sons of Pallas. However, as the same author tells us, they were withheld from breaking out into open rebellion, by the hopes and expectation of recovering the kingdom, at least after Ægeus's death, because he was without issue; but as soon as Theseus appeared, and was acknowledged rightful successor to the crown, highly re-

senting, that first Ægeus, Pandion's son only by adoption, and not at all related to the family of Erictheus, and then Theseus, one of another country, and a perfect stranger to their nation, should obtain the kingdom of their ancestors, they broke out into open acts of hostility; but were soon overcome and dispersed by the courage and conduct of Theseus.

Theseus having delivered the country from intestine seditions, proceeded in the next place to free it from foreign slavery. The Athenians having barbarously murdered Androgeus, the son of Minos, king of Crete, were obliged by his father to send a novennial, or septenial, or, as others, an annual tribute of seven young men, and as many virgins, into Crete, where they were shut up within the labyrinth, and there wandered about, till finding no possible means of making their escape, they perished with hunger, or else were devoured by the Minotaur, a terrible monster, compounded of the different shapes of man and bull. The time of sending this tribute being come, Theseus put himself amongst the youths that were doomed to go to Crete, where, having arrived, he received of Ariadne, the daughter of king Minos, who had fallen in love with him, a clew of thread, and being instructed by her in the use of it, which was to conduct him through all the windings of the labyrinth, escaped out of it, having first slain the Minotaur, and so returned with his fellow captives in triumph to Athens.

In his return, through an excess of joy for the happy success of his voyage, he forgot to hang out the white sail, which should have been the token of their safety to Ægeus, who sat expecting them upon the top of a rock; and as soon as their ship came in view with a black, and, as it were, mourning sail, knowing nothing of their success, he threw himself headlong into the sea, and so made way to Theseus's more early succession to the crown, than could otherwise have been expected. And to this time, from the reign of Cecrops the First, the government and state of Athens continued with little alteration.

CHAP. III.

Of the state of Athens, from Theseus to the Decennial Archons.

Theseus, being by the fore-mentioned accident advanced to the regal sceptre, soon found the inconvenience of having his

people dispersed in villages, and cantoned up and down the country. 'Therefore, for the remedy of this evil, he framed in his mind (saith Plutarch) a vast and wonderful design, of gathering together all the inhabitants of Attica into one town, and making them one people of one city, that were before dispersed, and very difficult to be assembled upon any affair, though relating to the common benefit of them all. Nay, often such differences and quarrels happened among them, as occasioned bloodshed and war; these he, by his persuasions, appeased, and going from people to people, and from tribe to tribe, proposed his design of a common agreement between them. Those of a more private and mean condition readily embracing so good advice; to those of greater power and interest, he promised a commonwealth, wherein monarchy being laid aside, the power should be in the people; and that, reserving to himself only to be continued the commander of their arms, and the preserver of their laws, there should be an equal distribution of all things else among them; and by this means he brought most of them over to his proposal. The rest fearing his power, which was already grown very formidable, and knowing his courage and resolution, chose rather to be persuaded, than forced into a compliance.

'He then dissolved all the distinct courts of justice, and council-halls, and corporations, and built one common prytaneum, and council-hall, where it stands to this day. And out of the old and new city, he made one, which he named Athens, ordaining a common feast and sacrifice to be for ever observed, which he called panathenæa, or the sacrifice of all the united Athenians. He instituted also another sacrifice, for the sake of strangers that would come to fix at Athens, called Μετοίκια, which is yet celebrated on the 16th day of Hecatombæon. Then, as he had promised, he laid down his kingly power, and settled a commonwealth, having entered upon this great change, not without advice from the gods. For, sending to consult the Delphian oracle, concerning the fortune of his new government and city, he received this answer:

Αἰγείδη Θησεῦ, Πιτθηΐδος ἔκγονε κούρης,
Πολλαῖς τοι πολίεσσι Πατὴρ ἐμὸς ἐγκατέθηκε,
Τέρματα δὲ κλωστῆρας ἐν ὑμετέρῳ πτολιέθρῳ.
Ἀλλὰ σὺ μήτι λίην πεπονημένος ἔνδοθι θυμὸν
Βουλεύειν, ἀσκὸς γὰρ ἐν οἴδματι ποντοπορεύσῃ.

Hear, Theseus, Pittheus daughter's son,
Hear what Jove for thee has done;
In the great city thou hast made,
He has, as in a storehouse, laid

The settled periods, and fix'd fates
Of many cities, mighty states.
But know thou neither fear nor pain,
Disquiet not thyself in vain:
For like a bladder that does bide
The fury of the angry tide,
Thou from high waves unhurt shalt bound,
Always tost, but never drown'd. DUKE.

Which oracle, they say, one of the Sibyls, a long time after, did in a manner repeat to the Athenians in this verse;

Ἀσκὸς βαπτίζῃ, δῦναι δέ τοι ȣ̓ θέμις ἐστί.
Thou, like a bladder, may'st be wet, but never sink.

Farther, yet designing to enlarge his city, he invited all strangers to come and enjoy equal privileges with the natives; and some are of opinion, that the common form of proclamation in Athens, Δεῦρ' ἴτε πάντες λεώ, *Come hither all ye people,* were the words that Theseus caused to be proclaimed, when he thus set up a commonwealth, consisting, in a manner of all nations.

'For all this, he suffered not his state, by the promiscuous multitude that flowed in, to be turned into confusion and anarchy, and left without any order or degrees, but was the first that divided the commonwealth into three distinct ranks, Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεώργοι, Δημιȣργοὶ, i. e. *noblemen, husbandmen, and artificers.* To the nobility he committed the choice of magistrates, the teaching and dispensing of the laws, and the interpretation of all holy and religious things; the whole city, as to all other matters, being as it were reduced to an equality, the nobles excelling the rest in honour, the husbandmen in profit, and the artificers in number. And Theseus was the first, who, as Aristotle says, out of an inclination to popular government, parted with the regal power; which Homer also seems to intimate in his catalogue of the ships, where he gives the name of Δῆμος, or people, to the Athenians only.'

In this manner Theseus settled the Athenian government, and it continued in the same state till the death of Codrus the seventeenth and last king, a prince more renowned for his bravery than fortune. For Attica[d] being invaded by the Dorians, or Spartans, or Peloponnesians, or, as some will have it, by the Thracians, the oracle was consulted about it, and answer made, that the invaders should have success, if they did not kill the Athenian king; whereupon Codrus preferring his country's safety before his own life, disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, and went to a place not far from the enemy's camp, where picking a quar-

[d] Tull. Tuscul. Quæst. Justin i. ii. Vel. Paterc. Lib. ii. Eusebius.

rel with some of them, he obtained the death which he so much desired. The Athenians being advertised of what had happened, sent an herald to the enemy to demand the body of their king, who were so much disheartened by this unexpected accident, that they immediately broke up their camp, and left off their enterprise without striking another blow.

The Athenians, out of reverence to Codrus's memory, would never more have any governor by the name or title of king, but were governed by Archontes, whom they allowed indeed to continue in their dignity as long as they lived, and when they died, to leave it to their children; and therefore most writers reckon them rather amongst the kings, than the archontes that succeeded them, who were permitted to rule only for a certain time; yet they differed from the kings in this, that they were in a manner subject to the people, being obliged to render an account of their management when it should be demanded. The first of these was Medon, the eldest son of Codrus, from whom the thirteen following archontes were surnamed Medontidæ, as being descended from him. During their government, the Athenian state suffered no considerable alteration, but was carried on with so great ease and quietness, that scarce any mention is made of any memorable action done by any of them, and the very names of some of them are almost quite forgotten.

Thus I have endeavoured to give you a short account of the Athenian state, whilst it was governed by kings, who were in all thirty, and ruled Athens for the space of seven hundred and ninety-four years, as the learned Meursius has computed them; to which, if you add the two and thirty years of Ogyges, and the interval of an hundred and ninety years, in which no footsteps of any government are to be found, the number will amount to one thousand and twelve years.

A CATALOGUE OF THE ATHENIAN KINGS.

Ogyges	years, XXXII.	Theseus	years, XXX.	Thersippus	years, XLI.
Interregnum	CXC.	Mnestheus	XXIII.	Phorbas	XXX.
Cecrops I.	L.	Demophoon	XXXIII.	Megacles	XXVIII.
Crananos	IX.	Oxyntes	XII.	Diognetus	XXV.
Amphictyon	X.	Aphidas	I.	Pherecles	XIX.
Erichthonios	L.	Thymœtes	VIII.	Ariphron	XX.
Pandion I	XL.	Melanthius	XXXVII.	Thespieus	XXVII.
Erechtheos	L.	Codros	XXI.	Agamestor	XVII.
Cecrops II	XL.	Medon	XX.	Æschylus	XXIII.
Pandion II	XXV.	Acastus	XXXVI.	Alcmæon	II.
Ægeus	XLVIII.	Archippus	XIX.		

CHAP. IV.

Of the State of Athens, from the Decennial Archons to Philip of Macedon.

THE people of Athens continually got ground of their superiors, gaining something by every alteration that was made in the state, till at length, by little and little, the whole government came into the hands of the commonalty. Theseus and Medon made considerable abatements in their power, but what remained of it, they kept in their own hands as long as they lived, and preserved the succession entire to their posterity. But in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, both the power and succession devolved upon the people, who, the better to curb the pride, and restrain the power of their archons, continued them in their government only for ten years; and the first that was created in this manner, was Charops, the son of Æschylus. But they would not rest contented here; for about seventy years after, that the archons might be wholly dependent on the citizens' favour, it was agreed that their authority should last but for one year, at the end of which they were to give an account of their administration; and the first of these was Cleon, who entered upon his charge in the third year of the twenty-fourth Olympiad [e].

In the thirty-ninth Olympiad, Draco was archon, and was the author of many new laws, in which there is very little worth our notice, only that they were very cruel and inhuman, punishing almost every trivial offence with death; insomuch that those that were convicted of idleness were to die, and those that stole a cabbage or an apple, to suffer as the villains that committed sacrilege or murder; and therefore Demades is remarked for saying that Draco's laws were not written with ink but blood: and he himself being asked, why he made death the punishment of most offences? replied, small crimes deserve that, and I have no higher for the greatest.

But all these, that only excepted which concerned murder, were repealed in the third year of the forty-sixth Olympiad, in which Solon being archon, was intrusted with the power of new-modelling the commonwealth, and making laws for it. They gave him power over all their magistrates (says Plutarch,) their assemblies, courts, and senates; that he should appoint the number,

[e] Clemens Stromat. i.

times of meeting, and what estate they should have that could be capable of being admitted to them, and to dissolve or continue any of the present constitutions, according to his judgment and discretion [f].

Solon finding the people variously affected, some inclined to a monarchy, others to an oligarchy, others to a democracy, the rich men powerful and haughty, the poor groaning under the burden of their oppression, endeavoured, as far as was possible, to compose all their differences, to ease their grievances, and give all reasonable persons satisfaction. In the prosecution of his design, he divided the Athenians into four ranks, according to every man's estate; those who were worth five hundred medimns of liquid and dry commodities, he placed in the first rank, calling them Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. The next were the horsemen, called Ἱππάδα τελȣ̃ντες, being such as were of the ability to furnish out a horse, or were worth three hundred medimns. The third class consisted of those that had two hundred medimns, who were called Ζευγῖται. In the last, he placed all the rest, calling them Θῆτες, and allowed them not to be capable of bearing any office in the government, only gave them liberty to give their votes in all public assemblies; which though at the first it appeared inconsiderable, was afterwards found to be a very important privilege; for, it being permitted any man after the determination of the magistrates to make an appeal to the people assembled in convocation, hereby it came to pass, that causes of the greatest weight and moment were brought before them. And thus he continued the power and magistracy in the hands of the rich men, and yet neither exposed the inferior people to their cruelty and oppression, nor wholly deprived them of having a share in the government. And of this equality he himself makes mention in this manner,

> Δήμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος ὅσσον ἐπαρκεῖ,
> Τιμῆς ȣ̓́τ' ἀφελὼν ȣ̓́τ' ἐπορεξάμενος.
> Οἳ δ' εἶχον δύναμιν, ϗ χρήμασιν ἦσαν ἀγητοὶ,
> Καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀεικὲς ἔχειν.
> Ἔστην δ' ἀμφιβαλὼν κρατερὸν σάκος ἀμφοτέροισι,
> Νικᾷν δ' ȣ̓κ εἴασ' ἀμφοτέρȣς ἀδίκως.
>
> What power was fit, I did on all bestow,
> Nor rais'd the poor too high, nor sunk too low;
> The rich that rul'd, and every office bore,
> Confin'd by laws could not oppress the poor:
> Both parties I secur'd from lawless might,
> That none should e'er prevail against another's right.

[f] Plutarch. in Solone.

Not many years after, the city being divided into factions, Pisistratus, by a stratagem, seized upon the government: for having, on set purpose, wounded himself, he was brought into the market-place in a chair, where he exposed his wounds to the people, assuring them that he had been so dealt with by the adverse party for his affection to their government. The unthinking multitude were easily drawn by so specious a pretence into the compassion of his misfortunes, and rage against his enemies; and upon the motion of one Ariston, granted him fifty men armed with clubs to guard his person. The decree being past, Pisistratus listed the number of men that were allowed him, and besides them as many more as he pleased, no man observing what he was a-doing, till at length, in requital of the city's kindness and care of him, he seized the citadel, and deprived them of their liberty. After this Pisistratus lived thirty years, seventeen of which he was in possession of the government of Athens; but the state continued all that time unsettled, and in continual motions, the city party sometimes prevailing against him and expelling him, sometimes again being worsted by him, and forced to let him return in triumph.

He was succeeded by his sons Hipparchus and Hippias, whom Heraclides calls Thessalus; the former of which was slain by Aristogiton, and the latter, about three or four years after, compelled by Clisthenes, who called to his assistance the banished Alcmœonidæ and the Lacedæmonians, to relinquish his government, and secure himself by a dishonourable flight. Being thus banished his country, he fled into Persia, where he lived many years, persuading Darius to the enterprise upon Athens, which at length, to his eternal shame and dishonour, he undertook. For levying a numerous host of men, he entered the Athenian territories, where both he and his whole army were totally defeated, by an inconsiderable number of men, under the conduct of Miltiades, in that famous battle of Marathon. This victory was obtained twenty years after Hippias's expulsion. And thus the Athenians recovered their laws and liberties, about sixty-eight years after they had been deprived of them by Pisistratus.

After this success, they continued in a flourishing condition for three-and-thirty years, but then the scene changed and reduced them almost to the lowest ebb of fortune. Xerxes, in revenge of his predecessor's defeat, invaded their territories with an army (as some say) of seventeen hundred thousand men, and forced them

to quit their city, and leave it a prey to the insulting barbarians, who took it without any considerable resistance, and laid it in ashes; and in the year following, his lieutenant Mardonius, in imitation of his master's example, burned it a second time. But these storms were soon blown over, by the wisdom and courage of Themistocles and Aristides, who totally defeated the Persian fleet at Salamis, and seconded that victory by another of no less importance over Mardonius at Platæa, whereby the barbarians were quite driven out of Greece, and Athens restored to her ancient government, arising out of her ruins more bright and glorious than ever she had been before.

But the state suffered some alterations; for, first, Aristides, a person (as Plutarch assures us) of a mean extraction, and meaner fortune, being, in consideration of his eminent virtues, and signal services to the commonwealth, preferred to the dignity of an archon, repealed Solon's laws, by which the Θῆτες, or lowest order of people, were made incapable of bearing any office in the government. And after him, Pericles, having lessened the power of the areopagites, brought in a confused ochlocracy, whereby the populace and basest of the rabble obtained as great a share in the government as persons of the highest birth and quality.

Notwithstanding these alterations at home, all things were carried on with great success abroad. The Athenians, by the help of their fleet, on which they laid out their whole strength, when Xerxes forced them to quit their city, became sole lords of the sea, and made themselves masters of the greatest part of the Ægean islands; and having either forced the rest of the Grecians into subjection, or awed them into a confederacy, went on conquerors to the borders of Egypt, and had (as Aristophanes reports) a thousand cities under their dominions.

But afterwards, things succeeding ill in Sicily, under the command of Nicias, and some other troubles arising in the commonwealth, the principal men of Athens, being wearied with the people's insolency, took this opportunity to change the form of government, and bring the sovereignty into the hands of a few. To which purpose, conspiring with the captains that were abroad, they caused them to set up an aristocracy in the towns of their confederates; and in the meantime, some that were most likely to oppose this innovation, being slain at Athens, the commonalty were so dismayed, that none durst open his mouth against the conspirators, whose number they knew not; but every man was

afraid of his neighbour, lest he should have a hand in the plot. In this general consternation, the government of Athens was usurped by four hundred, who, preserving in show the ancient form of proceeding, caused all matters to be propounded to the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of the voices; but the things propounded were only such as had been first agreed upon among themselves; neither had the commonalty any other liberty than only that of approving and giving consent; for whosoever presumed to take upon him any farther, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no enquiry made after the murderers. By these means many decrees were made, all tending to the establishment of this new authority, which, nevertheless, endured not long: for the fleet and army, which were then at the isle of Samos, altogether detesting these tyrannical proceedings of the four hundred usurpers, recalled Alcibiades from his banishment; and, partly out of fear of him, partly because they found the citizens incensed against them, the tyrants voluntarily resigned their authority, and went into banishment.

Yet was not this alteration of government a full restitution of the sovereign command to the people, or whole body of the city, but only to five thousand, whom the four hundred (when their authority began) had pretended to take to them as assistants in the government; herein seeming to do little or no wrong to the commonalty, who seldom assembled in a greater number; and therefore no decrees were passed in the name of the four hundred, but all was said to be done by the five thousand; and the usurpers were called (says Plato[g]) Πεντακισχίλιοι, τετρακόσιοι δὲ ὄντες, five thousand, though they did not exceed four hundred. But now, when the power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed that Alcibiades and his friends should be recalled from exile by the citizens, as they had before been by the soldiers; and that the army at Samos should be requested to undertake the government, which was forthwith reformed according to the soldiers' desire.

This establishment of affairs at home was immediately seconded with good success from abroad; for, by the help of Alcibiades, they in a short time obtained several very important victories; but the giddy multitude being soon after incensed against him, he was banished a second time[h]. His absence had always before been fatal to the Athenians, but never so much so as at this time; for

[g] Alcibiade. [h] Diod. Sic. lib. xii. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. ii. Justin. lib. v.

their navy at Ægos-Potamos, through the carelessness of the commanders, was betrayed into the hands of Lysander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, who took and sunk almost the whole fleet; so that of two or three hundred sail of ships, there escaped not above eight.

After this victory, Lysander joining his own forces with those of Agis and Pausanias, kings of Sparta, marched directly to Athens, which was surrendered to them upon terms, whereby the Athenians obliged themselves to pull down the long walls, by which the city was joined to the Piræeus or haven, and deliver up all their naval forces, only ten, or, as some say, twelve ships excepted. Nay, there was a consultation held, whether the city should be utterly destroyed, and the land about it laid waste; and Agis had carried it in the affirmative, had not Lysander opposed him, urging, that one of the eyes of Greece ought not to be plucked out. However, he forced them to alter their form of government, and change their democracy into an oligarchy; a state ever affected by the Lacedæmonians.

In compliance, therefore, with the commands of their conquerors, the people of Athens chose thirty governors, commonly called *thirty tyrants,* the names of which you may see in Xenophon. These were chosen with a design to compile a body of their laws, and make a collection of such ancient statutes as were fittest to be put in practice in that juncture of affairs, which were called *καινοὶ νόμοι,* or new laws. And to this charge was annexed the supreme authority; and the whole government of the city intrusted in their hands. At first they seemed to proceed with some show of justice; and apprehending such troublesome fellows as were odious to the city, but could not be taken hold of by the laws, condemned them to death. But having afterwards obtained a guard from the Spartans, to secure the city, as was pretended, to their obedience, they soon discovered what they had been aiming at; for they sought no more after base and detested persons, but invaded the leading and principal men of the city, sending armed men from house to house, to dispatch such as were like to make any head against their government. And to add the greater strength to their party, and colour to their proceedings, they selected three thousand of such citizens as they thought fittest for their purpose, and gave them some part of the public authority, disarming all the rest. Being confirmed with this accession of strength, they proceeded in their bloody designs with more heat

and vigour than before, putting to death all that were possessed of estates, without any form of justice, or so much as any the least pique or grudge against them, only that their riches might fall into their hands. Nay, so far were they transported with cruelty and covetousness, that they agreed that every one of them should name his man, upon whose goods he should seize, by putting the owner to death; and when Theramenes, one of their own number, professed his detestation of so horrid a design, they condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drink poison. This Theramenes was at the first a mighty stickler for the tyrants authority; but when they began to abuse it, by defending such outrageous practices, no man more violently opposed it than he; and this got him the nick-name of Κόθορνος, or *Jack of both sides*, ὁ γὰρ κόθορνος ἁρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, from *cothurnus*, which was a kind of shoe that fitted both feet.

At length the Athenians, to the number of seventy, that had fled to Thebes, going voluntarily into banishment to secure themselves from the tyrants, entered into a conspiracy against them, and, under the conduct of Thrasybulus, seized upon Pyle, a strong castle in the territory of Athens; and increasing their strength and numbers by little and little, so far prevailed against them, that they were forced to retire to Sparta, and then all their laws were repealed, and the upstart form of government utterly dissolved. And thus the Athenians regained their liberty, and were re-established in the peaceable enjoyment of their lands and fortunes, in the fourth year of the 94th Olympiad. And to prevent all future jealousies and quarrels amongst themselves, they proclaimed an Ἀμνηστία, or act of oblivion, whereby all that had been concerned in the outrages and barbarities committed during the sovereignty of the tyrants, were admitted to pardon.

Thrasybulus having thus freed his country from the heavy yoke of the Lacedæmonians, Conon established it in all its ancient privileges and immunities, by another signal victory at Cnidus, wherein he gave a total defeat to the Lacedæmonian fleet. And having by this means regained the sovereignty of the seas, they began again to take courage, and aimed now at nothing less than the restoration of Athens to her ancient glory: and fortune was not wanting in some measure to further their great design; for they not only reduced the isle of Lesbos, Byzantium, Chalcedon, and other places thereabouts to their former obedience, but raised Athens

once more to be the most potent, and the principal city in all Greece.

In this state she continued for some years, till the Thebans, who had been raised from one of the most inconsiderable states in Greece, to great power, by the wise conduct and great courage of Epaminondas, put a stop to her grandeur, and disputed the sovereignty with her. But this contest was soon decided by the hasty death of Epaminondas, at the famous battle of Matinea, which put an end to the Theban greatness; which, as it was raised and maintained, so it likewise perished with that great man. So great alterations are the wisdom and courage of one man able to effect in the affairs of whole kingdoms.

The death of Epaminondas proved no less fatal to the Athenians than the Thebans; for now there being none whose virtues they could emulate, or whose power they could fear, they lorded it without a rival; and being glutted with too much prosperity, gave themselves over to idleness and luxury. They slighted the virtue of their ancestors; their hard and thrifty way of living they laughed at; the public revenues, which used to be employed in paying the fleets and armies, they expended upon games and sports, and lavishly profused them in sumptuous preparations for festivals; they took greater pleasure in going to the theatre, and hearing the insipid jests of the comedian, than in manly exercises and feats of war; preferred a mimic, or a stage-player, before the most valiant and experienced captain: nay, they were so besotted with their pleasures, that they made it capital for any man to propose the re-establishing their army, or converting the public revenues to the maintenance of it, as Libanius observes [i].

This degenerate disposition of theirs, and the rest of the Greeks, who were also drowned in the same security, gave opportunity and leisure to Philip, who had been educated under the discipline of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, to raise the Macedonians from a mean and obscure condition to the empire of all Greece and Asia; as Justin hath observed [j]. And this design was projected and begun by Philip, but achieved and perfected by his son, Alexander the Great.

i Argument. ad Olynthiac. i.

j Histor. lib. vi. cap. 9.

CHAP. V.

Of the State of Athens, from Philip of Macedon to its Delivery by the Romans.

The Athenians, and the rest of the Grecians, made some resistance against the victorious arms of Philip, but were overthrown in a pitched battle at Chæronea, in the third year of the 110th Olympiad. This defeat put an end to the Grecian glory, and in a great measure to their liberty, which, for so many ages, and against the most puissant monarchs, they had preserved entire till that time, but were never again able to recover it. However, Philip, to the end he might be declared captain-general of Greece against the Persians, without any further trouble, and strengthen his army by the accession of their forces, was content to forbear any farther attempt upon the Athenians, and to permit them to enjoy a show of liberty.

No sooner was Philip dead, than they revolted, and endeavoured to free themselves from the Macedonian yoke; but were easily brought into subjection by Alexander, and as easily obtained pardon of him, being then very eager of invading Persia, and unwilling to be diverted, by taking revenge upon those petty states, from a more noble and glorious enterprise. And during his life they continued quiet, not daring to move so much as their tongues against him. Only towards the latter end of his reign, when he was busied in the wars with remote countries, and not at leisure to take notice of every little opposition, they refused to entertain the banished persons, whom Alexander had commanded should be restored in all the cities of Greece. However, they durst not break out into open rebellion; but gave secret orders to Leosthenes, one of their captains, to levy an army in his own name, and be ready whenever they should have occasion for him: Leosthenes obeyed their commands, and as soon as certain news was brought, that Alexander was dead in Persia, being joined by some others of the Grecian states, proclaimed open war against the Macedonians, in defence of the liberty of Greece. But being in the end totally defeated by Antipater, they were forced to entertain a garrison in Munychia, and submit to what condition the conqueror pleased to impose upon them. He therefore changed their form of government, and instituted an oligarchy, depriving all those that were not worth two thousand drachms of the right of suffrage;

and the better to keep them quiet, all mutinous and disaffected persons he transplanted into Thrace. And by this means the supreme power came into the hands of about nine thousand.

About four years after, Antipater died, and the city fell into the hands of Cassander, who succeeded in the kingdom of Macedon. From him they made many attempts to free themselves, and regain their beloved democracy, but were in the end forced to submit themselves, in the third year of the 115th Olympiad, and accept of a garrison like to that which Antipater had imposed upon them, to live under the same form of government, and obey any person that the conqueror should nominate to the supreme power in it. The man appointed to be their governor was Demetrius the Phalerean, who, as Diogenes Laertius[k] reports, was of the family of Conon, and studied philosophy under Theophrastus. He used them with all possible kindness and moderation, enlarged their revenues, beautified their city with magnificent structures, and restored it almost to its former lustre; and they in requital of these favours, bestowed on him all the honours which in so poor a condition they were able to give, erecting to him three hundred statues, according to the number of days in the Attic year, most of which were on horseback[l]. But all this was the effect of flattery and dissimulation, rather than any real respect to him; all his moderation, all the benefits he had conferred on them could not beget in them any sincere affection for him; they still hated him, though they had no other reason for it than that he was set over them by Cassander; and though their power was gone, yet their spirits were still too high to brook any thing that savoured of tyranny. And this in a few years was made manifest; for when Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus, took up arms, as was pretended, in defence of the liberty of Greece, they received him with loud acclamations, and all possible expressions of joy; compelled the Phalerean to secure himself by flight, in his absence condemned him to die, and lay in wait to apprehend him, and bring him to execution; and when they could not compass his person, vented their rage and malice upon his statues, which they pulled down with the greatest detestation and abhorrence, breaking some to pieces, selling others, and drowning others; so that of three hundred there was none left remaining, except only one in the citadel, as the fore-mentioned author had reported.

k Demetrius.

l Plinii Hist. &c.

Demetrius Poliorcetes having gotten possession of the city, restored to the Athenians their popular government, bestowed upon them fifteen thousand measures of wheat, and such a quantity of timber as would enable them to build an hundred galleys for the defence of their city, and left them in full possession of their liberty, without any garrison to keep them in obedience. And so transported were the Athenians with this deliverance, that by a wild and extravagant gratitude, they bestowed upon Demetrius and Antigonus, not only the title of kings, though that was a name they had hitherto declined, but called them their tutelar deities and deliverers; they instituted priests to them; enacted a law, that the ambassadors whom they should send to them, should have the same style and character with those who were accustomed to be sent to Delphi, to consult the oracle of the Pythian Apollo, or to Ellis to the Olympian Jupiter, to perform the Grecian solemnities, and make oblations for the safety and preservation of their city, whom they called Θεωροί. They appointed lodgings for Demetrius in the temple of Minerva, and consecrated an altar in the place where he first alighted from his chariot, calling it the altar of Demetrius the Alighter, and added infinite other instances of the most gross and sordid flattery, of which Plutarch [m] and others give us a large account; for (says a learned modern author) the Athenians having forgotten how to employ their hands, made up that defect with their tongues; converting to base flattery that eloquence which the virtues of their ancestors had suited unto more manly arguments.

But afterwards, when Demetrius's fortune began to decline, he was no longer their god, or their deliverer, but in requital of all his former kindnesses, they basely deserted him, denied him entrance into their city, and, by a popular edict, made it death for any person so much as to propose a treaty or accommodation with him. Then the city being embroiled in civil dissensions, one Lachares seized the government, but upon the approach of Demetrius, was forced to quit his new usurped authority, and preserve himself by a timely flight.

Thus they were a second time in the possession of Demetrius, who, notwithstanding their former shameful ingratitude, received them again into favour, bestowed upon them an hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and to ingratiate himself the more with them, advanced such persons to public offices as he knew to be most ac-

[m] Demetrio.

ceptable to the people. This unexpected generosity transported them so far beyond themselves, that at the motion of Dromoclides an orator, it was decreed by the unanimous suffrage of the people, that the haven of Piræeus, and the castle of Munychia, should be put into the hands of Demetrius, to dispose of them as he pleased. And he having learned by their former inconstancy, not to repose too much trust in such humble servants, put strong garrisons into those two places, and by his own authority placed a third in the Museum, to the end (says Plutarch) that those people who had shewed so much levity in their dispositions might be kept in subjection, and not by their future perfidies be able to divert him from the prosecution of other enterprises.

But all this care was not sufficient to keep a people, restless and impatient of any thing that savoured of servitude, in obedience; for Demetrius's power being again diminished by divers bad successes, they made another revolt, expelled his garrison, and proclaimed liberty to all Athenians; and to do him the greater disgrace, they displaced Diphilius, who was that year the priest of two tutelar deities, that is, Antigonus and Demetrius, and by an edict of the people restored the priesthood to its ancient form. Again, Demetrius having recovered himself a little, and being justly enraged against them for their repeated perfidies, laid close siege to the city, but by the persuasion of Crateius, the philosopher, was wrought upon to quit it, and leave them once more in possession of their freedom.

Some time after this, Demetrius died, and was succeeded by Antigonus Gonatus, who again recovered Athens, put a garrison into it, and left it in the hands of his successor: but upon the death of Demetrius, the son of Gonatus, the Athenians made another attempt to regain their liberty, and called in Aratus to their assistance, who, though he had been signally affronted by them, and lain a long time bed-rid of an infirmity, yet rather than fail the city in a time of need, was carried thither in a litter, and prevailed with Diogenes the governor, to deliver up the Piræeus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium, to the Athenians, in consideration of an hundred and fifty talents, whereof Aratus himself gave twenty to the city. Of all these changes and successes we have a large account in Pausanias, Plutarch, and Diodorus.

Not long after this re-establishment, they quarrelled with Philip, king of Macedon, who reduced them to great extremities, laid waste their country, pulled down all the temples in the villages

around Athens, destroyed all their stately edifices, and caused his soldiers to break in pieces the very stones, that they might not be serviceable in the reparation of them; all which losses, with a great many aggravations, are elegantly set forth in an oration of the Athenian ambassadors to the Ætolians, in Livy [n]. But the Romans coming to their assistance, Philip was forced to forsake his enterprise, and, being afterwards entirely defeated, left the Grecians in a full possession of their liberty, which, at least some show of it, they enjoyed many years, under the Roman protection.

CHAP. IV.

Of the State of Athens, from its Confederacy with Rome to Constantine the Great.

The Grecians, and others that put themselves under the Roman protection, though they gilded their condition with the specious name of liberty, yet were no farther free than it pleased those in whose power they were. They were governed indeed by their own laws, and had the privilege of electing their own magistrates; yet their laws were of small force, if they seemed any way to oppose the Roman interest and good pleasure; and in the election of magistrates, and ordering public affairs, though every man might give his voice which way he pleased, yet if he thwarted the Roman designs, or was cold in his affection to them, or (which was all one) but warm in the defence of the liberties and privileges of his country, he was looked upon with a jealous eye, as a favourer of rebellion, and an enemy to the Romans.

And, for no other reason, a thousand of the most eminent Achæans, without any charge, or so much as suspicion of treachery, were sent prisoners to Rome; where, notwithstanding all the testimonies of their innocence, and the solicitations of their country, which never ceased to importune the senate for their liberty, they endured an imprisonment of seventeen years; which being expired, to the number of thirty of them were released, amongst whom was Polybius, from whose impartial history we have an account of all these proceedings, which their own historians endeavour to palliate, though they cannot deny them; all the rest either died

[n] Lib. xxx. cap. 31.

in prison, or, upon attempting to make their escape, suffered as malefactors.

And by these and such like means, whilst some sought by flattery and compliance to insinuate themselves into the favour of the Romans, others out of fear and cowardice resolved to swim with the stream, and those few that had courage and resolution to appear for their country, were little regarded. Every thing was carried on according to the desire of the Romans; and if any thing happened contrary to it, their agents presently made an appeal to the senate, which reserved to themselves a power of receiving such like complaints, and determining as they thought convenient; and they that would not submit to this decision were proceeded against as enemies, and forced by power of arms into obedience. No war was to be begun, no peace to be concluded, nor scarce their own country to be defended, without the advice and consent of the senate: they were obliged to pay what taxes the senate thought fit to impose upon them; nay, the Roman officers sometimes took the liberty of raising contributions of their own accord. And though in the Macedonian war, upon several just complaints made against them, the senate was forced to put forth a decree, that no Grecian should be obliged to pay any contribution besides such as was levied by their order; yet if any man refused to answer the demands of any Roman officer, he was looked upon as an encourager of sedition, and in the end fared little better than those that broke out into open rebellion.

In this state stood the affairs of the Athenians under the Roman government: and, whether in consideration of the easiness of this yoke, if compared with that which the Macedonians imposed upon them, or through meanness of spirit, contracted by being long accustomed to misfortunes, or for want of power to assert their liberty, or for all these reasons, they patiently submitted themselves, seeming well satisfied with the enjoyment of this slavish freedom, which in a few ages before they would have rejected with the greatest indignation, and endeavoured to deliver themselves from it, though their lives and the remainder of their fortunes should have been hazarded in the enterprise.

And from this time to the war with Mithridates they continued without any remarkable alterations; but either by the persuasions of Ariston the philosopher, or out of fear of Mithridates's army, they had the bad fortune to take his part, and receive Archestratus, one of his lieutenants, within their walls; at which Sylla be-

ing enraged, laid siege to the city, took it, and committed so merciless a slaughter, that the very channels in the streets flowed with blood. At this time the Piræeus and Munychia were burned to the ground, their walls demolished, their ancient monuments destroyed, and the whole city so defaced, that it was never able to recover its former beauty till the time of Adrian [o].

This storm being blown over, they lived in peace till the time of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, in which they sided with Pompey, and were very closely besieged by Q. Fusius Calenus, Cæsar's lieutenant, who spoiled and destroyed all the adjacent country, and seized upon the Piræeus, being at that time unfortified, and a place of little strength. But news being brought that Pompey was totally routed, they yielded themselves into the hands of the conqueror, who, according to his wonted generosity, received them into favour; and this he did out of respect to the glory and virtue of their ancestors, giving out that he pardoned the living for the sake of the dead, as Dion Cassius reports [p].

But it seems they still retained some sparks, at least, of their old love for popular government; for when Cæsar was dead, they joined themselves to Brutus and Cassius, his murderers; and besides other honours done to them, placed their statues next to those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, two famous patriots, that defended the liberty of their country against the tyranny of Pisistratus's sons.

Brutus and Cassius being defeated, they went over to Antony, who behaved himself very obligingly towards them and the rest of the Grecians, being fond, saith Plutarch [q], of being styled a lover of Greece, but above all in being called a lover of Athens, to which city he made considerable presents; and, as others tell us, gave the Athenians the dominion of the islands of Tenus, Ægina, Icus, Cea, Sciathes, and Peparethus.

Augustus having overcome Antony, handled them a little more severely, for their ingratitude to his father; and besides some other privileges, as that of selling the freedom of the city, took from them the isle of Ægina [r]. Towards the latter end of his reign they began to revolt, but were easily reduced to their former obedience; and notwithstanding all the cruelties, ravages, and other misfortunes they had suffered, Strabo, who flourished in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, tells us they enjoyed many privileges, retained their ancient form of government, and lived in a flourishing con-

[o] Plutarch. Syll. Strabo, L. ix. Lucius Florus, l. iii. c. 6. Appianus in Mithrid.
[p] Lib. xlii. [q] Antonio. [r] Dion Cassius.

dition in his days[s]. And Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius, making a journey that way, honoured them with the privilege of having a lictor, who was an officer that attended upon the chief magistrates at Rome, and was accounted a mark of sovereign power.

In this condition they remained, with little alteration, till the reign of Vespasian, who reduced Attica and all Achaia to be a Roman province, exacting tribute of them, and compelling them to be governed by the Roman laws.

Under Nerva, some shadow, at least, of liberty was restored them; but they were still under the government of a proconsul, and received most of their laws from the emperor, who also nominated the professors in their public schools, and appointed them archons: and hence it came to pass, that Adrian, before his advancement to the empire, was invested in that office. In the same state they continued in Trajan's time, as appears from an epistle of Pliny to Maximus, who was sent to govern Achaia, wherein he advised him to use his power with moderation, and tells him in particular of the Athenians, that it would be a barbarous piece of inhumanity to deprive them of that shadow and name of liberty which was all that remained to them[t].

But notwithstanding the peace and privileges they enjoyed under these and other emperors of Rome, they were never able to repair those vast losses they had suffered under Sylla, till the reign of Adrian, who, in the time of his being archon, took a particular affection to this city; and when he was promoted to be emperor, granted them very large privileges, gave them just and moderate laws, bestowed on them a large donative of money, and annual provisions of corn, and the whole island of Cephalenia; repaired their old decayed castles, and restored them to their ancient splendour, and added one whole region of new buildings at his own charge, which he called Adrianopolis, and New Athens, as appears as well from other records, as also from an inscription upon an aqueduct, begun by this emperor, and finished by his successor Antoninus.

IMP. CÆSAR. T. ÆLIUS. HADRIANUS. ANTONINUS.
AUG. PIUS. COS. III. TRIB. POT. II. P. P.
AQUÆDUCTUM. IN. NOVIS. ATHENIS. COEPTUM. A. DIVO.
ADRIANO. PATRE. SUO. CONSUMMAVIT. DEDICAVITQUE[v].

The meaning of which is, that Antoninus had finished the aque-

[s] Geogr. lib. ix. [t] Plin. lib. vii. epist. 24. [u] Gruter. p. 177.

duct in New Athens, that had been begun by his father and predecessor Hadrian. And from another of Gruter's inscriptions, it appears that they acknowledged him to be the second founder of their city.

ΑΙ Δ ΕΙΖ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ Η ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ
ΑΙ Δ ΕΙΖ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ Κ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ [w].

The substance of which is, that Athens was formerly the city of Theseus, but New Athens belongs to Adrian. Many other privileges this emperor granted them, which were continued and enlarged by his successors M. Antoninus Pius, and M. Antoninus the philosopher, the latter of which allowed them stipends for the maintenance of public professors in arts and sciences, and was himself initiated amongst them.

But Severus, having received some affront from them when he was a private person, and studied in Athens, was resolved to pay them home as soon as he was emperor; and for no other reason, as it is thought, deprived them of a great part of their privileges [x].

Valerian was more favourable to them, and permitted them to rebuild their city walls, which had lain in rubbish between three and four hundred years, from the time that Sylla dismantled them [y].

But these fortifications could not protect them from the fury of the Goths, who under Gallienus, as Zosmus, or Claudius, as Cedrenus, reports, made themselves masters of it; but were soon driven out of their new conquest by Cleodemus, who, having escaped the fury of those barbarians, and got together a considerable number of men and ships, defeated part of them in a sea fight, and forced the rest to quit the city, and provide for their safety by an early flight [z]. One thing remarkable Cedrenus reports of the Goths, that when they had plundered the city, and heaped up an infinite number of books, with a design to burn them, they desisted from that purpose for this reason, viz. that the Greeks, by employing their time upon them, might be diverted from martial affairs.

CHAP. VII.

Of the State of Athens from Constantine the Great.

Towards the declination of the Roman greatness, the chief magistrate of Athens was called by the name of Στρατηγὸς, *i. e. Duke*;

[w] Gruter. p. 178. [x] Spartianus. [y] Zosimus. [z] Zonaras.

but Constantine the Great, besides many other privileges granted to the city, honoured him with the title of Μέγας Στρατηγὸς, or *Grand Duke*[a]. Constantius, at the request of Proæresius, enlarged their dominions, by a grant of several islands in the Archipelago.

Under Arcadius and Honorius, Alaric, king of the Goths, made an incursion into Greece, pillaged and destroyed all before him; but as Zosimus reports, was diverted from his design upon Athens by a vision, wherein the tutelar goddess of that city appeared to him in armour, and in the form of those statues which are dedicated to Minerva the Protectress, and Achilles, in the same manner that Homer represents him, when being enraged for the death of Patroclus, he fell with his utmost fury upon the Trojans[b]. But the writers of those times make no mention of any such thing: on the contrary, they tell us, that Athens suffered the common fate of the rest of Greece; and so Claudian reports;

> *Si tunc his animis acies collata fuisset,*
> *Prodita non tantas vidisset Græcia clades,*
> *Oppida semoto Pelopeia Marte vigerent;*
> *Starent Arcadiæ, starent Lacedæmonis arces;*
> *Non mare flagrâsset geminum flagrante Corintho;*
> *Nec fera Cecropias traxissent vincula matres*[c].
>
> Had thus th' embattled Grecians dar'd to oppose
> With rage and pow'r divine their barbarous foes,
> Ne'er had their land, of strength and help bereft,
> To cruel conqu'rors a rich prey been left.
> The Spartan land had ne'er such havoc seen,
> Its splendour ne'er eclips'd, or pow'r depress'd had been.
> Arcadian flocks had graz'd untainted food,
> And free from plunder Pelops' isle had stood,
> Corinth's proud structures ne'er had felt the flames,
> Nor griping chains enslav'd th' Athenian dames. J. A.

And Synesius, who lived in the same age, tells us, there was nothing left in it splendid or remarkable, nothing to be admired, besides the famous names of ancient ruins; and that, as in a sacrifice, when the body is consumed, there remains nothing of the beast but an empty skin; so it was in Athens, where all the stately and magnificent structures were turned into ruinous heaps, and nothing but old decayed outsides left remaining[d].

Theodosius II. is said to have favoured the Athenians, upon the account of his queen Eudosia, who was an Athenian by birth. Justinian also is reported to have been very kind to them; but from his reign, for the space of about seven hundred years, either for want of historians in ages so rude and barbarous, or because

[a] Julian. Orat. i. Nicephorus Gregoras Hist. Rom. lib. v. [b] Zosimus, lib. v.
[c] Claudian. in Ruffinum, lib. ii. [d] Synesius, Ep. 235.

they lived in peace and obscurity, without achieving or suffering any thing deserving to be transmitted to posterity; there is no account of any thing that passed between them till the 13th century.

At that time, Nicetas tells us, Athens was in the hands of Baldwin, and was besieged by one of the generals of Theodorus Lascares, who was then the Greek emperor, but he was repulsed with loss, and forced to raise the siege. Not long after, it was besieged by the Marquis Bonifacius, who made himself master of it[e].

It was afterwards governed by one Delves, of the house of Arragon; and after his death fell into the hands of Bajazet, emperor of the Turks[f]. Afterwards it was taken by the Spaniards of Catalonia, under the command of Andronicus Palæologus the elder[g]. And these are the same that Chalcocondylas calls Κελτίβηρες, and reports, they were dispossessed of it by Reinerius Acciaiolo, a Florentine, who, having no legitimate male issue, left it by his last will and testament to the state of Venice.

The Venetians were not long masters of it, being dispossessed by Antony, a natural son of Reinerius, who had given him the sovereignty of Thebes and Bœotia; and from this time it continued some years under the government of the Acciaioli: for Antony was succeeded by one of his kinsmen, called Nerius. Nerius was displaced by his brother Antony for his insufficiency and unfitness to govern; and after Antony's death, recovered it again; but leaving only one son, then an infant, was succeeded by his wife, who, for her folly, was ejected by Mahomet, upon the complaint of Francus, the son of Antony the second, who succeeded her; and having confined her some time in prison, put her to death, and was upon that score accused by her son Mahomet II. who sent an army under the conduct of Omares to besiege him. Francus, upon this, made his application to the Latins; but they refused to grant him any assistance, except he would engage his subjects in all things to conform to the Romish superstition, and renounce all those articles, wherein the Greek church differs from them; which he not being able to do, was forced to surrender it to the Turks, in the year of our Lord 1455[h], and in their hands it continues to this day.

[e] Nicetas Choniates in vita Balduini.
[f] Laonic. Chalcocondylas, lib. iii.
[g] Niceph. Greg. lib. vii.
[h] Chalcocond. lib. vi. et ix.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the City of Athens, and its Walls, Gates, Streets, Buildings, &c.

THE city of Athens, when it flourished in its greatest splendour, was one of the fairest and largest cities of all Greece, being, says Aristides, a day's journey in compass [i]. But, according to the most exact computation, the whole circuit of it contained about 178 stadia, that is, something above two and twenty Roman miles.

But many were the changes of government and fortune which it underwent before it arrived to this pitch of greatness; for at the first, that which was afterwards the citadel was the whole city, and was called Cecropia, from its first founder Cecrops, who, they say, was the first that invented the manner of building cities; and therefore the Athenians, proud of every little pretence to antiquity, used to call it by way of eminence ἄςυ, and πόλις, as being the first city [k]. Afterwards it changed its name of Cecropia, and was called Athens in Erichthonius's reign; for which several reasons are given; but the most common is, that the name is taken from Minerva, whom the Greeks call Αθήνη, because she was the protectress of the city: indeed almost all towers and citadels were sacred to this goddess, who is therefore by Catullus called,

> ——— *Diva tenens in summis urbibus arces,*
> ——— Goddess that in citadels doth dwell.

And Eustathius hath remarked the same upon Homer's 6th Iliad, where he tells us, Minerva's temple was in the Trojan citadel:

> Νηὸν Αθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ [l].
> Minerva's temple in the citadel.

Cecropia was seated in the midst of a large and pleasant plain, upon the top of a high rock; for, as the fore-mentioned author observes, it was usual for the first founders of cities in those ages to lay the foundations of them upon steep rocks and high mountains; and this they did, partly for that such places were a good defence against invaders, but more especially because they hoped to be secured by them from inundations [m], which the people of those times exceedingly dreaded, having heard and experienced the sad effects of them under Ogyges and Deucalion. Afterwards, when the number of inhabitants was increased, the whole plain

i Panathen.
k Stephanus, v. Αθῆναι.
l Pag. 483, edit. Basil.
m Iliad, γ', p. 384.

was filled with buildings, which were called, from their situation, ἡ κάτω πόλις, or the lower city; and Cecropia was then named ἡ ἄνω πόλις, or Ἀκρόπολις, the upper city.

The circuit of the citadel was threescore stadia: it was fenced in with wooden pales, or, as some say, was set about with olive trees; and therefore, in Xerxes's invasion, when the oracle advised the Athenians to defend themselves with walls of wood, some were of opinion they were commanded to enter into the Acropolis, and there receive the enemy; which some of them did, but after a desperate resistance, were overpowered by numbers, and forced to suffer the sad effects of their fond interpretation[n].

It was fortified with a strong wall, one part of which was built by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, out of the spoils taken in the Persian war, and was called Κιμώνιον τεῖχος, being on the south side of the citadel[o].

The north wall was built many ages before, by Agrolas, says Pausanias, or, according to Pliny, by Euryalus and Hyperbius, two brothers, who first taught the Athenians the art of building houses, whereas, till that time, they lived in caves. They were Tyrrhenians born; and by that nation all sorts of building are said to have been first begun in Greece; and from them walls and castles were called Τύρσεις[p]. This wall was named Πελασγικὸν, or Πελαργικὸν, because the founders of it were called Pelasgi, from their continual wandering, and removing from one country to another, in the manner of storks, which the Greeks call Πελαργοί[q]. Thucydides tells us there was an execration laid upon any that should build houses under this wall; because the Pelasgi, whilst they dwelt there, entered into a conspiracy against the Athenians[r]. And Pollux adds, that it was unlawful to make ditches, or sow corn here; and if any man was taken offending, he was apprehended by the nomothetæ, and brought before the archon, who was to lay a fine of three drachms upon him[s]. It was beautified with nine gates, and therefore it is sometimes called Ἐννεάπυλον; but though there were many lesser gates, yet the citadel had but one great fore-gate, or entrance, to which they ascended by steps covered with white marble; and it was built by Pericles, with

[n] Syrianus in Herm. Cornel. Nep.
[o] Plutarch. in Cimone.
[p] Phavorin. v. Τύρσις.
[q] Strabo, lib. ix. Plin. lib. vii. lvi. et Pausanias Atticis.
[r] Thucydides ejusq. Scholiast. lib. ii.
[s] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9.

such magnificence, that the expences of it amounted to above a thousand drachms[t].

The inside of the citadel was adorned with innumerable edifices, statues, and monuments, wherein all the ancient stories were described at large, insomuch that Aristides tells us it looked like one continued ornament[u]. The description of all these would be tedious, and is already performed by Meursius, who hath, with vast industry, collected into one body all the relics of antiquity which lay dispersed here and there in ancient authors. The most remarkable of them were these:

The temple of Minerva, called Νίκη, or Victory, in which the goddess was represented, having a pomegranate in her right hand, and an helmet in her left, and without wings, in memory of Theseus's good success in Crete, the fame whereof had not reached Athens before his arrival; but in other places Victory was usually represented with wings[x]. It was placed at the right hand of the entrance of the citadel, and was built with white marble.

About the middle of the citadel was the stately temple of Minerva, called Parthenion; because that goddess preserved her virginity pure and inviolate, or because it was dedicated by the daughters of Erechtheus, who were peculiarly called Παρθένοι[y], *virgins.* It was called also Ἑκατόμπεδον, because it was an hundred feet square. It was burnt by the Persians, but restored again by Pericles, and enlarged fifty feet on each side[z]. Sir George Wheeler reports, that it is two hundred and seventeen feet nine inches long, and ninety-eight feet six inches broad; and it consists altogether of admirable white marble, and both for matter and art is the most beautiful piece of antiquity remaining in the world.

The temple of Neptune, surnamed Erechtheus, which was a double building, and, besides other curiosities, contained the salt spring called Ἐρεχθηΐς, which was feigned to have burst out of the earth from a stroke of Neptune's trident in his contention with Minerva. And this part was consecrated to Neptune. The other part of the temple belonged to Minerva, surnamed Πολιάς, i. e. *protectress of the city*; and Πάνδροσος, from one of Cecrops' daughters of that name. Here was the sacred olive produced by Minerva; and the goddess's image, which was said to have fallen from heaven in Erichthonius's reign. It was kept by one or two

[t] Plutarchus Pericle. Pausan. Atticis. Harpocrat. et Suidas, v. Προπύλαια.

[u] Aristides in Panathenaica.

[x] Suidas et Harpocrat.

[y] Hesychius.

[z] Pausanias.

I. p. 36



PARTHENION SIVE TEMPLUM MINERVÆ.

dragons, called οἰκουροὶ ὄφεις, and had a lamp always burning with oil, and an owl placed before it[a]. Both of them remain to this day; and the lesser edifice, which is an entrance to the other, is twenty-nine feet long, and twenty-one feet three inches broad; the bigger is sixty-three feet and a half long, and thirty-six feet broad. The roof is supported by Ionic pillars channelled; but the chapiters seem to be a mixtnre between that and the Doric order.

On the back side of Minerva's temple was the public treasury, called from its situation Ὀπισθόδομος, wherein, besides other public money, a thousand talents were laid in store, against any very urgent occasion; but if any man expended them upon a trivial account, he was to be put to death. Also the names of all that were indebted to the commonwealth were entered in a register in this place; and therefore such persons were called ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει: as on the contrary, when they had discharged their debt, they were named ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως ἐξαληλιμμένοι. The tutelar gods of this treasury were Jupiter Σωτὴρ, or the Saviour; and Plutus, the god of riches, whom they represented with wings, and (which was unusual in other places) seeing[b]. Aristophanes had taken notice of the statues of both these gods, in the latter end of his Plutus, where he introduces Carion very busy in placing that god, after the recovery of his sight, next to the statue of Jupiter the saviour.

ΚΑΡ. Θάῤῥει, καλῶς γὰρ ἔσαι, ἢν Θεὸς θέλῃ,
'Ο Ζεὺς ὁ Σωτὴρ γὰρ πάρεστιν ἐνθάδε
Αὐτόματος ἥκων. ΙΕΡ. πάντ' ἀγαθὰ τοίνυν λέγεις.
ΚΑΡ. Ἱδρυσόμεθ' οὖν αὐτίκ', ἀλλὰ περίμενε
Πλοῦτον, οὗπερ πρότερον ἦν ἱδρυμένος,
Τὸν Ὀπισθόδομον ἀεὶ φυλάττων τῆς Θεοῦ.

Cario. Come, courage, on God's will depends success,
Which I divine will answer to our hopes,
For doth not Jove, our president's approach
Without entreaty seem thus to presage?
Priest. Your words bring comfort. *Car.* Therefore let us wait
For Plutus' coming, him we'll substitute
An overseer in the place of Jove,
To keep Minerva's treasury secure. J. A.

Afterwards this building was burnt to the ground by the treasurers, who having embezzled the public money, secured themselves by that means, and prevented the city from calling them to account. There were also several other remarkable edifices in the

[a] Apollodor. lib. iii. Plut. Symp. lib. ix. q. 6. Thucyd. lib. ii. Philostrat. Εἰκόν. lib. ii. Demosth. Schol. Orat. iii. in Timocrat.

[b] Aristoph. Schol. Plut. Etymologus. [c] Demost. ejusq. Schol. Orat. in Timocrat.

citadel, as the chapels of Jupiter Σωτὴρ, and of Minerva Σώτειρα [d]. The temple of Agraulos, the daughter of Cecrops, or rather of Minerva, worshipped by that name, in the front and steep side of the rock [e]. And, to mention only one more, the temple of Venus Ἱππολύτεια, consecrated by Phædra when she was in love with Hippolitus [f]. And thus much concerning the citadel.

The lower city, containing all the buildings which surrounded the citadel, with the fort Munychia, and the two havens, Phalerum and Piræeus, was encompassed with walls of unequal strength, being built at different times, and by different hands. The chief parts of them were the Μακρὰ τείχη, which joined the haven of Piræeus to the city, being about five miles in length; and therefore Plutarch calls them Μακρὰ σκέλη, *long legs* [g], and Propertius *long* arms.

> *Inde ubi Piræei capient me litora portûs,*
> *Scandam ego Theseæ brachia longa viæ* [h].
>
> When I've arriv'd at the Piræan port,
> And eas'd the shatter'd vessel of its load,
> I'll scale the walls of the Thesean road. J. A.

They consisted of two sides, one of which lay towards the north, and was built by Pericles [i], with vast expence, containing forty stadia; the other lay to the south, and was called Νότιον τεῖχος, or παρὰ μέσου τειχη, or Νότιον παρὰ μέσου τεῖχος, to distinguish it from the south wall of the citadel; sometimes τειχος Φαληρικὸν, because it took in the port Phalerum. It was built by Themistocles, of huge square stones, not cemented together by mortar, but fastened by iron and lead. The height of it was forty cubits, and yet was but the half of what Themistocles designed; the length of it was thirty-five stadia. Upon both of them was erected a great number of turrets, which were turned into dwelling-houses when the Athenians became so numerous that the city was not large enough to contain them [k]. The Μουνύχιον, or wall that encompassed the Munychia, and joined it to the Piræeus, contained sixty stadia; and the exterior wall on the other side of the city was in length forty-three stadia; so that the whole circuit of the city contained one hundred and seventy-eight stadia, which are something above two-and-twenty Roman miles.

1. The principal gates of the city were the Πύλαι Θριάσιαι, after-

[d] Lycurg. Orat. in Leocratem.
[e] Herodot. lib. viii.
[f] Euripid. Schol. in Hippolyto.
[g] Cimone.
[h] Lib. iii. Eleg.
[i] Plut. Pericle.
[k] Plutarch. Themistocl. Appian. in Mithrid. Thucyd. lib. i. et ii.

wards called Δίπυλον because they were larger than any of the rest. They were placed at the entrance of Ceramicus, and therefore seem to have been the same with the Πύλαι Κεραμεικȣ̃ in Philostratus [l].

2. Πύλαι Πειραïκαὶ, leading to the Piræeus; near which was the temple of the hero Chalcodoon, and the tombs of those that died in the defence of their country, when the Amazons invaded Attica under Theseus [m].

3. Ιππάδες, near which Hyperides the orator, and his family, were buried [n].

4. Ηρίαι, where they carried forth dead persons to their graves, so called from ἠρίον, *a grave* [o].

5. Ιεραὶ, the gate leading to Eleusis, through which they that celebrated the festival of Ceres Eleusinia made a solemn procession; from which custom the gate received its name, it being usual to call every thing that was any way concerned in those mysteries, ἱερὸν, *sacred*.

6. Αἰγέως πύλαι, the gate of Ægeus, the father of Theseus, whose house stood in the place where afterwards the Delphinium was built; and therefore the statue of Mercury, at the east end of the temple, was called Ἑρμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις, by which it is evident that this gate was near the Delphinium [p].

7. Διοχαρȣ̃ς πύλαι, the gate of Diochares.

8. Πύλαι Αχαρνικαὶ, the gate that looked towards Acharna, a borough in Attica.

9. Διόμεια, that lay towards the borough of the Diomians.

10. Πύλαι Θράκιαι, the Thracian gate.

11. Πύλαι Ιτωνίαι, the Itonian gate, near which was the pillar erected in memory of the Amazons [q].

12. Πύλαι Σκαιαὶ, the Scæan gate [r].

13. Αδριανȣ̃ πύλαι, the gate of Adrian, by which they entered into that part of the city which that emperor rebuilt, and called Αδριανόπολις.

As to the streets in Athens, this much is said of them in general, that they were not very uniform or beautiful [s]; and though Homer calls it εὐρυάγυιαν,

Ἱκέτο δ' εἰς Μαραθῶνα, καὶ εὐρυάγυιαν Αθήνην [t],

Yet that seems only to imply the bigness, and not the beauty of

[l] Philostratus in Philagro Sophist. lib. ii. Xenophon Hist. Græc. lib. ii. Plutarch. Pericle et Sylla.
[m] Plutarch. Theseo. [n] Hesychius.
[o] Theophrastus Charact. Ethic.
[p] Plutarch. Theseo.
[q] Æschines Philosophus in Axiocho.
[r] Hildusinus in Vita Dionysii Areopagit.
[s] Dicæarchus in descript. Græciæ.
[t] Odyss. vii.

them; for so that poet has used the same epithet in other places. The number of them, without question, was very great; but most of their names are quite lost; and few, if any, besides these that follow, are to be met with in authors. Ἱερὰ Συκῆ, or the way to Eleusis. Ὁδὸς Θησεία, betwixt the long walls, leading to the Piræeus; which seems to be the same with that which was called Η εἰς Πειραιᾶ. Η τῶν πολεμίων, near the Academy. Η τῶν Ερμογλύφων. Η τῶν Κιβωτοποιῶν. Η Εςία. Η Ξενικῆ. Μυρμήκων ὁδὸς. Ῥύμη τρίτη.

Τρίποδης, a way near the Prytaneum, wherein were places largely stocked with tripods of brass, curiously wrought; amongst which was the famous satyr, called by the Greeks Περίβοητος, being one of the masterpieces of Praxiteles. And concerning these Heliodorus is said to have written an entire treatise [u].

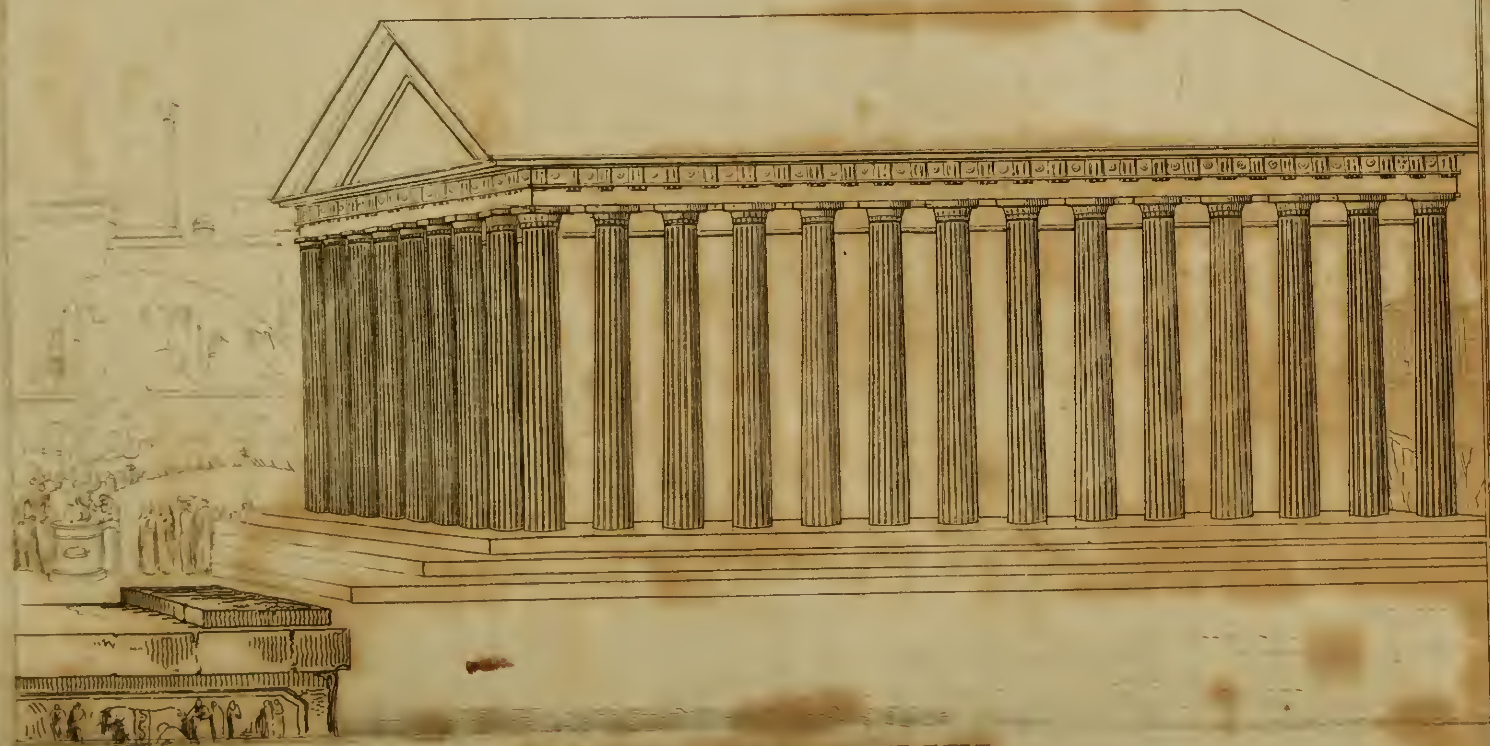
It remains, in the next place, that I give you an account of the buildings of the lower city; in doing which, I shall only mention such as were most remarkable, or had some history or custom depending upon them; for the rest referring the reader to Pausanias and Meursius's larger treatises.

Πομπεῖον, a stately edifice, in which were kept the sacred utensils made use of at festivals, and all things necessary for the solemn processions prepared. It was placed at the entrance of the old city, which looks towards Phalerum, and adorned with many statues of the Athenian heroes. Indeed there was scarce any place in the city that was not filled with such like representations.

The temple of Vulcan, or of Vulcan and Minerva, not far from Ceramicus within the city, seems to have been a public prison, frequent mention being made of persons tortured there.

Near this place was the temple of the heavenly Venus; for they had a two-fold Venus, one of which was called Οὐρανία, and the other Πάνδημος; the former presided over chaste and pure love; the latter was the patroness of lust and debauchery. And as their natures and characters were different, so were also the ceremonies used in their worship. They that worshipped the former, behaved themselves with all modesty and gravity; but the latter was pleased only with lewdness and wantonness. Whence Solon permitted public strumpets to prostitute themselves in her temple. Besides these, Venus had several other temples, as those which were erected upon the account of Demetrius Poliorcetes, to Venus Lamia, and Leæna, in honour of two of his mistresses called by those names. Nay, so gross flattery did the Athenians degenerate into, that they

[u] Harpocr. v. Ονήτωρ.



TEMPLUM THESEI.

Drawn & Engraved by W. H. Lizars Edin.

enrolled several of his parasites in the number of their deities, and honoured them with temples and altars [x].

The temple of Theseus was erected by Conon, in the middle of the city, near the place where the youth performed their wrestlings, and other exercises of body, and was allowed the privilege of being a sanctuary for slaves, and all those of mean condition that fled from the persecution of men in power, in memory that Theseus, while he lived, was an assister and protector of the distressed. And a great many other temples were consecrated to him in his lifetime, as grateful acknowledgments of the benefits he had conferred upon the city; all which, four only excepted, he dedicated to Hercules, and changed their names from Θήσεια to Ἡράκλεια, after he had been rescued by him from the king of the Molossians, as Plutarch reports out of Philochorus [y]. One of these was put to divers other uses; for certain magistrates were created in it by the thesmothetæ [z]. Causes also were heard there, and it was a public prison [a], and therefore a gaol-bird is wittily called Θησειότριψ, in Aristophanes: such an one Plautus, with no less elegancy, names *Colonus Carceris*.

The temple of Theseus is to be seen at this day, and is built, as Sir George Wheeler reports, in all respects like the temple of Minerva is the citadel, as to its matter, form, and order of architecture, but not so large. It is dedicated to St George, and still remains a masterpiece of architecture, not easy to be paralleled, much less exceeded, by any other.

Ἀνάκειον, or the temple of Castor and Pollux, called Ἄνακες. In this place slaves were exposed to sale.

Ὀλύμπιον, Ὀλυμπιεῖον, a temple erected in honour of Jupiter the Olympian: it was the most magnificent structure in Athens, being in circuit no less than four stadia, which was the reason they were forced to support it with pillars, a thing unknown in Athens before that time [b]. The foundations were laid by Pisistratus, and many succeding governors contributed to the building of it; but it was never completely finished till Adrian's time, which was seven hundred years after the tyranny of Pisistratus.

The temple of Apollo and Pan, at the bottom of the citadel on the north side, in a cave or grotto, called Μακραὶ πέτραι, or Κεκροπίαι πέτραι, where Apollo was feigned to have deflowered Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus: we find it mentioned in Euripides:

[x] Plutarch. in Demetrio.
[y] Idem Theseo.
[z] Æschin. Orat. in Ctesiphont.
[a] Etymologus.
[b] Plin. 36. cap. vi.

——————— οἶσθα Κεκροπίας πέτρας
Πρόσβοῤῥον ἄντρον, ἃς Μακρὰς κικλήσκομεν;
Οἶδ', ἔνθα Πανὸς ἄδυτον καὶ βωμοὶ πέλας [c].

I do behold the ark, wherein of old
I laid thee, O my son, an infant babe,
And in the caves of Cecrops, with the rocks
Of Macrai roof'd, expos'd thee. POTTER.

The temple of Diana, surnamed Λυσίζωνος, because in it women, after their first child, used to dedicate their girdles to her [d].

Πάνθεον, was a temple dedicated to all the gods, who, as they were united in one temple, so were they honoured with one common festival, called Θεοξένια. This was a very magnificent structure, and supported by an hundred and twenty marble pillars: on the outside were all the histories of the gods, curiously engraven; and upon the great gate stood two horses, excellently carved by Praxiteles. It is to be seen at this day, as Theodorus Zygomalas reports in an epistle to Martin Crucius, written A. D 1575, wherein he describes the then present state of Athens.

The temple of the Eight Winds, omitted by Pausanias, but mentioned and described by Sir George Wheeler out of Vitruvius, who reports, that such as had made exact observations about the winds, divided them into eight; as, namely, Andronicus Cyrrhastes, who gave this model to the Athenians; for he built a tower of eight square, of marble, on every side of which he carved the figure of a wind, according to the quarter it blew from. On the top of the tower he erected a little pyramid of marble, on the point of which was placed a brazen triton, holding a switch in his right hand, wherewith turning about, he pointed to the wind that then blew. All the winds answered exactly to the compass, and were represented by figures answerable to their natures, above which were written their names in large Greek letters, which are these that follow: ΕΥΡΟΣ, *Eurus*, south-east. ΑΠΗΛΙΩΤΗΣ, *Subsolanus*, east. ΚΑΙΚΙΑΣ, *Cæcias*, north-east. ΒΟΡΕΑΣ, *Boreas*, north. ΣΚΙΡΩΝ, *Corus*, north-west. ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ, *Occidens*, west. ΝΟΤΟΣ, *Notus*, south. ΛΙΨ, *Libs*, *Africus*, south-west. This tower remains yet entire, the weather-cock only excepted.

Στοαὶ, or porticoes, they had a great many, but the most remarkable was that which was called Πεισιανάκτιος, and afterwards Ποικίλη, from the variety it contained of curious pictures, drawn by the greatest masters in Greece; such were Polygnotus, Mycon, and Pandænus, the brother of Phidias. Here it was that Zeno taught philosophy, and instituted that sect which received their names from this place, being called Στοικοὶ, from Στοά. And the portico

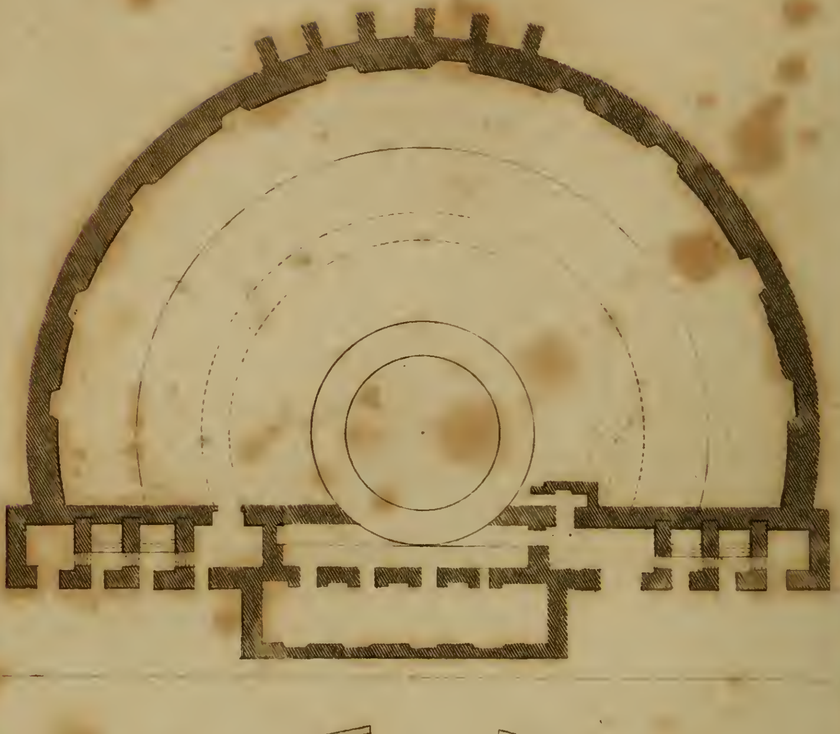
[c] Ione. [d] Apollonii Schol. lib. i.



TEMPLE OF THE EIGHT WINDS.

Edinburgh Published by Doig Stirling & Slade 1818.





Area of the Theatre of
BACCHUS.

Odeum or
MUSIC THEATRE

Edinburgh Published by Doig Stirling & Slade 1818.

itself is usually put for that sect of philosophers, as when Athenæus calls Zeno τῆς Στοᾶς κτιστὴν, the founder of the Stoics [c].

Μουσεῖον was a fort near the citadel, so called from the old poet Musæus, the scholar of Orpheus, that used to repeat his verses in this place, where also he was buried. This fort was forced by Antigonus to entertain a garrison; and his son Demetrius, to make it the more secure, surrounded it with a wall.

Ωδεῖον was a music theatre, built by Pericles, and for the contrivance of it on the inside, was full of seats and ranges of pillars; and on the outside, in the roof or covering of it, was made from one point at the top with a great many bendings, all shelving downward; and it is reported (says Plutarch), that it was so framed in imitation of the king of Persia's pavilion [f]. Here was also a tribunal, as we learn from Aristophanes;

> Οἱ μὲν ἡμῶν οὗπερ Αρχων· οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοὺς 'Ενδέκα.
> Οἱ δ' ἐν Ωδείῳ δικάζουσ'———— [g].

It was very much beautified by Lycurgus [h], but being demolished in the Mithridatic war [i], was re-edified by Herodes Atticus, with such splendour and magnificence, that, as Pausanias tells us, it surpassed all the famous buildings in Greece. It stood in the Ceramicus, of which name there were two places, so called from Ceramus the son of Bacchus and Ariadne [k]; or ἀπὸ τῆς κεραμεικῆς τέχνης, from the potter's art, which was first invented in one of these places by Corœbus. One of them was within the city, and contained innumerable buildings, as temples, theatres, porticoes, &c. The other was in the suburbs, and was a public burying place, and contained the Academy, and many other edifices.

The Athenian ἀγοραὶ, or *fora*, were very numerous; but the most noted of them were two, the old forum and the new. The new forum was in a place called Ερετρία by Strabo [l]; which it is probable was not far from Zeno's portico, because Pausanias tells us that in his time the forum was near that place. The old forum was in the Ceramicus within the city, called ἀρχαία Αγορά. In it were held the public assemblies of the people; but the chief design of it was for the meeting of people to buy and sell; and therefore it was divided into different parts, according to the wares exposed to sale; for every trade had a different place assigned to make their markets in; and hence we read of Κύκλος, where slaves and vassals were sold [m]; Αλφιτόπωλις ἀγορὰ, ἰχθυόπωλις ἀγορὰ, and Γυναικεία ἀγορὰ, where women's clothes and ornaments were exposed; and

[c] Deip. lib. viii.
[f] Plutarch. in Pericle.
[g] Vespis.
[h] Hyperid. Orat. pro Lycurgo.
[i] Appian. in Mithridatico.
[k] Pausan. Suidas. Plin. lib. vii. cap. 56.
[l] Strabo, lib. ix.
[m] Hesych.

others without number. Sometimes they called the *fora* by the single names of things sold in them, as Οἶνος, the wine market, Ελαίον, the oil market, &c.[n] An instance of this we have in these verses of Eupolis;

> Περιῆλθον ἐις τὰ σκόροδα, κ) τὰ κρόμμυα,
> Καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν, κ' εὐθὺ τῶν ἀρωμάτων,
> Καὶ περὶ τὰ γέλγη ————

The time in which things were exposed to sale, was called πλήθȣσα Αγορὰ, full market, from the multitudes of people that assembled at such times; and there seems to have been different hours appointed for particular wares, which I suppose is the reason that Suidas, in some places, tells us, the full market was at the third hour, in others that it was the fourth, fifth, and sixth.

And besides these places, the tradesmen had their Βȣλευτήρια, or public halls, wherein each company met, and consulted about their affairs. For trades were very much encouraged at Athens; and if any man objected the living by such gain to another, as a matter of reproach, the person affronted might have an action of slander against him[o]. 'Nay, trades were so far from being accounted a mean and ignoble way of living, that persons of the greatest quality did not disdain to betake themselves to such employments, and especially to merchandise, as Plutarch informs us. Solon (says he) applied himself to merchandise, though some there are that report, that he travelled rather to get learning and experience, than to raise an estate. In the time of Hesiod, a trade was not dishonourable, nor did it debase its followers; but merchandise was a worthy calling, which brought home the good things that barbarous nations enjoyed, was the occasion of friendship with their kings, and mother of experience. Some merchants have built great cities, as the founder of Massilia, that man so much esteemed by the Gauls, that lived about the Rhine; some also report, that Thales, and Hippocrates the mathematician, traded; and that Plato defrayed the charges of his travels by selling oil in Egypt.' Thus Plutarch[p].

Aqueducts were not common at Athens before the Roman times; and the want of them was supplied by wells, some of which were dug by private persons, others at the public expence; but because the country having but few potable rivers (for Eridanus, Strabo[q] telleth us, was muddy, and not fit for use), lakes or large springs, was but poorly furnished with water, which gave occasion to con-

[n] Pollux, lib. ix. cap. 5.
[o] Demosth. Orat. in Eubulidem.
[p] Plutarchus, Solone.
[q] Lib. ix.

tinual quarrels amongst the citizens. Solon enacted a law, that where there was a public well within an hippocon (that is, four furlongs), all should have the privilege of drawing at that; but those that lived at a greater distance should be obliged to provide a private well; and if they had dug ten fathom deep, and could find no water, they had liberty to fetch ten gallons a-day from their neighbour's; for he thought it prudent (saith my author) to make provision against want, but not to encourage idleness [r]. Adrian, besides other magnificent structures, laid the foundations of a stately aqueduct, which was finished by his successor Antoninus: and one part of it remains to this day, sustained by Ionic pillars; which Sir George Wheeler is of opinion was the frontispiece of the repository, or receiver of the water.

Gymnasia are said to have been first in use at Lacedæmon, but were afterwards very common in all the parts of Greece, and imitated, very much augmented, and improved at Rome. They were not single edifices, but a knot of buildings united, being so capacious as to hold many thousands of people at once, and having room enough for philosophers, rhetoricians, and the professors of all other sciences, to read their lectures; and wrestlers, dancers, and all others that would, to exercise at the same time, without the least disturbance or interruption. They consisted of a great many parts, the chief of which were these:

1. *Στοαὶ*, the porticoes, which were full of *ἐξέδραι*, and side buildings furnished with seats, and fit for study or discourse; and here it is probable the scholars used to meet.

2. *Εφήβειον*, the place where the ephebi, or youths, exercised; or as some say, where those that designed to exercise met, and agreed what kind of exercise they should contend in, and what should be the victor's reward.

3. *Κορίκειον, ἀποδυτήριον, γυμναστήριον*, the undressing-room.

4. *Ελαιοθέσιον, ἀλειπτήριον*, the place where those that were to wrestle, or had bathed, were anointed.

5. *Κονιστήριον, κονίστρα*, the place where the dust, with which they besprinkled those that had been anointed, was kept.

6. *Παλαίστρα*, which sometimes is taken for the whole gymnasium, in its proper acceptation signifies the place wherein all the exercises of the *Πένταθλον*, or (say others) only wrestling, and the *Παγκράτιον* were performed; and lest the combatants should slip, or hurt themselves by falling, the bottom of it was covered with

[r] Plutarchus, Solone.

dust or gravel. Also there was another room in the gymnasium, filled with gravel, much deeper than that in the palæstra.

7. Σφαιριστήριον, a place appointed for divers sorts of exercises, but more especially for the ball.

8. The spaces between the porticoes and the wall, left void to admit the light, and the area of the Περιστύλιον, or piazza, which was a large place square, or sometimes oblong, in the middle of the gymnasium, designed for walking, and the performance of those exercises which were not practised in the palæstra, or the deeper sand, or any other place in the gymnasium, such were (as some are of opinion) leaping, and the discus.

9. Ξύστοι, and Ξύστα, which were distinct places both in Greece and Rome. Xysti were places covered at the top, designed for the exercise of wrestlers, when the weather did not permit them to contend in the open air. Xysta, sometimes called Περιδρομίδες, were walks open at the top, designed for exercises or recreation in the heat of summer, and milder seasons of the winter.

10. The baths, in which were waters hot and cold in different degrees: and in these they refreshed themselves, when they were wearied with exercise, and at other times. Amongst the ancient Greeks, baths were not much frequented, being rarely used but after the accomplishment of some very great work which required abundance of labour and toil, as the ending of a war, or achieving any great and painful enterprise[s]. And thus Agamemnon, after the Trojan war, at his return home, went into the bath, there to wash away the remembrance of all his past labours, and was slain by the treachery of his wife Clytemnestra[t]. In latter ages they became more common, and were frequently used for health or recreation by both sexes, who at Sparta washed in one common bath, but in other cities had distinct places appointed them.

11. The stadium was a large semicircle, in which exercises were performed; and for the better convenience of spectators, which flocked thither in vast multitudes, was built with steps one above another, that the higher ranks might look over the heads of those that were placed below them. Several of these there were at Athens, in their gymnasia and other places; but the most remarkable was that which was built near the river Ilissus by Lycurgus, and afterwards enlarged by Herodus Atticus, one of the richest citizens Athens ever had: it was built of pentelic marble, with so great magnificence, that when Pausanias comes to speak of it, he

[s] Artemidorus Oneirocrit. lib. i. [t] Lycophron.

tells his readers, that they would hardly believe what he was about to tell them, it being a wonder to all that beheld it, and of that stupendous bigness, that one would judge it a mountain of white marble upon the banks of Ilissus. Sir George Wheeler reports, that at this day there remains some of the stone work, at the end towards the river, but the rest is only a stadium of earth above ground. However, its figure and bigness continue, though the degrees be all taken away. It is a long place, with two parallel sides, closed up circularly to the east end, and open towards the other end; and is about one hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces long, and twenty-six or twenty-seven broad, which gave it the name of a stadium, which was a measure ordinarily used among the Greeks, being the eighth part of a Roman mile.

Athens had several gymnasia, of which these three are of most note: Lyceum, Academia, and Cynosarges. Λυκεῖον, *Lyceum*, was situated upon the banks of Ilissus. It received its name from Apollo, Λυκοκτόνος, or Λύκιος, to whom it was dedicated; nor was it without reason (saith Plutarch), that this place was sacred to Apollo, but upon a good and rational account, since from the same deity that cures our diseases, and restores our health, we may reasonably expect strength and ability to contend in the exercises[u]. The building of this structure is by some ascribed to Pisistratus, by others to Pericles, and by others to Lycurgus; which makes it probable that all of them might contribute something towards it; and perhaps Pisistratus laid the foundations of it, Pericles raised it, Lycurgus enlarged and beautified it.

This was the place where Aristotle taught philosophy, and discoursed with such as resorted to him for instructions, walking constantly every day till the hour of anointing; for the Greeks usually anointed before meals; whence he and his followers were called Περιπατητικοὶ, ἀπὸ τȣ̃ περιπατεῖν, *Peripatetics*, from walking[w]. Though others report, that his walking and discoursing philosophy with Alexander was the occasion of that name.

Ἀκαδήμια was part of the Ceramicus without the city, from which it was distant about six stadia, so called from *Academus*, an old hero, who, when Helena was stolen by Theseus, and concealed at Aphidnæ, discovered her to Castor and Pollux, for which reason he was extremely honoured by them during his life; and the Lacedæmonians, when in after ages they made several incursions into Attica, and destroyed all the country round about, always spared

[u] Plutarch. in Symp. lib. viii. q. 4.

[w] Suidas, &c.

this place for his sake. But Dicæarchus writes, that there were two Arcadians in the army of Castor and Pollux, the one called Echedemus, and the other Marathus; from the former, that which was afterwards called the Academy, was then called Echedemia, and the borough of Marathon had its name from the latter. Thus Plutarch [x]. It was beset with shady woods and solitary walks, fit for study and meditation, as the poets and others witness. This verse is cited out of Eupolis [y];

> Εν εὐσκίοις δρόμοισιν Ακαδήμȣ Θεȣ̃.
> In Academus' shady walks.

And Horace speaks to the same purpose;

> *Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum* [z].
> In Academus' groves to search for truth.

At the first it was a desert place, and uninhabited, by reason of the fens and marshes that were in it, and rendered it very unhealthful; but they being drained by Cimon, it became pleasant and delightful, and was much frequented by all sorts of people, especially such as applied themselves to the study of philosophy, for they resorted thither in great numbers to Plato's lectures, who read constantly in this place; whence having contracted a distemper through the unwholesomeness of the air, which was not yet wholly rectified, and being advised by his physicians to remove his school to the Lyceum, made answer, that he chose the academy to keep his body under, lest by too much health it should become wanton, and more difficult to be governed by the dictates of reason; as men prune vines, when they spread too far, and lop off the branches that grow too luxuriant [a]. I must not forget to add, that it was surrounded with a wall by Hipparchus the son of Pisistratus, who, to defray the charges of it, laid so heavy a tax upon the people, that ever after any chargeable and expensive business was called Ἱππάρχου τείχιον.

Κυνόσαργες was a place in the suburbs near the Lyceum, so called from a white or swift dog, in Greek κύων ἀργὸς, that, when Diomus was sacrificing to Hercules, snatched away part of the victim [b]. It was adorned with several temples, dedicated to Hebe, Alcmena, and Ioalus, all which bore some relation to Hercules, the chief deity of the place; and he also was here honoured with a magnificent temple. But there was nothing in it so remarkable as the gymnasium, in which strangers, and those that were but of the half blood, or had but one parent an Athenian, were to perform their

[x] Theseo.
[y] In Αςρατιώτας.
[z] Lib. ii. ep. 2.
[a] Basil. Mag. lib. de legend. Gentil. libris.
[b] Hesych. aliique innumeri.

exercises, because Hercules, to whom it was consecrated, was under some illegitimacy, and was not one of the immortal gods, but had a mortal woman for his mother. And therefore Themistocles being but of the half blood, persuaded divers of the young noblemen to accompany him to anoint and exercise themselves at Cynosarges; in doing which, he seemed with some ingenuity to take away the distinction between the truly noble and the stranger; and between those of the whole, and those of the half blood of Athens[c]. There was also a court of judicature in this place, wherein causes about illegitimacy were heard, and examination made concerning persons that lay under a suspicion of having falsely inserted their names among the true-born Athenians[d]. In this gymnasium Antisthenes instituted a sect of philosophers called Κυνικοὶ, *Cynics*, from the name of the place[e], as some are of opinion.

All theatres were dedicated to Bacchus and Venus[f], the deities of sports and pleasure; to the former of which they are said to owe their original[g], and therefore plays acted in them were called Διονυσιακὰ, and the artificers that laboured in the building of them Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται, as belonging to Διόνυσος, or *Bacchus*.

The most ancient theatres were temporary being composed of nothing but boards placed gradually above each other, for the convenience of spectators, and therefore they were called Ἴκρια[h]. But these slight buildings had well nigh proved fatal to the commonwealth, for almost the whole city, as well the magistracy and nobility as those of inferior ranks, being assembled, as their manner was, to hear Pratinus act a tragedy; the theatre, too weak to support the vast weight of thronging multitudes, on a sudden tumbled down, and wanted not much of burying them in its ruins. This narrow escape made them more cautious, and was the occasion of erecting a theatre of stone, for their better security. And from this time the Athenians, whose example the rest of the Grecians followed not long after, erected fixed and durable theatres of stone, commonly of marble, which by degrees were increased to that magnitude that they exceeded almost all other buildings in Greece.

The figure of theatres was semicircular, though they were not exact semicircles, but contained the bigger half of the circle, and therefore amphitheatres, which were made in the same figure, as

[c] Plutarch. Themistocle.
[d] Nonnus Monachus in Collect. Hist.
[e] Diog. Laert. Antisthene.
[f] Lactant. lib. vi.
[g] Polydor. Virg. lib. iii. cap. 13.
[h] Hesychius.
[i] Suidas in Πρατίνας.

if two theatres should be joined together, were not nicely orbicular, but oval. They consisted of two parts, Σκηνὴ, *Scena,* and Κοῖλον, *Cavea.* Scena was a partition assigned for the actors, reaching quite cross the theatre, which at the first, agreeably to the ancient simplicity, was dressed with boughs and leaves, but in more expensive ages was adorned with rich and costly hangings, to hide the management of machines, and other actions of the players, from the spectators. It was either so framed as that it might be turned round, and then it was called *versatilis,* or drawn up, and then it was *ductilis,* and this way is usually practised in our theatres, in changing the prospect. It had three principal gates, one upon the right hand, another upon the left, by which were presented meaner and smaller edifices; and a third in the middle, by which more magnificent structures, as temples of the gods, or palaces of kings, were brought in view; and on each side of the gate was a lesser entrance, through which the persons, either of gods or men, were introduced by various machines and instruments, the names whereof you may find explained in Julius Pollux[k]. The whole scene was divided into several parts, the most remarkable whereof are these:

Βροντεῖον, a place underneath the floor, wherein were kept brazen vessels full of stones, and other materials, with which they imitated the noise of thunder.

Επισκήνιον, a place upon the top of the scene, in which all the machines, whereby they presented the various figures and prospects, were moved.

Παρασκήνιον, the tiring-room, a place behind the scenes, wherein the actors dressed and adorned themselves.

Προσκήνιον, the stage, a place before the scenes in which the players acted. And Ορχήστρα was that part in which the chorus used to dance and sing, in the middle of which was placed the pulpit, in Greek Λογεῖον, or Θυμέλη.

Ὑποσκήνιον, a partition under the pulpit, appointed for the music.

The Κοῖλον, or *Cavea,* was appointed for the spectators, and consisted of three parts, placed in equal degrees one above another; the lowest of which belonged to persons of quality and magistrates; the middle to the commonality; the uppermost to the women.

And because theatres were open at the top, they erected porticoes behind the cavea, whither they retired for shelter in rainy weather.

k Onomast. lib. iv. cap. 19.

Athens had three Harbours for Ships.

1. Πειραιεὺς, *Piræeus,* which belonged to the tribe of Hippothoontis, and was thirty-five or forty stadia distant from the city, before the building of the *long walls,* which have been already mentioned. From which time the Athenians, by the direction of Themistocles, made this their chief harbour. It contained three ὅρμοι, or docks; the first called Κάνθαρος, from an hero of that name. The second Αφροδίσιον, from Αφροδίτη, or Venus, who had there two temples, one of which was consecrated by Themistocles, the other by Conon. The third Ζέω, from *bread corn,* which is called by the Grecians ζειά. There were likewise in this harbour five porticoes, which being joined together, composed one very large portico, which was on that account commonly termed Μακρὰ ϛοά. The Piræeus had farther two forums; one near the long portico, and the sea: the other farther distant from the sea; and for that reason chiefly frequented by those who lived nearest the city. One of these seems to have been called Ιπποδάμειον, from the architect Hippodamus, who built the long wall, whereby this harbour was joined to the city. Here was a most celebrated mart, to which merchants resorted from almost every part of Greece. Whence came the proverbial saying, Τὸν Πειραιέα κεναγγίαν μὴ φέρειν, *That famine and emptiness do not come from Piræeus.* This harbour, though once very populous and well inhabited, was reduced to a very few houses in the time of Strabo, who flourished under the emperors Augustus and Tiberius; having been burnt by Sylla in the Mithridatic war.

2. Μουνυχία, *Munychia,* which was a promontory not far distant from Piræeus, extended not unlike to a peninsula, and well fortified both by nature, and afterwards, at the instance of Thrasybulus, by art. The name was derived from one Munychus, who dedicated in this place a temple to Diana, surnamed Μουνυχία, which yet others report to have been founded by Embarus.

3. Φαληρὸν, *Phalerum,* which belonged to the tribe Antiochis, and was distant from the city thirty-five stadia, according to Thucydides; but in Pausanias's account[1] only twenty. This was the most ancient of the three harbours: And from hence Theseus is reported to have set sail for Crete; and afterwards Mnestheus for Troy.

[1] Arcadicis, p. 471. edit. Hanov.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Citizens, Tribes, &c. of Athens.

THE inhabitants of Attica were of three sorts: 1, Πολῖται, or freemen. 2, Μέτοικοι, or sojourners. 3, Δȣ̃λοι, or servants. The citizens surpassed the others in dignity and power, as having the government in their hands, but were far exceeded by the slaves in number, many slaves being often subject to one citizen. The number of citizens in Cecrops's time, I have already said, was twenty thousand; in Pericles's there were not so many, as appears from Plutarch [m]; and when Demetrius the Phalerean was their governor, they exceeded their first number under Cecrops only by one thousand; at the same time foreigners were ten thousand, and the slaves four hundred thousand, as appears from a poll instituted at the command of Demetrius, and mentioned in Athenæus [n].

Whence it is evident, that the increase of the Athenians themselves was very inconsiderable; but those growing numbers of inhabitants, that swelled the city to that bigness, to which it was extended in after ages, were either of slaves, or strangers, who, for the advantage of study, or trade, or for other conveniencies, settled themselves at Athens; and of these two sorts, in the time of Cecrops, it is probable there were few or none; because, through the scarcity of men in his new-formed government, for the encouragement of foreigners to settle there, he was forced to allow them the same privileges that were enjoyed by the natives. And there is a very ancient law mentioned by the scholiast of Aristophanes [o], whereby all foreigners, who intended to live at Athens, were obliged, after a short stay in that city, to be enrolled among the free citizens.

And for several ages after, it was no difficult matter to obtain the freedom of the city; but when the Athenian power grew great, and their glorious actions rendered them famous through all Greece, this privilege was accounted a very great favour, and granted to none but men of the greatest birth or reputation, or such as had performed some notable piece of service for the commonwealth. Nor was it without much difficulty to be obtained even by them. Menon the Pharsalian, who had sent the Atheni-

[m] Pericle. [n] Deipnos. l. vi. [o] Ranis.

ans a supply of two hundred horse, in the war against Eon near Amphipolis, desired it, and was rejected; and Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, after having assisted them against the Persians, could obtain no more than a bare ἀτέλεια, or immunity from tribute paid by those that sojourned amongst them, but no right of suffrage, or other privileges common to the free men.

And after Mardonius and the Persians were defeated at Platæa, it was decreed, by an express law, that none but men eminent for merit should be admitted into the number of citizens[p].

But this peremptory stiffness, which success and victory had put into them, did not always make them so obstinate, nor hinder, but that many worthies, though neither equal in birth nor fortune to the former, were enrolled amongst the citizens; such were Hippocrates the physician, Eurysaces the son of Ajax, with many others, beside the whole city of the Platæans, to which they granted freedom for their signal services in the Persian war. But by these grants, though the number of the citizens may be said to have been increased, yet nothing was added to the number of inhabitants, which remained still the same, because the persons thus admitted seldom made use of their privilege, and sued for it rather as a title of honour, than with a design to be anywise advantaged by it.

This privilege could not be conferred by any besides the popular assembly, whence the citizens thus admitted were called Δημοποιητοὶ, in opposition to the free-born. Neither was the first gift of the people to take effect, unless they thought fit to ratify it in a second assembly, wherein six thousand citizens were required to be present. And, for fear the authority or interest of any person should sway them to comply with such requests against their inclinations, they gave their votes privately, by casting little stones into urns, placed on purpose in their assemblies by the prytanes, who were also obliged to provide a sufficient number of stones for the suffragants; nay farther, till all had done voting, the strangers that petitioned for freedom were not permitted to come into the place of the assembly. And after all this, if any one appeared to be undeserving of the honour they had conferred upon him, an appeal might be made to a certain court, which had power to inquire into the lives and conditions of these persons, and deprive such as they found unworthy, by recalling the freedom which had been granted through the ignorance and inconsideration of the multi-

[p] Auctor Orationis in Neæram.

tude; and this disgrace befel Pytholaus the Thessalian, and Apollonides the Olynthian[q]. It was further provided by Solon, that none should live at Athens as free citizens, except such as were banished from their own country, or voluntarily came to reside at Athens with their whole families; whereby he, no doubt, intended to prevent all such from enjoying the privileges of Athens, who had greater alliances and interests in other places[r].

The manner of admission was, by declaring that such an one was incorporated among the denizens of Athens, and invested with all the honours, privileges, and immunities belonging to them; and had a right to partake of, and assist at the performance of all their holy rites and mysteries, except such as were appropriated to certain noble families; such as were the Eumolpidæ, Ceryces, Cynidæ, who had certain priesthoods, and holy offices peculiar to themselves: or (as others are of opinion) they were excluded from all the offices of priesthood of whatever denomination; which is the most probable, because the free-born Athenians were themselves excluded from those offices which were appropriated to the sacred families. Except also the offices of the nine archons, which none but free-born Athenians were allowed to execute; that neither the religion nor the management of public affairs might be intrusted in foreign hands. Yet this extended not to the children of citizens thus adopted, who were allowed all the privileges of natives. Lastly, they were admitted into a certain tribe and hundred, and so the ceremony ended[s].

Free-born Athenians were those that had both or one of their parents an Athenian. Aristotle tells us, that in several commonwealths, at the first, those were accounted free that were born of a free woman; but when the number of inhabitants increased, such only were esteemed free as were descended from parents that were both free[t]. And so it came to pass in Athens, where it was decreed by Solon, that none begotten out of lawful marriage, which could then be celebrated only between free citizens, should have right to inherit their father's estate. This appears from the following words of Aristophanes:

> Ερῶ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σολῶνός σοι νόμον·
> Νόθῳ δὲ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστέιαν[u].

But this law was afterwards abrogated by the tacit consent of the commonwealth, till the time of Pericles, who, when he flourished

[q] Demosth. Orat. in Neæram.
[r] Plut. Sol.
[s] Demosth. Orat. in Neæram.
[t] Aristotel. Polit. lib. iii. cap. 5.
[u] Avibus, p. 602, edit. Amstelod.

in the state, and had sons lawfully begotten, proposed a law, that those only should be reputed true citizens of Athens, who were born of parents that were both Athenians; and having prevailed with the people to give their consent to it, little less than five thousand were deprived of their freedom, and sold for slaves; and those who, enduring the test, remained in the government, and past muster for true-born Athenians, were found in the poll to be fourteen thousand and forty persons in number. But Pericles himself afterwards, having lost all his legitimate sons, so far persuaded the Athenians, that they cancelled the law, and granted that he should enrol his bastard sons in the register of his own ward, by his paternal name, thinking that, by those losses, he had been sufficiently punished for his former arrogance; and therefore, being of opinion that he had been shrewdly handled by the divine vengeance, of which he had run so severe a gantelope, and that his request was such as became a man to ask, and men to grant. Thus Plutarch [w]. But this law was again repealed by Aristophon the orator, after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, Euclides being archon; at which time the ancient law was revived, *that all whose mothers were not citizens should be* nothi, *illegitimate* [x]. For legitimate children are those who are born of lawful wives, who must be free citizens, others being only reputed concubines. And thus grammarians commonly explain *nothos.* Νόθος ὁ ἐκ ξένος ἢ παλλακίδος· *Nothus, a bastard, is one born of a stranger or an harlot.* But γνήσιος, *a legitimate son*, is interpreted by the same persons, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀστῆς καὶ γαμετῆς, ἢ ἐκ νομίμων γάμων· *One born of a citizen and a wife, or one born in lawful matrimony* [y].

And those that were only of the half blood, when they were invested with freedom, were always reputed inferior, and less honourable than those that were of the whole; and several marks and customs they had to distinguish them from the others, as particularly, that those who had but one parent an Athenian, were not allowed to exercise themselves in any of the gymnasia that were frequented by those who had both, but only at the Cynosarges, a place without the city: and that this was esteemed a mark of disgrace is evident from the practice of Themistocles, who was but of the half blood of Athens; and to take away, or at least, lessen this distinction, used to engage the noble Athenians to go and per-

[w] In Pericle.

[x] Carystius, Ἱστορικῶν ὑπομνημάτων, lib. iii.

[y] Homeri Scholiastes in Iliad. v. Julius Pollux, lib. iii.

form their exercises with him [z]. In the same place there was a court of judicature, where persons suspected of having fraudulently insinuated themselves into the number and privileges of citizens were arraigned. This was reputed a very great offence; insomuch that whosoever had δίκη τῆς ξενίας, (so this action was termed) preferred against him, was immediately made a close prisoner, and put in chains, before he could be brought before the judges [a]. Neither was it a sufficient vindication to have been once acquitted by his proper judges. But it was customary to bring the cause to a second hearing before the thesmothetæ, if there was any just cause to suspect that he had been too favourably treated.

And in order to clear the city of pretended and false members, it was decreed, in the second year of the 90th olympiad, Archias being then archon, that a strict inquisition should be made into causes of this nature by men of the same borough with the criminal. This inquisition was termed Διαψήφισις, and performed in the following method [b]. When any person was accused, the Δήμαρχος, or prefect of the borough (Δῆμος), to whose custody was committed the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, or *public register of the citizens*, convened together the members of his borough (δημόται). Then the names of all the citizens of that borough being recited out of the register, the criminal was obliged to signify the particular φρατρία or *ward*, whereof he pretended himself a member, and to prove his right of succession by sufficient witnesses; or, in case he claimed his freedom from the gift of the people, and not by inheritance, the public decree of the popular assembly, whereby his privilege had been conferred, was to be produced. Then the δημόται, having first taken an oath to determine according to the rules of justice, and maturely deliberated upon the evidence, privately gave their opinions; in doing which, they commonly used leaves or beans. If the white beans were found superior in number, the prisoner was acquitted; but if the black appeared to be most numerous, then he was deprived of his freedom, and after that called ἀποψηφισμένος, as the action of condemning him was termed ἀποψήφισις [c]. And this verdict was to be given in before sunset; the consequence whereof was this,—that the person deprived of his freedom should be reckoned amongst the Μέτοικοι, *sojourners*. But if he would not acquiesce in the determination of his own

[z] Plutarch. in Themistocle.
[a] Demosth. et Ulpianus in Timocrat.
[b] Harpocration. Olympiad. descriptor anonymus.
[c] Demosthenes in Eubul. Pollux, lib. viii. Hesych. Suidas.

borough, an appeal was granted to the thesmothetæ, who having assigned proper judges to hear his appeal, he was either restored to his family, or, if the former sentence appeared to be just and well grounded, he was sold for a slave.

Farther, to prevent all frauds and contentions of this nature, all fathers were obliged to enrol their sons in the register of their particular φρατρία, termed κοινὸν γραμματεῖον. At which time they made oath that every son so registered was either born to them in lawful matrimony, or lawfully adopted[d]. Notwithstanding which, the φράτορες, or members of that ward, had the liberty of rejecting any person against whom sufficient evidence appeared, concerning which they voted by private suffrages[e]. Yet if any person was unjustly rejected by the men of his own ward, he was allowed to appeal to the magistrates[f], by whom, if he was declared to be lawfully born or adopted, he was then registered by his own and his father's name, in this form, Θράσυλλος Ἀπολλοδώρου, *Thrasyllus the son of Apollodorus*[g]. The adopted sons were registered upon the festival Thargelia, in the month Thargelion; the natural upon the third day of the festival Apaturia, called Κουρεῶτις, in the month Pyanepsion. At what age children were thus registered is not agreed. Some are of opinion, that at every return of the Apaturia it was customary to register all the children who had been born that year[h]. Others affirm, that they were commonly three or four years old before they were registered[i]. Cnemon in Heliodorus[k] is enrolled after he has learned the letters of the alphabet; and the chorus in the Ranæ of Aristophanes[l] reflects upon Archedemus as not having been admitted into the number of the φράτορες till he was ἑπτέτης, *seven years old.*

> Βούλεσθε δῆτα κοινῇ
> Σκώψωμεν Ἀρχέδημον,
> Ὃς ἑπτέτης ὢν οὐκ ἔφυσε φράτορας.

Whereby they seem to intimate that he had fradulently insinuated himself into the number of the citizens; it being usual for those who were free-born to be registered before that age, as we are there informed by the Greek scholiast; though the time of doing it appears, from the fore-mentioned instances, to have been unfixed and arbitrary.

There were two other seasons when young Athenians were en-

d Isæus de Apollodori hæred.
e Demosthenes in Macart.
f Idem in Neæram.
g Isæus Orat. citat.
h Etymolog. Magni Auctor. v. Ἀπατούρια.
i Proclus in Platonis Timæum.
k Lib. i.
l Act. i. scen. 7, p. 231, edit. Aurel. Allobrog.

rolled in a public register, which being by some learned men confounded with the time of registering already mentioned, may not unfitly be explained in this place. The second time, therefore, wherein they were registered, was when they arrived at the age of eighteen years, when, as we are expressly told by Julius Pollux [m], they were admitted into the number of the Ἐφηβοι. And this registering seems to have been mistaken for the former, because both were done on the same day, viz. the third day of the festival Apaturia, which, as some think, was called Κουρεῶτις, ἀπὸ τοῦ κείρειν τὴν κόμην, because they who were enrolled amongst the ephebi used then to *shave their hair*, which it was customary to consecrate to some of the gods; which ceremony was never performed till a long time after the age at which they were admitted amongst the φράτορες; and therefore must belong to the other time of registering.

The third time of registering young Athenians was before the festival of Panathenaea [n], when those who were twenty years old were introduced at a public meeting of the δημόται, *men of the same* (δῆμος) *borough*, and entered in a register called ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, wherein the names of all persons of that borough, who were of age to succeed in the λῆξις, or inheritance of their fathers, were entered [o]. This was termed εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγράφεσθαι, *to be registered amongst the men;* the persons thus enrolled, being henceforwards their own masters, and free from the government of their guardians.

After Cecrops had settled a form of government amongst the Athenians, for the better administration of justice, and the prevention of deceit, and over-reaching one another in commerce, he divided them into four φυλαὶ, or *tribes;* each tribe he subdivided into three parts, called Τριττὺς, Ἔθνος, or Φρατρία; and each of these into thirty Γένη, or *families*, which, because they consisted of thirty men, were called Τριακάδες; and they that were members of these, were called Ὁμογάλακτοι, and Γεννῆται, not from any relation to one another, but only because they lived in the same borough, and were educated together, and joined in one body or society; the same persons were called Ὀργεῶνες, because they participated of the same sacrifices, and worshipped the same gods together, from Ὄργια, which, though it properly signifies only the mysteries of Bacchus, yet is often taken for the ceremonies used in the worship of any other deity [p].

The names of the tribes were these: 1, Κεκροπὶς, from Cecrops; for it is usual with the ancients, out of an earnest desire of con-

[m] Lib. vii. cap. 9.
[n] Demosth. in Leocharem.
[o] Pollux, loco citato.
[p] Pollux, lib. iii. cap. 4. lib. viii. cap. 9.

tinuing their memories to posterity, to call cities, or countries, or any monuments that seemed likely to remain to succeeding ages, by their own names. 2, Αὐτόχθων, from a king of that name, reported by some to have reigned in some part of Attica before Cecrops: or rather from the name of Αὐτόχθονες, in which the Athenians gloried not a little. 3, Ακταία, from Actæus, or Actæon, another of the kings before Cecrops; or from ἀκτὴ, which signifies *a shore*; because a great part of Attica, and that in particular where this tribe inhabited, lay towards the sea: and this was the reason why the whole country was sometimes called Acte. And the same cause is given for the name of the fourth tribe, which they called Παραλία, from its nearness to the sea.

In the reign of Cranaus, new names were imposed upon them, and they were called, 1, Κρανaὶς, from the king's name. 2, Ατθὶς, from a young lady, the daughter of Cranaus. 3, Μεσόγαια. 4, Διακρίς. And both these, I suppose, were named from their situation; the latter being seated upon a craggy shore, and the former in the inland part of the country.

Erichthonius being advanced to the kingdom, called them after the names of Jupiter, Minerva, Neptune, and Vulcan: 1, Διάς. 2, Αθηναΐς. 3, Ποσειδωνιάς. 4, Ηφαιστιάς.

Afterwards, under Erechtheus, they received new names from the sons of Ion, a man of great repute amongst the Athenians, and general of their armies, as Herodotus reports[r]. The names were 1, Γελέοντες. 2, Ὁπλῖται. 3, Αἰγικόρεις. 4, Αργάδες. And of these names Euripides is to be understood, when he introduces Minerva speaking thus of Ion[s].

> Λαβοῦσα τόνδε παῖδα, Κεκροπίαν χθόνα
> Χώρει, Κρέουσα, κεἰς θρόνους τυραννικοὺς
> Ἵδρυσον· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Ερεχθέως γεγὼς,
> Δίκαιος ἄρχειν τῆσγ' ἐμῆς ὅδε χθονὸς,
> Εσται τὰν Ελλάδ' εὐκλεής· οἱ τοῦδε γὰρ
> Παῖδες γενόμενοι τέσσαρες ῥίζης μιᾶς,
> Επώνυμοι γῆς, κἀπιφυλίου χθονὸς
> Λαῶν ἔσονται, σκοπελὸν οἳ ναίουσ' ἐμόν.

> Here, nurse Creüsa, since this child by birth
> Claims the just priv'lege of Erechtheus' line,
> Take him to Athens, and proclaim him king;
> For he hath just pretensions to the crown;
> His blooming courage is a previous sign,
> With how much prowess, policy, and art,
> Greece's dominions he will sway; the gods
> Shall bless him with four sons, by whom in tribes
> High seated Athens shall divided be,
> And bear her sev'ral names deriv'd from them. ABELL.

[q] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9. [r] Lib. viii. cap. 44. [s] Ion ad finem.

And Herodotus[t] and Pollux are of the same opinion, though they are herein contradicted by others, as we find in Plutarch, who hath likewise made some alteration in the names; his words are these: 'Some affirm that the tribes did not take their names from the sons of Ion, but from the different sorts of occupations which they followed; the soldiers were called Ὁπλῖται; the craftsmen, Ἐργάται; and of the remaining three the farmers, Γεωργοὶ; the shepherds and graziers, Αἰγικόραι[u].'

Afterwards, when the number of inhabitants was increased, Clisthenes having first advised with Apollo's oracle, as it was usual to do in every concern of moment, altered the number of the tribes, increasing them from four to ten, and gave them new names, taken from certain ancient heroes, all born in Attica, except Ajax, the son of Telamon, to whom he gave a place amongst the rest, as being a neighbour, friend, and companion in the wars[w]; for, as Homer reports, Ajax's forces were joined to those of Mnestheus the Athenian general;

> Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
> Στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.
> Twelve ships from Salamis stout Ajax brought,
> And rank'd his men where the Athenians fought. CREECH.

And Plutarch reports, that when the Athenians and Megarensians both made pretensions to Salamis, and chose the Spartans to decide the controversy, these lines of Homer being produced by Solon, did the Athenians a considerable kindness, serving very much to strengthen their title to that island. To return, these heroes, from the names they gave to the tribes, were called ἐπώνυμοι, and honoured with statues erected near the senate-house. Their names, as recorded by Pausanias, are these: Erechtheus, Cecrops, Ægeus, Pandion, Acamas, Antiochus, Leo, Oeneus, Hippothoon, Ajax. And the names of the tribes are these, Ἐρεχθηῒς, Κεκροπὶς, Αἰγηῒς, Πανδιονὶς, Ἀκαμαντὶς, Ἀντιοχὶς, Λεοντὶς, Οἰνηῒς, Ἱπποθοωντὶς, Αἰαντὶς.

Afterwards, when Antigonus and Demetrius freed the Athenians from the Macedonian slavery, they augmented their tribes, adding two to their former number, which, in honour of their deliverers, they called from their names, Ἀντιγονὶς, and Δημητριὰς[x]. But the gratitude of the Athenians being no longer lived than the good fortune and successes of those two princes, the tribes soon changed their first names for those of Ἀτταλὶς and Πτολεμαῒς, the former of which was derived from Attalus, king of Pergamus; the latter

[t] Lib. v. cap. 66.
[u] Plutarch. Solone.
[w] Herodot. et Pollux, loc. citatis.
[x] Plutarch. Demetrio.

from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, from both of which the Athenians had received signal favours[y].

This was the constant number of the Athenian tribes, which lasted as long as the city maintained its liberty and form of government. Each of these was at the first divided into several parts, which have been already mentioned. And the better to maintain a mutual correspondence, and for the promotion of good fellowship and kindness among them, they had public feasts, first instituted by Solon, where they all met together, and made merry[z]. These meetings were named from the persons assembled at them; if the whole tribe came together, then they called it δεῖπνον φυλετικόν; if only one φρατρία, then it was δεῖπνον φρατρικὸν; or of a δῆμος, it was δεῖπνον δημοτικόν.

These Δῆμοι were little boroughs in Attica, several of which belonged to every tribe; and though they were reckoned together in the business of the commonwealth, yet had separate habitations, distinct rites and ceremonies in the performance of holy worship; nay, and different gods too, for each of them adored peculiar deities, and yet all unanimously agreed in worshipping Minerva, who was the tutelar goddess of the whole country; whereas the other deities had only certain parts assigned them, and in those they were inferior to Minerva, the supreme governess. And this difference in religion was very ancient, being of no less duration than the commonwealth itself; for when Theseus had prevailed upon them to leave their country seats, and unite themselves in one city, they thought it would be impious and unpardonable to desert the gods of their ancestors, and therefore judged it agreeable to the respect due from them to their tutelar deities, to pay them the same honours, and frequent the same places of worship, they had formerly done[a].

The greatest use of these Δῆμοι, was in their forms of law and contracts, whereby sufficient provision was made against all fraud, deceit, and mistakes. Hence we read of such punctual clauses in their writs, as these, N. the son of N. of the tribe of Æantus, in the borough of Rhamnus, &c.

The number of them was an hundred and seventy-four[b], some of which having the same names, were distinguished by their situation, being called καθύπερθεν, and ὑπένερθεν, *upper and lower*. All of them

[y] Stephan. v. Ἀτταλὶς, et Βερενικίδας.
[z] Athen. Dip. lib. xv.
[a] Livius. Pausan. Atticis.
[b] Eustath. ii. β'. Strabo, lib. ix.

were divided into greater and less; the *μικροὶ*, or *less*, were these[c], Alimusians, Zoster, Prospaltians, Anagyrasians, Cephale, Prasieis, Lampreis, Phyleis, Myrrhinusians, Athmonians, Acharnæ, Marathon, Brauron, Rhamnus. The rest were greater, and may not unfitly be thus divided according to their tribes.—

ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΣ.

Αθμονὸν, ἢ Αθμονία	Επικείδαι	Συπαληττὸς
Αλαὶ	Ξυπήτη	Τρινεμεῖς
Αἰξώνη	Πίθος	Φλύα.
Δαιδαλίδαι		

ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΣ.

Αναγυροῦς	Κηφισία	Παμβωτάδαι
Αγραύλη, ἢ Αγροίλη	Κῆδαι	Περγασὴ
Εὐωνυμία, ἢ Εὐώνυμος	Λαμπρὰ καθύπερθεν	Συβρίδαι
Θήμακοι, ἢ Θήμακος	Λαμπρὰ ὑπένερθεν, ἢ παράλιος	Φηγοῦς.

ΠΑΝΔΙΟΝΙΣ.

Αγγελὴ	Οα, ἢ Οεῖς	Προβάλινθος
Κυδαθηναίων	Παιανία καθύπερθεν	Στειριὰ
Κύθηρον	Παιανιὰ ὑπένερθεν	Φηγαία.
Μυῤῥινοῦς		

ΑΙΓΗΙΣ.

Αλαὶ	Ερχθία	Κυδαντίδαι
Αραφηνίδες, ἢ Αράφην	Ερίκρια	Πλωθειὰ
Βατὴ	Εχρία	Τίθρας
Γαργηττὸς	Ικαρία, ἢ Ικάριος	Φηγαία
Διομεία	Ιωνίδαι	Φιλαίδαι
	Κολυττὺς	Χολλίδαι.

ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΣ.

Αγνοῦς	Ιτέα	Πρόσπαλτα
Εἰρισίδαι	Κίκινα	Σφηττὸς
Ερμὸς, ἢ Ερμοὶ	Κυρτιάδαι	Χολαργεῖς, Χολαργία, ἢ Χόλαργοι.
Ηφαιστιάδαι	Κεφαλὴ	
Θόρικος		

ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣ.

Αἰθαλίδαι, ἢ Αἰθαλία	Κρωπία	Ποταμὸς
Αφίδνα	Λευκόνιον	Σκαμβωνίδαι
Αλιμοῦς	Μαραθὼν	Σούνιον
Δειράδες	Οἶον Κεραμεικὸν	Υβάδαι
Ευπυρίδαι	Παιονίδαι	Φρέαῤῥοι
Εκάλη	Πήληκες	Χολεῖδαι.
Κηττοὶ		

ΙΠΠΟΘΟΩΝΤΙΣ.

Αζηνιὰ	Ελαιεὺς, ἢ Ελαιοῦς	Κορυδαλλὸς
Αμαξαντεῖα	Ελευσις	Κοίλη
Ανάκαια	Εροιάδαι	Οἶον Δικελεικὸν
Αχραδοῦς	Θυμοιτάδαι	Οἰνὴ πρὸς Ελευθέραις
Δικέλεια	Κειριάδαι	Σφενδάλη.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣ.

Αἰγιλία, ἢ Αἰγίλος	Βῆσσα	Μελαινεῖς, ἢ Μέλαιναι
Αλωπεκὴ, ἢ Αλωπεκαὶ	Θοραὶ	Παλλήνη
Αμφιτροπὴ	Κριῶα	Πεντίλη
Ανάφλυστος	Λευκοπύρα	Σημαχίδαι
Ατήνη, ἢ Ατηνία	Λίκκον	Φάληρον.

[c] Pausan. Atticis.

ΑΙΑΝΤΙΣ.

Οἰνόη πρὸς Μαραθῶνι	Τρικόρυθος	Ψαφίδαι.
Τιτακίδαι	Ῥαμνοῦς	

ΟΙΝΗΙΣ.

Αχάρναι	Λακία, ἢ Λακιάδαι	Περιθοῖδαι
Βούτεια, ἢ Βουτάδης	Λουσία	Πτελέα
Επικηφισία	Μελίτη	Τυρμίδαι
Θρία, ἢ Θρίω	Οἤ, ἢ Οἴη	Φυλὴ
Ιπποδαμάδαι		

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΣ, ἢ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗΙΣ.

Βερενικίδαι	Θυργωνίδαι	Κονθύλη

ΑΤΤΑΛΙΣ, ἢ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΣ.

Απολλωνιεῖς.

Besides these, there were several other boroughs, of which it is uncertain what tribes they belonged to. Such are these,—

Αγρα	Θριῶν	Σίρον
Αγχισμος	Κεραμεικὸς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως	Σπογγιλὸς
Αμφιάδη	Κοθωκίδαι	Ὑδροῦσα
Αρχίλαια	Κυνόσαργες	Ὑμήττιοι
Αστυπάλαια	Λαύριον	Ὑσιαι
Αταλάντη	Ληναῖον	Φαρμακοῦσαι
Βελβίνη	Λίμναι	Φαυρὰ
Βραύρων	Μουνυχία	Φορμίσιοι
Βριλησσὸς	Ορωπὸς	Φυρῶν
Εννα	Παρνεῖς	Φρίττιοι
Εχελίδαι	Πνὺξ	Χιτώνη
Ζωστὴρ	Πατρόκλου βόθρος	Ψυτταλία, &c.

CHAP. X.

Of the Sojourners and Servants in Athens.

THE second sort of the inhabitants of Attica were called Μέτοικοι, by which word were signified persons that came from a foreign country, and settled in Attica, being admitted by the council of Areopagus, and entered into a public register[d]. They differed from the Πολῖται, or citizens, because they were not free citizens of Athens, but either came from another city themselves, or were descended from such as did; and from the Ξένοι, or strangers, because they took up their lodgings only for a short time, whereas the Μέτοικοι had fixed habitations, and constantly resided upon the place, whither they had transplanted themselves.

They were permitted to dwell in the city, and follow their own business without disturbance, but could not be intrusted with any

[d] Aristophanes, Scholiastes in Aves.

public office, give their votes in the assemblies, or have any share in the government; being obliged to sit still, as spectators in a theatre, without intermeddling, or any way concerning themselves with state affairs, and patiently submit to the decrees enacted by the citizens, and observe all the laws and customs of the country. And therefore Aristophanes in Suidas compares them to chaff, as being an unprofitable and useless part of the commonwealth;

Τὰς γὰρ Μετοίκυς ἄχυρα τῶν ἀςῶν λέγω.

The sojourners (if I may speak my mind)
Are, as it were, the city's chaff and scum. J. A.

They were not allowed to act any thing, or manage any business in their own names, but were obliged to choose out of the citizens one, to whose care and protection they would commit themselves, and whose duty it was to defend them from all violence and oppression. This is intimated in Terence's Eunuchus, where Thais puts herself into the hands of Phædria's family.

——— *CH. Tum autem Phædriæ,*
Meo fratri, gaudeo amorem esse omnem in tranquillo, una est domus.
Thais patri se commendavit, in clientelam et fidem
Nobis dedit se ———[e]

Now I rejoice, my brother Phædria's love
Is quietly secur'd to him for ever.
We're now one family: and Thais has
Found favour with my father, and resign'd
Herself to us for patronage and care. COLMAN.

The person to whom they committed themselves, was called Προςάτης, and was allowed to demand several services of them, in which if they failed, or if they neglected to choose a patron, an action was commenced against them before the Polemarchus, called Απροςασίυ δίκη, whereupon their goods were confiscated.

In consideration of the privileges allowed them, the commonwealth required them to perform several duties; for instance, in the Panathenæa, a festival celebrated in honour of Minerva, the men were obliged to carry certain vessels called Σκάφαι, whereby are meant not *spades*, as Meursius and the translator of Harpocration have explained this word, but *naviculæ*, little ships, which were signs of their foreign extraction, which few have hitherto rightly understood. Hence they were termed σκαφεῖς or σκαφηφόροι, by the ancient writers of comedy. The women carried ὑδρίαι, *vessels of water*, or σκιάδεια, *umbrellas*, to defend the free women from the weather, and are thence named ὑδριαφόροι and σκιαδηφόροι. This last custom was begun after Xerxes and the Persians had been driven out of Greece, when the Athenians, becoming insolent

[e] Act. ult. scen. ult.

with success, set a greater value upon the freedom of their city than they had formerly done [f].

Besides this, the men paid an annual tribute of twelve drachms, though Hesychius mentioneth ten only, and the women that had no sons, were liable to be taxed six; but such as had sons that paid, were excused. This tribute was called Μετοίκιον, and was exacted not only of those that dwelt in Athens, but of all such as settled themselves in any town of Attica, as appears from the instance given us by Lysius [g] in Oropus, which was an Athenian town, situated upon the confines of Bœotia. About the time of Xerxes's invasion upon Greece, Themistocles having by his eminent service raised himself to great power in the commonwealth, prevailed so far upon the Athenians, that they remitted this exaction, and continued the sojourners in the enjoyment of their privileges, without requiring any such acknowledgment from them [h]. How long they enjoyed this immunity, I cannot tell, but it is certain they kept it not long, and probably it might be taken from them, and the act repealed, as soon as Themistocles fell into disgrace. Upon non-payment of this imposition, the delinquent was immediately seized by the tax-masters, and carried away to the market set apart for that purpose (called by Plutarch Μετοίκιον [i], and by Demosthenes [k] Πωλητήριον τȣ͂ Μετοικίȣ), where they were exposed to sale by the Πωληταὶ, who were officers concerned in the public revenues. And this fate had the famous philosopher Xenocrates undergone, had not Lycurgus rescued him out of the hands of the officers, as Plutarch reports [l]; Diogenes Laertius [m] tells us, he was actually sold, because he had not wherewithal to pay the tribute, but was redeemed by Demetrius the Phalerean, who, because he would not violate the laws of the city, nor yet could endure to see so great and useful a man reduced to so miserable a condition, restored him his liberty, and paid for him what the tax-master demanded.

But though these men were incapable of having any preferment, or bearing any office in the commonwealth, yet they were not wholly destitute of encouragement to the practice of virtue, and the undertaking of noble actions, and being serviceable to the public. For such as signalized themselves by any notable exploit, were seldom passed by neglected or unrewarded; but were taken into public consideration, and, by a special edict of the people,

f Æliani Variæ Historiæ, lib. vi. cap. 1.
g Orat. in Philonem.
h Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.
i Flaminio.
k Orat. i. in Aristogit.
l Loc. cit.
m Xenocrate.

honoured with an immunity from all impositions, taxes, and other duties, except such as were required of the free-born citizens; and therefore they called this honour Ισοτέλεια, and the persons that enjoyed it Ισοτελεῖς, because they did ἶσα τελεῖν τοῖς ἀςοῖς, pay only an equal proportion with the citizens. This was a sort of an half freedom, being the same with what we sometimes find called Ατέλεια, of which I have spoken already, and was granted to foreigners that had deserved well of the public, but not merited enough to be enrolled amongst the true citizens; an instance of which we have in Perdiccas king of Macedon, and sometimes in whole cities and commonwealths, that had by some special service demonstrated the kindness and good affection they bore to Athens: two examples of this we have in the Thebans and Olynthians, in Theophrastus, as he is cited by Suidas, to whom, with Harpocration and Hesychius, we are chiefly obliged for these accounts.

I proceed, in the next place, to speak of the third, and most numerous part of the inhabitants of Attica, I mean the servants, of which there were two sorts; the first was of those that through poverty were forced to serve for wages, being otherwise free-born citizens, but not having any suffrage in public affairs, by reason of their indigence, it being forbidden at some times (for this prohibition was not perpetual), that persons not having such an estate as was mentioned in the law, should have the privilege of giving their voices. These were properly called Θῆτες, and Πελάται[n], and were the most genteel sort of servants, being only in that state during their own pleasure and necessities, and having power either to change their masters, or, if they became able to subsist by themselves, wholly to release themselves from servitude.

The second sort of servants, were such as were wholly in the power and at the disposal of their lords, who had as good a title to them as to their lands and estates, a considerable part of which they were esteemed. They were wholly at their command, to be employed as they saw convenient, in the worst and most wretched drudgeries; and to be used at their discretion, pinched, starved, beaten, tormented, and that in most places, without any appeal to superior power, and punished even with death itself. And, which yet farther enhanced the misery of their condition, they had no hopes of recovering their freedom themselves, or procuring it for their posterity, but were to continue in the same condition as long

[n] Pollux, lib. iii. cap. 8.

as they lived; and all the inheritance they could leave their children (for their masters not only allowed, but encouraged them to marry, that they might increase in number), was the possession of their parents' miseries, and a condition scarce any way better than that of beasts.

The ancients were very sensible of the hard usage slaves met with; and the earnest desire of liberty that reigned in their own breasts, and made them always forward to expose their lives in the defence of it, was a sufficient cause to beget in them a jealousy of the like in other persons; men being generally very apt to suspect others of the same passions and inclinations which themselves have been guilty of. And we find them very industrious to prevent and suppress all such motions, by keeping the slaves at a very great distance from them, by no means condescending (I speak of the generality of them) to converse familiarly with them; by instilling into them a mean opinion of themselves; debasing their natures, and extinguishing in them (as much as possible) all sparks of generosity and manhood, by an illiberal education, and accustoming them to blows and stripes, which they thought were very disagreeable to ingenuous natures; and subduing them with hard labour and want; and in short, by using them almost in the same manner, nay, sometimes worse than we do brute animals. A sufficient proof whereof (were there no more) we have in the famous Roman, Cato, a man celebrated in all ages for his exact observance of the nicest rules of justice; nor doth it at all invalidate the evidence, that this was done by a Roman, since both at Rome, and in Greece, and most other civilized countries, the usage of slaves seems to have been much the same, some few alterations excepted. This Cato (Plutarch tells us) when his servants grew old and unfit for labour, notwithstanding they had been very faithful and serviceable to him, and had spent their youth and strength in labouring for him; for all this, when years came upon them, and their strength failed them, would not be at the charge of maintaining them, but either turned them away, unable to provide for themselves, or let them starve to death in his own family[o]. It is true, this barbarity was not practised in all places: and my author thinks the censor blame-worthy for it, imputing it to a savage and unnatural temper; yet hence appears the miserable condition of slaves, that were forced to undergo the most arbitrary and unjust impositions of the cruellest and most barbarous

[o] Plutarch. Catone.

tyrants. Now the better to show you what state they were in, I will give you a taste of the constant behaviour of their masters towards them in a few instances, which were not the effects of the passion, pride, or humour of private persons, but the common and general practice of the whole country.

It was accounted an insufferable piece of impudence for a servant to imitate the freemen in any thing, or affect to be like them in their dress, or any part of their behaviour. In those cities, where they let their hair grow long, for a servant to have long hair was an unpardonable offence, insomuch that the comedian, speaking it proverbially of one that does what becomes him not, says;

> Επειτα δῆτα δῦλος ὢν κόμην ἔχεις [p].
>
> Then you disdaining your own state, affect
> To wear long hair like freemen.——— J. A.

They had a peculiar form after which they cut their hair, called Θρὶξ ἀνδραποδώδης, which they laid aside, if ever fortune was so propitious as to restore them their liberty. And because slaves were generally rude and ignorant, therefore ἔχειν τὰς ἀνδραποδώδεις ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τρίχας, was proverbially applied to any dull stupid fellow [q]. The freemen's coats were ἀμφιμάσχαλοι, had two sleeves; whereas those of slaves were ἑτερομάσχαλοι, had only one sleeve [r].

At Athens it was common to be in love with boys. Socrates and Plato's amours are notorious enough, and Solon himself was too weak to resist this passion, but thought it neither unlawful nor scandalous, but on the contrary, honourable and well becoming an ingenuous education; therefore he forbade slaves the use of this pleasure, 'as it were inviting the worthy to practise, when he commanded the unworthy to forbear,' says Plutarch [s]. The same lawgiver forbade them to anoint or perfume themselves with sweet odours, allowing those pieces of gentility only to persons of better birth and quality. Slaves were neither permitted to plead for themselves, nor to be witnesses in any cause. Thus Terence, the scene of whose action is laid in Athens, expressly affirms in his Phormio; [t]

> *Servum hominem causam orare leges non sinunt,*
> *Neque testimonii dictio est.*
>
> A slave the laws will not allow to plead,
> Nor can he be an evidence.

Yet it was customary to extort confessions from them by tortures: which, because they were often so violent as to occasion the death

[p] Aristophan. Avibus.
[q] Eustath. Il. ά, p. 59. edit. Bas.
[r] Pollux, On. lib. vii. cap. 13.
[s] Solone.
[t] Act. ii. scen. i.

of the slave, or to disable him from being serviceable to his master; whoever demanded any slave for this end (which was called *πϱοκαλεῖν*, and the action *πϱόκλησις*), was obliged to give his master a sufficient security to answer the loss of his slave [u]. The several ways of torturing slaves are briefly comprised in the following verses of Aristophanes [w].

ΞΑΝΘ. *Βασάνιζε γὰϱ τὸν παῖδα τουτονὶ λαβών.*
ΑΙΑΚ. *Καὶ πῶς βασανίσω;* ΞΑΝΘ. *Πάντα τϱόπον, ἐν κλίμακι*
Δήσας, κϱεμάσας, ὑστϱιχίδι μαστιγῶν, δέϱων,
Στϱεβλῶν, ἔτι τε τὰς ῥίνας ὄξος ἐγχέων,
Πλίνθους ἐπιτιθεὶς, πάντα τἄλλα, πλὴν πϱάσῳ
Μὴ τύπτε τοῦτον, μήτε γηθείῳ νέῳ.

Slaves were not permitted to communicate at the worship of some of the deities, but were accounted unholy and profane; and thought to be offensive to the gods, and to pollute the worship by their presence; as, for instance, at the worship of the Eumenides, or Furies, at Athens; and Hercules at Rome: of which I shall have occasion to speak something more hereafter.

Their education was quite different from that of free-born children; these were instructed in all the liberal arts, the others only taught how to obey, and drudge in their masters business. And whereas the common method was to win those of ingenuous birth by gentle means into a performance of their duty, the manner of tutoring slaves was the same which they used to tame wild beasts, namely, stripes, and the cruelest severity. For all this, there wanted not some, whom nature had blessed with a more happy genius and a larger share of parts than the rest, and fortune directed to kind and gentle masters, that by their great improvements in learning and wisdom, were a sufficient evidence, that nobility of soul and greatness of understanding are not confined to any rank or quality, but that even the meanest and most abject persons may dive into the most hidden secrets of nature, and be admitted to the most intimate converse with the Muses. To prove this we need only mention Æsop, the author of the Fables, Alcman [x] the poet, and Epictetus the famous moralist, of whose poverty and servile condition we have mention in this epigram:

Δοῦλος Ἐπίκτητος γενόμην, καὶ σώματι πηϱὸς,
Καὶ πενίην Ἶϱος, καὶ φίλος Ἀθανάτοις.

To me great favours the kind Gods dispense,
Though doom'd to bondage, and in indigence.

They thought it a presumption, and a sort of lessening the free-born citizens, to call slaves by any name that was in use amongst

[u] Demosth. Orat. adv. Pantænet. [w] Ranis, Act. ii. scen. vi. [x] Ælian. V. H.

them; but if any man was so bold as to give his servant the name of a person of quality or honour, it was a signal affront. Domitian is said to have punished Metius Pomposianus for calling his slaves by the illustrious names of Hannibal and Mago; and to come nearer to our purpose, the Athenians enacted a law, that no man should presume to call any of his servants by the names of Harmodius and Aristogiton, two famous patriots, that with courage and resolution opposed the tyranny of Pisistratus's sons [y]. At the same place there was a law, whereby they were prohibited to derive the name of their slaves from any of the solemn games: whence this question is propounded by Athenæus [z]; How came it to pass that Nemea the minstrel derived her name from the Nemean games? For the most part, as Strabo reports, they were called after the names of their native countries, as Λυδὸς, or Σύρος, if they were born in Lydia or Syria; or, by the names which were most used in those nations, as Manes, or Midas, in Phrygia; Tibias in Paphlagonia. The most common names in Athens were Geta and Davus, being taken from the Getes and Daci, who, as my author thinks, were formerly called Δαῦοι, or *Davi* [a]. They seldom consisted of above two syllables; and therefore Demosthenes having objected to Æschines, that his father was a slave, tells him farther, as a proof of what he affirmed, that he had falsified his name, calling him Atrometus, whereas in truth it was Tromes [b]. The reason of this seems to have been, that their names being short, might be more easily and quickly pronounced. Upon the same account, Oppian advises to give dogs short names;

———— Οὐνόματα σκυλάκεσσι
Βαιὰ τίθει, θοὰ πάντα, θοὴν ἵνα βάξιν ἀκούῃ. [c]

Let hounds which are design'd for game and sport,
Have names impos'd that easy are, and short;
Lest at the huntsman's call they trace in vain,
And run with open cry confus'dly o'er the plain. J. A.

Hence it was common for slaves, who had recovered their freedom, to change their servile names for others, which had more syllables. Thus Stephanus is said, in the epigram, to have changed that name for Philostephanus;

Ἦν Στέφανος πτωχὸς, καὶ παῖς ἅμα· νῦν δὲ προκόψας
Πλουτεῖ, καὶ γεγένητ' εὐθὺ Φιλοστέφανος.

Above all things, especial care was taken that slaves should not wear arms, which, since their number was almost twenty times as

[y] Alex. ab Alex. lib. iii. cap. 20.
[z] Deipnosoph. lib. xiii.
[a] Strabo, lib. vii.
[b] Orat. περὶ Στεφάν.
[c] Κυνηγέτικ.

great as that of the citizens, might have been dangerous to the public. For this reason, it was not usual for them to serve in the wars; and therefore, when Virgil speaks of a slave's assisting in the wars of Troy, he tells us it was contrary to law and custom;

——— Vix unus Helenor,
Et Lycus elapsi; quorum primævus Helenor,
Mæonio regi quem serva Licymnia furtim
Sustulerat, vetitisque ad Trojam miserat armis[d].

Sav'd from the general fate but two remain,
And ah! those hapless two were sav'd in vain!
Unbless'd Helenor most advanc'd in years,
At once encompass'd by the foe, appears;
Him to the Lydian king his beauteous slave
Licymnia bore, unfortunately brave.
Tho' born of servile blood, the gen'rous boy
In arms forbidden sought the wars of Troy. PITT.

Yet sometimes we find the slaves armed in the defence of their masters and themselves; but this was never allowed, except in cases of most extreme danger, when all other means of preserving the commonwealth were taken away. The first time it was practised is said to have been when the Persians under Darius invaded the Athenians, and received a total overthrow by them in Marathon[e]. The like was afterwards put in practice by other commonwealths, but not without great caution: Cleomenes, king of Sparta, being sore pressed by the Macedonians and Achæans, and finding himself unable to make head against them, armed two thousand of the Helotæ, or Lacedæmonian slaves, that he might make a fit body to oppose Antigonus's Leucaspidæ, or white shields; but ventured not to list any more of them, though Laconia was at that time furnished with much greater numbers[f]. And their prudence in this case deserves commendation; for having exasperated them so much by their hard usage, they had no reason to expect any mercy from them, if ever they should get the upper hand. And it is very wonderful that four hundred thousand men should groan under the oppression of twenty or thirty thousand (for those I have told you already were the number of the slaves, citizens, and sojourners in Attica), without ever (some few times excepted) attempting to assert their liberty; when it is evident they wanted not strength to turn the state upside down; neither could they be destitute of opportunities, especially in times of war, sedition, and tumults, in which the city was continually embroiled, to accomplish such a design. But this must be ascribed partly to the watchful eye their masters and the whole state

d Æneid. lib. ix. ver. 545. e Pausanias. f Plutarch. Cleomene.

had upon them; and partly to that cowardice and degeneracy which usually debase the minds of those whom fortune has placed in a servile condition, however noble and daring they are by nature; for it is a true saying of Homer,

> Ημισυ γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
> Ανέρος, εὖτ' ἄν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἕλῃσι.
>
> True valour ne'er can animate that mind,
> Whose inbred seeds by slav'ry are confin'd. J. A.

But neither the care of the state, nor the great power which oppression has to debase men's souls, could always keep them in subjection; but nature would sometimes exert itself, when either a fair opportunity invited, or some insufferable oppression compelled them to endeavour the recovery of their liberties, that is, their lives and fortunes into their own hands. Athenæus reports, that in Attica they once seized upon the castle of Sunium, and committed ravages throughout the country; and at the same time made their second insurrection in Sicily; for in that country they frequently rebelled, but were at last reduced with great slaughter, no less than a million of them being killed[g]. Several other efforts we find made by them in other places, to the great danger and almost utter subversion of those countries. Sometimes, in times of war, the slaves deserted to the enemy, the doing which they called αὐτομολεῖν[h], which, excepting theft, a crime almost peculiar to them, was the most common offence they committed, being in most places the only way they had to deliver themselves; but, if they were taken, they were made to pay dearly for their desire of freedom, being bound fast to a wheel, and unmercifully beaten with whips, as the comedian tells us;

> Η δοῦλος αὐτομολεῖν παρεσκευασμένος,
> Επὶ τροχοῦ χ' ἕλκοιτο μαστιγούμενος[i].
>
> If wretched slaves, harass'd and wearied out,
> Under the thraldom of dire servitude,
> Should but anticipate sweet freedom's joys,
> And make revolt to their more gentle foes,
> Fast to a wheel they're bound with cords, and whipt. J. A.

The same punishment was inflicted on them for theft, as we learn from Horace[k];

> Non furtum feci, nec fugi, *si mihi dicat*
> *Servus*, habes pretium, loris non ureris, *aio*.
>
> Suppose my slave should say, *I neither fly*
> *Nor steal: Well, thou hast thy reward,* say I;
> *Thou art not scourg'd.*———— CREECH.

g Athenæus Deipn. lib. vi.
h Aristoph. Equit.
i Aristoph. Pace.
k Epist. lib. i.

Sometimes they were racked upon the wheel (a cruelty never practised upon any free-born person), to extort a confession from them, when they were suspected to have been accessary to any villanous design, as Aristophanes informs us in his first comedy, where one says to a slave,

> Ἐπὶ τῦ τροχῦ γὰρ δεῖ σ' ἐκεῖ στρεβλούμενον
> Εἰπεῖν ἃ πεπανέργηκας.———
>
> We ought to rack you with incessant pain,
> To force you to reveal your rogueries. J. A.

The common way of correcting them for any offence was to scourge them with whips; whence a villain that had been guilty of any crime that deserved punishment was said μαστιγιᾷν, to stand in need of, and, as it were, itch for a scourge. Sometimes, to prevent their shrinking, or running away, they were tied fast to a pillar, and therefore Hyperides in Pollux saith, κρεμάσας ἐκ τῦ κίονος, ἐξέδειρεν; for so, I think, that place ought to be read, and not, κρεμάσαι ἐκ τῦ κίονος, ἐξέδειρεν[l], as the vulgar editions have it.

They who were convicted of any notorious offence were condemned to grind at the mill, a labour exceeding toilsome in those days, when they were forced to beat their grain into meal, being unacquainted with the easy way of grinding which is used amongst us, and was the invention of later ages. And therefore, when they had a mind to express the greatness of any labour or toil, it was usual to compare it to grinding in a mill, *Tibi mecum erit, Crasse, in eodem pistrino vivendum,* says Tully[m]; that is, You and I, Crassus, must undergo the same troublesome course of life. But, beside the labour they were put to, they were beaten with rods or scourges; sometimes, if their offence was very great, to death, as we learn from Terence, the scene of whose drama is laid in Attica;

> *Verberibus cæsum te in pistrinum, Dave, dedam usque ad necem*[n].
>
> I'll have you beat to mummy, and then thrown
> In prison, sirrah! and for life.

Or else, as others understand this place, they were condemned to that punishment as long as they lived.

These mills were called in general Μύλωνες; which word, because of the cruelty there exercised upon poor slaves, Pollux tells us was ἐκ εὔφημος, *unlucky,* or *inauspicious,* and not to be named, and therefore he calls it Σιτοποιϊκὸς οἶκος. They had several names, from the different sorts of grain that was ground in them, as, Χονδροκόπια, or Χονδροκοπεῖα, Ἀλφιτεῖα, ζώτεια, Ζώντεια, or ζωντεῖα, and Ζητρεῖα, whence

l Onomast. lib. iii. cap. 8. m De Orat. n Andria.

comes the word ζατρεύειν, to examine upon the rack, as was usual in that place[o].

It was likewise customary to stigmatize slaves, which was usually done in the forehead, as being most visible; sometimes other parts were thus used, it being customary, as Galen observes[p], to punish the member that had offended; if the slave was a glutton, his belly must suffer; if a tell-tale, his tongue must be cut out, and so of the rest. The common way of stigmatizing was, by burning the member with a red-hot iron, marked with certain letters, till a fair impression was made, and then pouring ink into the furrows, that the inscription might be the more conspicuous; persons thus used were called Στιγματίαι, and Στίγωνες, saith Pollux, or Attagæ, because that bird was ποικιλόπτερος, of divers colours, as Aristophanes tells us[q]. Pliny calls them *inscripti*[r]; and others *literati*, as Plautus,

——si hic literatus me sinat.

And what the same author means by *trium literarum homo*, no man can be ignorant. This punishment was seldom or never inflicted upon any but slaves; and with them it was so frequent, that the Samians, when they gave a great number of slaves their liberty, and admitted them to offices in the state, were branded with the infamous name of *literati*;

> Σαμίων ὁ Δῆμος ἐςὶ πολυγράμματος.
> The Samian people (fie for shame)
> For store of letters have great fame. LITTLETON.

saith Aristophanes in Plutarch[s]; though others, and amongst them Plutarch himself, assign different reasons for this appellation[t]. This was the greatest mark of infamy that could be inflicted on them; and therefore Phocylides advises to forbear it, even in slaves;

> Στίγματα μὴ γράψῃς, ἐπονειδίζων θεράποντα[u].
> Your slaves brand not with characters of infamy.

On the contrary, in Thrace, Herodotus tells us, it was accounted a badge of honour, and used by none but persons of credit, nor omitted but by those of the meanest rank[w]. Τὸ μὲν ἐςίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται, τὸ δὲ ἄςικτον ἀγεννές· *To be stigmatized*, says he, *is reputed a mark of quality, to want which is a disgrace.* The same is affirmed by Claudian of the Geloni, who inhabited a part of Scythia[x];

> *Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus.*

[o] Pollux, lib. iii. cap. 8. Hesychius. Suidas, Etymolog.
[p] Lib. vi.
[q] Avibus.
[r] Lib. xviii. cap. 3.
[s] Pericle.
[t] Erasm. Adag.
[u] V. 212.
[w] Lib. v.
[x] Lib. i. in Rufin.

And some relate that the Ancient Britons, *tenellis infantibus notas, certasque figuras animalium ardenti ferro imprimebant*: imprinted upon the bodies of their infants the figures of animals, and other marks, with hot-irons[y]. The same is likewise affirmed by Tertullian[z], who reports, that the Britons were distinguished by such marks or stigmata, in the same manner as the Garamantes by their feathers, the barbarians by their curls, and the Athenians by their grasshoppers. And Claudian mentions the same custom[a];

> ———*Ferroque notatas*
> *Perlegit exsangues Picto moriente figuras.*

But it must not be forgotten in this place, that slaves were not only branded with stigmata for a punishment of their offences, but (which was the common end of these marks), to distinguish them, in case they should desert their masters; for which purpose it was common to brand their soldiers; only with this difference, that whereas slaves were commonly stigmatized in their forehead, and with the name or some peculiar character belonging to their masters, soldiers were branded in the hand, and with the name or character of their general. After the same manner, it was likewise customary to stigmatize the worshippers and votaries of some of the gods: whence Lucian, speaking of the votaries of the Syrian goddess, affirms, *They were all branded with certain marks, some in the palms of their hands, and others in their necks: whence it became customary for all the Assyrians thus to stigmatize themselves.* And Theodoret is of opinion[b], that the Jews were forbidden to brand themselves with stigmata, because the idolaters, by that ceremony, used to consecrate themselves to their false deities. The marks used on these occasions were various. Sometimes they contained the name of the god, sometimes his particular ensign (παράσημον), such were the *thunderbolt* of Jupiter, the *trident* of Neptune, the *ivy* of Bacchus: whence Ptolemy Philopater was by some nicknamed Gallus, διὰ τὸ φύλλα κισσοῦ κατεστίχθαι, *because his body was marked with the figures of ivy leaves*[c]. Or, lastly, they marked themselves with some mystical number, whereby the god's name was described. Thus the sun, who was signified by the number 608, is said to have been represented by these two numeral letters χη[d]. These three ways of stigmatizing are all expressed by St John, in the book of Revelation[e]; *and he causeth all,*

[y] Lucas de Linda Descr. Orbis.
[z] De veland. Virgin.
[a] De bello Getic.
[b] Quæst. in Levit. xviii.
[c] Etymolog. Magni. Auctor. v. Γάλλος.
[d] Conf. Martianus Capella.
[e] Cap. xiii. ver. 16, 17.

both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name. But to return from this digression.

Such were treated with more humanity at Athens than in most other places; for if any of them were grievously oppressed, they were allowed to fly for sanctuary to Theseus's temple, whence to force them was an act of sacrilege[f]. And those that had been barbarously treated by their masters had the privilege of commencing a suit at law against them, which they called Ὕβρεως δίκην, or Αἰκίας δίκην, the former of which was against such as had made any violent attempts upon the chastity of their slaves; the latter against those that had used too much severity in punishing them; and if it appeared that the complaint was reasonable and just, the master was obliged to sell his slave. This is plainly proved by Julius Pollux[g], out of Aristophanes's Horæ, whence he cites the following verses:

> Εἰ μὴ κράτιστόν ἐστιν εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον
> Δραμεῖν, ἐκεῖ δ' ἕως ἂν εὕρωμεν πρᾶσιν,
> Μένειν.

Unless it be most expedient to fly to the temple of Theseus, and there remain till we are sold to another master. The same he observes out of Eupolis's Πόλεις.

> Κακὰ τοιάδε πάσχουσιν, οὐδὲ πρᾶσιν
> Αἰτοῦσιν.————

They endure these evils, and do not demand to be sold. Neither did the law secure them only from their own masters, but if any other citizen did them any injury, they were allowed to vindicate themselves by a course of law[h].

Besides, they being delivered from the injurious treatment of tyrants, the slaves at Athens had a great deal the advantage of their brethren in other places, in many respects; they might use their tongues with far greater freedom, as appears every where from the comedies of Aristophanes, Plautus, and Terence; and indulge themselves in the enjoyment of a great many pleasures, which in other places they had not the smallest taste of; insomuch that Demosthenes tells us, the condition of a slave in Athens was preferable to that of a free denizen in some other cities[i]; and Plautus sufficiently testifies the truth of what he saith;

f Plut. Theseo.
g Lib. vii. cap. 2.
h Athenæus Deipnosoph. lib. vi.
i Philip. iii.

Atque id ne vos miremini, homines servulos
Potare, amare, atque ad cœnam condicere;
Licet hoc Athenis———[k].

The laws at Athens don't our slaves restrain
From pleasure, mirth, and gaiety of life,
For they may revel, be inflam'd with love,
And live as much at ease as some free denizens. J. A.

Farther, they were permitted to get estates for themselves, paying only a small tribute to their masters every year out of them; and if they could procure as much as would pay for their ransom, their masters had no power to hinder them from buying their liberty, as may be observed from the same author, who introduces a slave speaking in this manner;

Quid tu me verò libertate territas?
Quod si tu nolis, filiusque etiam tuus,
Vobis invitis, atque amborum ingratiis,
Una libella liber possum fieri[l].

Pray, sir, good words, since you, nor yet your son
Can bar me of my liberty, although
You pour your threatenings thus; for if I please,
In spite of both, even with a single as,
I can my freedom purchase.

Sometimes, if they had been faithful and diligent in their masters business, they dismissed them of their own accord; and upon the performance of any remarkable service for the public, the state usually took care to reward them with liberty. Such of them as were admitted to serve in the wars, were seldom left in the condition of slaves, either for fear the remembrance of their former oppression might move them to revolt to the enemy, or raise a sedition at home, so fair an opportunity being put into their hands; or to animate them with greater courage and constancy to oppose the invaders, when they were to receive so great a reward for the dangers they underwent; or because it was thought unreasonable that such as hazarded their lives in defence of their country's liberty, should themselves groan under the heavy yoke of slavery, and be deprived of even the smallest part of that, which was in a great measure owing to their courage and loyalty; for one, I say, or all these reasons, such as upon emergent occasions took up arms for the public safety, seldom failed of having their liberty restored to them. An instance whereof, to mention no more, we have in the slaves that behaved themselves valiantly in the sea-fight at Arginusæ, where the Athenians obtained a signal victory against Callicratidas, the Lacedæmonian admiral; and therefore the slave in Aristophanes being almost ready to faint under an heavy bur-

k Sticho. l Casina.

den, accuseth his own cowardice, that hindered him from listing himself amongst the marine forces, and thereby recovering his liberty;

> Οἴμαι κακοδαίμων· τί γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐκ ἐναυμάχεν [m];
> Pox take this heart, that durst not meet
> In boist'rous seas the Spartan fleet.

Slaves, as long as they were under the government of a master, were called Οἰκέται; but after their freedom was granted them, they were Δῦλοι, not being, like the former, a part of their master's estate, but only obliged to some grateful acknowledgments, and small services [n], such as were required of the Μέτοικοι, to whom they were in some few things inferior; but seldom arrived to the dignity of citizens, especially if they had received their freedom from a private person, and not upon a public account; for such as were advanced for public services, seem to have lived in great repute, and enjoyed a larger share of liberty than others that had only merited their freedom by the obligations they had laid upon particular persons. These therefore were sometimes advanced to be citizens, yet not without the opposition or dislike of many:

> Καὶ γάρ αἰσχρόν ἐςι, τὲς μὲν ναυμαχήσαντας μίαν,
> Καὶ Πλαταιᾶς εὐθὺς εἶναι, κἀντὶ δέλων δεσπότας.

It being dishonourable to rank those, who had been in one engagement at sea, with the Platæans, that is, *to honour them with the privileges of Athenian citizens, and from slaves to make them masters,* as one affirms in Aristophanes [o]. Whence there was a law enacted, whereby the public criers were forbidden to proclaim the freedom of a slave in the theatre, that being a place of public concourse, and frequented by men of other cities, who would, on that account, have less value for the privileges of Athens [p]. Lastly, the ἀπελεύθεροι, *slaves made free,* were termed νόθοι, *bastards;* νόθοι γὰρ οὗτοι πρὸς τὲς ἐκ γενετῆς ἐλευθέρες, *they being under a sort of illegitimacy, if compared with the genuine and free-born citizens* [q].

A tribute of twelve drachms was exacted of the Μέτοικοι, and the same, with an addition of three oboli, was required of the freedmen [r]. Also they were obliged to choose a Προςάτης, who was to be no other than the master, out of whose service they had been released: Upon him they attended almost in the same manner with the Roman *liberti* and *clientes;* but in case they behaved themselves stubbornly and ungratefully towards him, he had power to arrest

[m] Ranis, act. i. scen. 1.
[n] Chrysippus de Concordia, lib. ii.
[o] Ranis, act. ii. scen. 6.
[p] Æschines Orat. in Ctesiphontem.
[q] Nonnus in Nazianzeni Στηλιτ. ά.
[r] Harpocrat.

them and carry them before a judge, by whom, if they were found guilty, they were deprived of their liberty, and reduced to their former miserable condition. But if the judge acquitted them, they became τελέως ἐλεύθεροι, *entirely free* from their master. This action was termed ἀποστασίου δίκη, which name was also given to the complaints made by servants and freed-men against their masters and patrons, which both of them were allowed to prefer, if they were not treated with all the humanity that was due to their respective conditions: but because all the freed-men's public business, like that of the Μέτοικοι, was to be managed chiefly by proxies, at their restoration to liberty, both of them had the privilege of choosing an Επίτροπος, or *curator*, who, in case his client received any injury from his patron, was to defend him, to appeal for him, and plead his cause before the judges, who, out of respect to the patron, were appointed out of his own tribe [s].

This was the condition of slaves in Athens, which, though in itself deplorable enough, yet, if compared with that of their fellow-sufferers in other cities, seems very easy, at least tolerable, and not to be repined at. I might here give you an account of the various conditions of slaves in the several countries of Greece, such as the Penestæ in Thessaly; the Clarotæ and Mnoitæ in Crete; the Corynephori in Sicyon; the Gymnitæ at Argos, and many others: but I shall only at present lay before you the state of the Helotæ in Sparta, which, because of the frequent mention made of them in authors, must not be omitted; and from their treatment, though they were a more genteel sort of slaves, and enjoyed more privileges [a] than the rest, will appear the truth of what Plutarch tells us was commonly said of Sparta, Εν Λακεδαίμονι τὸν ἐλεύθερον μάλιστα ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, καὶ τὸν δοῦλον μάλιστα δοῦλον, that in Sparta, he that was free was most so; and he that was a slave was the greatest slave in the world [b].

The Helotæ were so called from Helos, a Laconian town, conquered by the Spartans, who made all the inhabitants prisoners of war, and reduced them into the condition of slaves [c].

The free-men of Sparta were forbidden the exercise of any mean or mechanical employment; and therefore the whole care of supplying the city with necessaries was devolved upon the Helots; the ground was tilled, and all sorts of trades managed by them; whilst their masters, gentlemen-like, spent all their time in dancing and

[s] Suidas, Harpocrat.
[a] Pollux, lib. iii. cap. 8.
[b] Plutarch. Lycurg.
[c] Strabo, lib. viii. Harpocrat.

feasting, in their exercises, hunting matches, and the λέσχαι, or places where good company used to meet[d].

But the being condemned to such drudgeries all their lives had been at least supportable, had they not been also treated in the most barbarous manner, and often murdered, without committing any fault, and without any show of justice. And of this the Κρυπτία, or secret law, the invention whereof some ascribe to the Ephori, others to Lycurgus, is a sufficient proof. 'It was an ordinance (these are Plutarch's own words), by which those who had the care of the young men, dispatched privately some of the ablest of them into the country from time to time, armed only with daggers, and taking a little necessary provision with them: these in the day-time hid themselves in the thickets and clefts, and there lay close; but in the night issued out into the highways, and murdered all the Helots they could light upon; sometimes they set upon them by day, as they were at work in the field, and killed them in cold blood, as Thucydides reports in his history of the Peloponnesian war. The same author tells us (with Plutarch), that a good number of them being crowned by proclamation (which was a token of their being set free), enfranchised for their good services, and led about to all the temples in token of honour, disappeared all of a sudden, being about the number of two thousand; and no man either then, or since, could give any account how they came by their deaths. Aristotle adds, that the Ephori, so soon as they were entered into their office, used to declare war against them, that they might be massacred with a pretence of law.'

It is confessed on all hands (proceeds my author), that the Spartans dealt with them very hardly; for it was a thing common to force them to drink to excess, and to lead them in that condition into their public halls, that their children might see *what a contemptible and beastly sight a drunken man is.* They made them to dance uncomely dances, and sing ridiculous songs; forbidding them expressly to use any thing that was serious and manly, because they *would not have them profaned by their mouths.* For this reason, when the Thebans made an incursion into Laconia, and took a great number of the Helots prisoners, they could by no means persuade them to sing the odes of Terpander, Alcman, or Spendon, poets in repute at Lacedæmon; for, said they, *they are our masters songs, we dare not sing them*[e].

[d] Plutarch. Lycurg. [e] Plutarch. ibidem.

Having given you a survey of the usage slaves generally met with amongst the ancients, it remains that I give you an account how they came to fall into this deplorable condition, from that liberty which all men are by nature made masters of. And it seems to have happened these three ways: *First*, From poverty, whereby men being unable to subsist of themselves, and perhaps deeply in debt, were forced to part with their freedom, and yield themselves slaves to such as were able to maintain them; or sell their bodies to their creditors, and pay them in service what they were not able to do in money. *Secondly*, Vast numbers were reduced to slavery by the chance of war, by which the conquered became wholly at the disposal of their conquerors. *Thirdly*, By the perfidiousness of those that traded in slaves, who often stole persons of ingenuous birth and education, and sold them. Aristophanes tells us, the Thessalians were notorious for this sort of villainy:

——————ΠΕ. Πόθεν οὖν ἕξεις θεράποντας;
ΧΡ. Ωνησόμεθ' ἀργυρίου δήπου. ΠΕ. Τίς δ' ἔσαι πρῶτον ὁ πωλῶν,
Οταν ἀργύριον κἀκεῖνος ἔχῃ; ΧΡ. Κερδαίνειν βυλόμενός τις
Εμπορος, ἥκων ἐκ Θητταλίας παρὰ πλείσων ἀνδραποδισῶν [y].

Pov. How will you, Sir, get slaves? Chr. I'll buy with coin.
Pov. But where? since all the merchants leave off sale,
Having got wealth enough. Chr. I'll warrant you,
Slave-mongers will come here from Thessaly,
Driv'n by hopes of getting more.——— J. A.

But if any person were convicted of having betrayed a freeman, he was severely punished by Solon's laws, except it was his daughter, or sister, whom the laws permitted them to sell for slaves, when convicted of fornication [z].

At Athens several places in the forum were appointed for the sale of slaves, of which I have spoken already; and upon the first day of every month, the merchants called Ανδραποδοκάπηλοι brought them into the market, and exposed them to sale [a], the crier standing upon a stone, erected for that purpose, called Πρατὴρ λίθος, and calling the people together [b]; whence Cicero opprobriously calls the tribunes, *emptos de lapide*, because they were suspected to have been hired to the management of a certain affair [c].

At Athens, when a slave was first brought home, there was an entertainment provided to welcome him to his new service, and certain sweet-meats were poured upon his head, which, for that reason, they called Καταχύσματα [d]. But I do not find that this ceremony was practised in other places; though, in all countries,

[y] Plut. act. ii. scen. 5.
[z] Plutarch. Solone.
[a] Aristoph. Σχ. Equit.
[b] Pollux, lib. iii. cap. 8.
[c] Orat. in Pisonem.
[d] Aristoph. Pluto, et Pollux, loc. cit.

slaves were bought and sold like other commodities. The Thracians are particularly remarkable for purchasing them with salt, and therefore they were called Πρὸς ἁλὸς ἠγορασμένα. Eustathius adds, that Αλώνητα δουλάρια, signified those that were bought at a very low rate. The Chians are reported to have been the first that gave money for slaves [e], whereas before they had usually been exchanged for other commodities, which was the ancient way of trading before the invention of money. Homer's heroes are often said to have exchanged their captives for provisions, and particularly at the end of the seventh Iliad.

> Ενθεν ἄρ' οἰνίζοντο καρηκομόωντες Αχαιοὶ,
> Αλλοι μὲν χαλκῷ, ἄλλοι δ' αἴθωνι σιδήρῳ,
> Αλλοι δὲ ῥινοῖς, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτοῖσι βοέσσιν,
> Αλλοι δ' ἀνδραπόδεσσι, τίθεντο δὲ δαῖτα θάλειαν.

> The Grecian Chiefs, by bart'ring of their ware,
> Their choice provisions and their wine prepare;
> Some brass exchange, some iron, some beasts' hides,
> Some slaves of war, some cattle.——— J. A.

Whence it appears, that the barbarous oppression and cruelty used towards slaves was not an effect of the pride of later ages, but practised in the most primitive and simple times: how long it continued is not certain.

Adrian is said to have been the first that took away from masters the power of putting their slaves to death without being called to account for it. And in the reign of Nero, and other cruel emperors of Rome, the masters were forced to give them civil treatment, for fear they should accuse them as persons disaffected to the government.

But the growth of christianity in the world seems to have put a final period to that unlimited power that lords in former ages claimed over their slaves; for the christians behaved themselves with abundance of mildness and gentleness towards them; partly to encourage them to embrace the christian religion, the propagating of which they aimed at more than the promotion of their own private interests; and partly, because they thought it barbarous and unnatural, that persons endued by nature with the same powers and faculties, the same tempers and inclinations, with themselves, should be treated with no more kindness than those creatures which are without reason, and have no power to reflect on their own condition, nor to be sensible of the miseries they lie under.

[e] Cœl. Rhod. Antiq. lib. xxv. cap. 9.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

The magistrates of Athens are divided by Æschines[f] into three sorts; the ground of which distinction is taken from the different methods of their election and promotion.

1. Χειροτονητοὶ, were such as received their dignity from the people, met together in a lawful assembly, which on this occasion was held in the Pnyx; and were so called from the manner of their election, in which the people gave their votes by *holding up their hands.*

2. Κληρωτοὶ, were those that owed their promotion to lots, which were drawn by the thesmothetæ in Theseus's temple. But it must be observed, that no person was permitted to try his fortune by the lots, unless he had been first approved by the people, who likewise reserved to themselves a power to appoint whom they pleased, without referring the decision to lots; and thus Aristides was nominated to the office of archon. The manner of casting lots was thus:—The name of every candidate inscribed upon a table of brass being put into an urn, together with beans, the choice fell upon those persons whose tablets were drawn out with white beans. If any man threw more than one tablet into the urn, he suffered capital punishment[g].

3. Αἱρετοὶ, were extraordinary officers, appointed by particular tribes or boroughs, to take care of any business; such were the surveyors of the public works, and such like.

According to Solon's constitutions no man was capable of being a magistrate, except he was possessed of a considerable estate; but, by Aristides's means, the poorer sort were admitted to a share in the government, and every free denizen rendered capable of appearing for the highest preferments. Yet such was the modesty of the commons, that they left the chief offices, and such as the care of the commonwealth depended upon, to persons of superior quality, aspiring no higher than the management of petty and trivial businesses[h]. Yet they seem to have been afterwards made incapable of bearing offices. Plutarch, in the life of Phocion,

[f] Orat. in Ctesiphont. Ulpian. in Androtiana.

[g] Demosth. Orat. in Bœotum de Nomine.

[h] Xenophon. de Rep. Athen.

mentions some who were ἀποψηφισθέντες τῆ πολιτεύματος διὰ τὴν πενίαν, *incapable of the government by reason of their poverty.* Neither is it improbable, that as different factions and interests became prevalent, sometimes the nobility admitted the commons to a participation of employments and offices, and sometimes again excluded them.

But though no man's quality or condition could exempt him from bearing public offices, yet his course of life and behaviour might; for if any man had lived a vicious and scandalous life, he was thought unworthy of the meanest office, it being improbable that a person that could not behave himself so as to gain reputation in a private capacity, should be able to demean himself prudently and wisely in a public station; or, that he, who had neglected his own concerns, or failed in the management of them, should be capable of undertaking public business, and providing for the commonwealth. And, therefore, before any man was admitted to a public employment, he was obliged to give an account of himself and his past life, before certain judges in the forum, which was the place appointed for his examination, which they called Δοκιμασία [i]. Nor was this alone thought sufficient; for though at this time they passed the trial with credit, yet in the first *ordinary* (κυρία) assembly after their election, they were a second time brought to the test, when, if any thing scandalous was made out against them, they were deprived of their honours [j]. And of the magistrates appointed by lots, whoever had the misfortune to be deprived after his election, was prohibited from coming to the public assembly, and making orations to the people [k]. But it was a capital crime for any man to enter upon the magistracy whilst unable to pay his debts. And actions of this nature were heard by the thesmothetæ [l]. And when their offices expired, they were obliged to give an account of their management to the *notaries* (γραμματεῖς), and the *logistæ*, which was called Εὐθύνη; and if any man neglected to do it, or had not undergone the former probation, the people were forbidden, by an express law, to present him with a crown, which was the usual reward of such as had gained themselves honour and reputation by the careful and wise management of public employments. Also, till their accounts were passed, they were not permitted to sue [m] for any other office,

i Lysiæ Orat. in Evandr. Æschines contra Timarchum.

j Demost. in Theocr.

k Demost. in Aristogit.

l Demosth. Leptinea et Timocratea.

m Suidas, Hesychius, Æschin. Orat. de Ement. Legat. Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

or place of trust, or to travel into any foreign country, or to dispose of their estates, or any part of them, whether by will, or consecrating them to pious uses, or any other way; but the whole was to remain entire, that in case they should be found to have embezzled the public revenues, the city might not lose by them. The (Λογισταὶ) *logistæ*, who examined the accounts, were ten. If any magistrate neglected to give in his accounts, they preferred against him an action, which was termed ἀλογίας δίκη [n]. If any controversy happened, it was determined by proper judges. If it was concerning money, the logistæ themselves were empowered to decide it. If it concerned affairs which belonged to the popular assembly, they referred thither. If it was about injuries committed, it was brought before the judges, who used to have cognisance of such causes [o]. Every man was permitted to offer his complaint, proclamation being usually made by the public crier in this form, Τίς βούλεται κατηγορεῖν, *who will accuse* [p]? The time limited for complaint was thirty days, which being past, no magistrate could have any farther trouble. If any person, against whom a complaint was preferred, refused to appear at the time appointed, he was summoned to defend himself before the senate of five hundred: where if he did not make his appearance, he was punished with ἀτιμία, *infamy*.

This was the method of examining into the behaviour of magistrates after the expiration of their offices. Neither were they exempted from being brought to trial during their magistracy; it being the custom for the nine archons in every ordinary and stated (κυρία) *assembly* of the people, to propound this question, Whether the magistrates were faithful in the discharge of their several duties? If, upon that any of them was accused, the crier made proclamation, that such as thought the accusation just, should lift up their hands; which action was termed καταχειροτονία. This being over, the rest of the assembly, to whom the magistrate appeared innocent, held up their hands, which was ἀποχειροτονία [q]. Then the voices being numbered on both sides, the majority carried it.

The day in which the magistrates entered upon their offices, was the first of Hecatombæon, the first month in the Athenian calendar; it was a solemn festival, which, from the occasion, had

[n] Hesychius.

[o] Ulpianus in Demosthenis Orat. de falsa legat. Pollux.

[p] Æschinis Orat. adv. Ctesiphontem.

[q] Suidas, cujus elegans est hac de re locus.

the name of Εἰσιτήρια, and was celebrated with all the expressions of mirth and joy, usual on such occasions. Also sacrifices were offered to the gods by the senators, and most of the other magistrates; and prayers made for the prosperity of the city, in the chapel of Jupiter and Minerva the counsellors [r].

CHAP. XII.

Of the Nine Archons, &c.

THE chief magistrates of Athens were nine in number, and had all the common name of Archontes, or rulers. They were elected by lots, but were not admitted to their offices till they had undergone a two-fold trial, one in the senate-house, called Ανάκρισις, and a second in the forum, called Δοκιμασία. The questions which the senate proposed to them were such as these, Whether they were descended from ancestors that had been citizens of Athens for three generations? Of what tribe and hundred they were, and whether they bore any relation to Apollo Patrius and Jupiter Herceus? Whether they had been dutiful to their parents, had served in the wars, and had a competent estate [z]? Lastly, Whether they were ἀφελεῖς, *perfect in all the members of their bodies?* it being otherwise unlawful for them to be archons. And, as some are of opinion, the same questions were demanded of all other magistrates [s]. We must not omit in this place, that by the fore-mentioned question concerning their relation to Apollo Patrius and Jupiter Herceus, was inquired whether they were freeborn citizens of Athens (they alone being permitted to execute the office of archon); for all the Athenians claimed a sort of relation to these gods. Hence we are told by the scholiast on Aristophanes [t], that the archons honoured Apollo Patrius as their progenitor, when they were admitted into their office; ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ μὴ εἰδέναι, ξένους αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον, *because such as had no acquaintance with him were reputed foreigners.* Whence that saying of Aristophanes [u].

———————οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶ βάρβαροι,
Οὐδ᾽ ὁ πατρῷός ἐστιν———

[r] Suidas, Ulpian. in Median. Antiphon. Orat. de Choreuta.

[z] Demosth. in Eubulid. Pollux. Onom. lib. viii. cap. 9.

[s] Dicæarchus contra Aristogit.

[t] Nubibus.

[u] Avibus, p. 596, edit. Amstelod.

For they are not barbarians who live with Apollo Patrius. But afterwards, when the Athenian glory was in the declension, not only men of the half blood of Athens, but even foreigners, who had been admitted into the city, were made archons. Examples whereof are, Hadrian before he was advanced to be emperor of Rome [v]; and Plutarch, who relates [w], that himself was honoured with the freedom of Athens, made a member of the tribe Leontis, and afterwards bore the office of archon.

But what was more peculiar to these magistrates, was the oath required of them before their admission, in the portico called Βασίλειος στοὰ, πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ, *at the stone tribunal*, in the forum, to this effect; that they would observe the laws, and administer justice without partiality, would never be corrupted by bribes, or, if they were, would dedicate a statue of gold of equal weight with their own bodies, to the Delphian Apollo; from thence they went into the citadel, and there repeated the same oath. This custom was instituted by Solon, as we are informed by Plutarch in his life of that lawgiver. He mentions only the Thesmothetæ; but that the other archons took the same oath, is evident from Plato, by whom Phædrus is introduced, promising to dedicate at Delphi a golden statue equal to himself in weight, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐννέα Ἄρχοντες, *after the manner of the nine archons.*

This done, they undertook the charge, some parts of which were to be executed by them separately, according to their respective offices; others equally concerned them all. They had all the power of punishing malefactors with death, were all crowned with garlands of myrtle; they had a joint commission for appointing the Δικασταὶ, and Ἀθλοθέται, by lots, electing out of every tribe one; as also of constituting the Ἵππαρχος, Φύλαρχος, and Στρατηγοί; of inquiring into the behaviour and management of other magistrates, and deposing such as were by the suffrages of the people declared to be unworthy of bearing the office which had been committed to them [x]. And as a recompence of their services, they were free from all taxes and contributions exacted of other citizens for the building of ships of war, which was an immunity never granted to any besides themselves. If any person had the insolence to strike, or publicly affront any of the archons, adorned with their crowns, or any other to whom the citizens had given a crown, or

[v] Xiphilinus Hadriano, Phlegon Trallianus.
[w] Symposiac. lib. i. problem. 10. et lib. x. probl. ultimo.
[x] Pollux, ibid. ubique idem laudatur in his capitibus.

other honour or immunity, he was to be punished with infamy (ἀτιμία), as guilty of a disrespect not only to the person whom he had injured, but to the whole commonwealth [y].

And thus much of the nine archons in common: I shall now speak to them severally; only first begging leave to tell you, that concerning the first original of their names nothing certain is recorded; but Sigonius conjectures, that the name of Βασιλεὺς, and Αρχων, were in imitation of the chief magistrates of former ages, wherein the city was first governed by kings, and then by archons; and that of Πολέμαρχος, in memory of the general of the army, an officer usually created by the first kings to assist them in times of war. And the Θεσμοθέται, as their name imports, seem to have been constituted in behalf of the people, to protect them in the possession of their laws and liberties, from the usurpation of the other archons, whose power, before Solon's regulation of the commonwealth, seems to have been far greater, and more unbounded, than afterwards; for by that lawgiver it was ordered, that their offices should chiefly consist in these things which follow:—

Αρχων, so called by way of eminence, was chief of the nine, and is sometimes named Επώνυμος, because the year took its denomination from him. His jurisdiction reached both ecclesiastical and civil affairs. It was his business to determine all causes betwixt men and their wives; concerning wives brought to bed after the death of their husbands; concerning wills and testaments; concerning dowries and legacies; to take care of orphans, and provide tutors and guardians for them; to hear the complaints of such as had been injured by their neighbours, and to punish such as were addicted to drunkenness; also to take the first cognizance of some public actions, such as those called Εἰσαγγελίαι, Φάσεις, Ενδείξεις, Εφηγήσεις, of which in their place. He kept a court of judicature in the Odeum, where trials about victuals and other necessaries were brought before him. It was his duty also to appoint curators, called Επιμεληταὶ, to make provision for the celebration of the feasts called Διονύσια, and Θαργήλια, with some other solemnities; to take care for the regulation of stage plays, and to provide singers, choristers, and other necessaries for them [z]. He was to be punished with death, if convicted of being overcome with drink during the time of his office.

Βασιλεὺς, had a court of judicature in the royal portico, where

y Demosthenes in Midiana.

z Pollux Onomastic. Lysias in Alcibiadem. Demosth. in Macar. Suidas, Harpocrat. et ubique in his capitibus.

he decided all disputes which happened amongst the priests, and the sacred families, such as were the Ceryces, Eteobutadæ, &c. to whom certain offices in the celebration of divine worship belonged by inheritance. Such also as were accused of impiety, or profanation of any of the mysteries, temples, or other sacred things, were brought before him. It was his business to assist in the celebration of the Eleusinian and Lenæan festivals, and all those in which they ran races with torches in their hands, viz. Panathenæa, Hephæstia, and Promethea; and to offer public sacrifices for the safety and prosperity of the commonwealth. It was required that his wife, whom they termed Βασιλισσα, should be a citizen of the whole blood of Athens, and a virgin, (which was likewise enjoined by the Jewish law to the high priest,) otherwise neither of them was duly qualified to preside over the mysteries and rites of their several religions[a]. Besides this, he had some concernment in secular affairs; for disputes about inanimate things were brought before him; as also accusations of murder, which it was his business to take an account of, and then refer them to the areopagites, amongst whom he had a right of suffrage, but was obliged to lay aside his crown (which was one of the badges of his office) during the trial[b].

Πολέμαρχος, had under his care all the strangers and sojourners in Athens, and exercised the same authority over them which was used by the archon towards the citizens. It was his duty to offer a solemn sacrifice to Enyalius (who is by some taken for Mars, by others for one of his attendants), and another to Diana, surnamed Αγροτέρα, from one of the Athenian boroughs; to celebrate the exequies of the famous patriot Harmodius, and to take care that the children of those men that had lost their lives in their country's service, should have a competent maintenance out of the public exchequer.

But because these three magistrates were often, by reason of their youth, not so well skilled in the laws and customs of their country as might have been wished, that they might not be left wholly to themselves, it was customary for each of them to make choice of two persons of age, gravity, and reputation, to sit with them upon the bench, and direct them as there was occasion. These they called Πάρεδροι, or *assessors*, and obliged them to undergo the same probation in the senate-house, and public forum, with the other magistrates; and like them too, to give an account how they

[a] Demosth. in Neæram. [b] Demosth. in Lacritum et in Neæram.

had behaved themselves in their respective trusts, when their offices expired.

The six remaining archons were called by one common name, Thesmothetæ. They received complaints against persons guilty of false accusations, of calumniating, of bribery, of impiety, which also was part of the king's office, but with this difference, that the accusers did only φαίνειν τὸν ἀσεϐῆ, inform against the impious by word of mouth at the king's tribunal; whereas, before the Thesmothetæ, they did γράφειν, deliver their indictment in writing, and prosecute the criminal. Also all causes and disputes between the citizens and strangers, sojourners, or slaves, and controversies about trade and merchandize, were brought before them. Appeals to the people were preferred, the public examination of several of the magistrates performed, and the suffrages in public assemblies taken by them. They ratified all public contracts and leagues, appointed the days upon which the judges were to sit and hear causes in their several courts of judicature; took care that no laws should be established but such as conduced to the safety and prosperity of the commonwealth, and prosecuted those that endeavoured to seduce the unwary multitude, and persuade them to give their consent to what was contrary to the interest of the commonwealth.

Εὔθυνοι, were ten officers appointed to assist the archons, to pass the accounts of the magistrates, and to set a fine upon such as they found to have embezzled the public treasure, or any way injured the commonwealth by their maladministration. Aristotle [c] tells us they were sometimes called Ἐξετασταὶ, and Συνήγοροι, and others will have them to be the same with the Λογισταί; but these are by Aristotle said to be distinguished from them.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

Οἱ ἕνδεκα, *the eleven,* so called from their number, were elected out of the body of the people, each of the ten tribes sending one; to which there was added a Γραμματεὺς, or register, to make up the number; sometimes they were called Νομοφύλακες, *keepers of the*

[c] Polit. lib. vi. cap. ultimo.

laws, which appellation was taken from their office, being in some things not unlike to that of our sheriffs, for they were to see malefactors put to execution, and had the charge of such as were committed to the public prison. They had also power to seize thieves, kidnappers, and highwaymen, upon suspicion; and if they confessed the fact, to put them to death; if not, they were obliged to prosecute them in a judicial way.

Φύλαρχοι, were magistrates that presided over the Athenian tribes, one of which was allotted to each of them. Afterwards this name became peculiar to a military command; and the governors of tribes were called Επιμεληταὶ φυλῶν. Their business was to take care of the public treasure which belonged to each tribe, to manage all their concerns, and call them together to consult, as oft as any thing happened which required the presence of the whole body.

Φυλοβασιλεῖς, seem to have had in most things the same office, with respect to particular tribes, that the Βασιλεὺς had with respect to the commonwealth. They were chosen out of the Εὐπατρίδαι, or nobility, had the care of public sacrifices, and other divine worship peculiar to their respective tribes, and kept their court in the portico called Βασίλειον, and sometimes in the Βυκολεῖον.

Φρατρίαρχοι, and Τριττύαρχοι, had in the several Φρατρίαι and Τριττύες the same power that the Φύλαρχος exercised over the whole tribe.

Δήμαρχοι, had the same offices in the Δῆμοι, took care of their revenues, out of which they paid all the duties required of them, assembled the people in the boroughs under their jurisdiction, all whose names they had written in a register, and presided at the election of senators and other magistrates chosen by lots. Sometimes we find them called Ναύκραροι, and the boroughs Ναυκραρίαι, because each of them was obliged, besides two horsemen, to furnish out one ship for the public service.

Ληξίαρχοι, were six in chief, but were assisted by thirty inferior officers, in laying fines upon such as came not to public assemblies, and making scrutiny amongst those that were present: such also as were busy in the market they compelled to leave their buying and selling, and attend on the public business; the which they did by the help of the Τοξόται, who were certain inferior officers, or rather servants, much like the Roman lictors, and our sheriff's livery-men, bailiffs, &c. The city of Athens had a thousand of them, that lived in tents erected in the middle of the forum, and were afterwards removed to the areopagus. Their name seems to have been taken from the arms they usually carried with them, in

the same manner that the life-guards of kings are called Δορυφόροι. Sometimes they are called Δημόσιοι Επόπται, a name which was taken from their offices; sometimes Πευσίνιοι, from Peusinus, one of the primitive Athenians, that either first instituted this office, or gave rules for the ordering of it; and sometimes Σκύθαι, from the country of Scythia; for generally men of that country were chosen into this place, as being brawny sturdy fellows; and therefore one of them is introduced by Aristophanes, speaking in an uncouth and barbarous manner [d]. But to return to the Lexiarchi. They were the persons that had the keeping of ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, or λεύκωμα, or public register of the whole city, in which were written the names of all the citizens, as soon as they came to be of age to enter upon their paternal inheritance, which they called Λῆξις.

Νομοφύλακες, were officers, whose business it was to see that neither the magistrates nor common people made any innovation upon the laws, and to punish the stubborn and disobedient [e]. To this end, in public assemblies they had seats appointed with the Πρόεδροι, that they might be ready to oppose any man that should act contrary to the laws and received customs, or promote any thing against the public good. As a token of the honourable station they were placed in, they always wore a white ribband in the solemn games and public shows, and had chairs erected for them over against those of the nine archons.

Νομοθέται, were a thousand in number, who were commonly chosen by lot out of such as had been judges in the court Heliæa. Their office was not (as the name seems to imply) to enact new laws by their own authority, for that could not be done without the approbation of the senate, and the people's ratification, but to inspect the old; and, if they found any of them useless or prejudicial, as the state of affairs then stood, or contradictory to others, they caused them to be abrogated by an act of the people. Besides this, they were to take care that no man should plough or dig deep ditches within the Pelasgian wall, to apprehend the offenders, and send them to the Archon.

d Aristophanes ejusque Scholiast. Acarn. et Thesmoph.

e Cicero de Legib. lib. iii. Columella de Re Rust. lib. xii. cap. 3.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

THE treasurers and general receivers of Athens were of several sorts; but before I proceed to give an account of their offices, it will be necessary to premise a word or two concerning the public revenues; which are, by the accurate Sigonius, divided into these four following sorts:—

1. Τέλη, signify those revenues that were brought in by lands, mines, woods, and other public possessions, set apart for the use of the commonwealth; and the tributes paid by the sojourners, and the freed servants; as also the customs required of certain arts and trades, and particularly of merchants, for the exportation and importation of their goods.

2. Φόροι, were the annual payments exacted of all their tributary cities, which, after Xerxes's overthrow, were first levied by the Athenians, as contributions to enable them to carry on the war, in case, as was feared, the enemy should make a new invasion upon them. The first collector of this tax was Aristides, who (as Plutarch reports in his life) assessed all particular persons, town by town, according to every man's ability; and the sum raised by him amounted to four hundred and sixty talents. To this Pericles added near a third part (proceeds my author); for Thucydides reports, that in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians had coming in from their confederates six hundred talents. After Pericles's death, the orators and men powerful amongst the people, proceeded to increase it by little and little, till it amounted to one thousand and three hundred talents; and that not so much because of the extraordinary expensiveness of the wars, as by exciting the people to largesses, playhouse expences, and the erecting of statues and temples.

3. Εἰσφοραὶ, were taxes laid upon the citizens, as well as sojourners and freed servants, by the order of the assembly and senate, for the defraying of extraordinary charges, occasioned by long and unsuccessful wars, or any other means.

4. Τιμήματα, were fines and amercements, all which were carried into the exchequer, except the tenth part, which was given to Minerva, and the fiftieth part, which belonged to the rest of the gods,

and the heroes called Επώνυμοι. Having said thus much of the public money, I shall now proceed to the persons that had the disposal and management of it.

Επιστάτης, was elected by lot out of the prytanes, and had in his custody the keys of the public exchequer; which trust was thought so great, that no man was permitted to enjoy it above once. Of the rest of the honours and offices of this magistrate I shall speak in another place.

Πωλῆται, were ten in number, and, together with those that had the care of the money allowed for shows, had the power of letting out the tribute money, and other public revenues, and selling estates that were confiscated; all which bargains were ratified in the name of their president. Besides this, it was their office to convict such as had not paid the tribute, called Μετοίκιον, and sell them by auction. Under these were certain inferior officers, called Εκλογεῖς, whose business it was to collect the public money, for such as had leases of the city's revenues, whom they called Τελῶναι; these were always persons of good credit themselves, and besides their own bonds, were obliged to give other security for the payment of the money due according to their leases; in which, if they failed any longer than till the ninth Prytanea, they were under a forfeiture of twice the principal, to be paid by themselves or their sureties; upon neglect of which, they were all cast into prison, and their estates confiscated [f]. After the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, certain officers, called Σύνδικοι, were created, with power to take cognizance of all complaints about the confiscation of goods, as appears from an oration of Lysias in behalf of Nicias.

Επιγραφεῖς, were officers that rated all those of whom taxes and contributions were required, according to every man's ability, kept the public accounts, and prosecuted such as were behind-hand with their contributions.

Αποδέκται, were ten general receivers, to whom all the public revenues, contribution-money, and debts owed to the public were paid: which done, they registered all their receptions, and crossed out of the public debt-book such as had discharged their debts, in the presence of the whole senate. If any controversy happened about the money or taxes, they had power to decide it, except it was a difficult or knotty point, or of high concern; for such they referred to the hearing of some of the courts of judicature.

[f] Suidas, Ulpianus in Demosthen. &c.

Αντιγραφεὺς τῆς Βουλῆς, was a public notary, appointed at the first institution of the office by election, and afterwards by lots, to take a counterpart of the accounts of the Αποδέκται, for the prevention of all deceit and mistakes.

Ελληνοταμίαι, or Ελληνοταμιαῖοι, had the same offices in the tributary cities that belonged to the Αποδέκται in their own territories.

Πράκτορες, were those that received the money due to the city from fines laid upon criminals.

Ταμίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν Θεῶν, were those that received that part of the fines which was due to Minerva and the rest of the gods, which was done before the senate. They were ten in number, were chosen by lots out of the Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, or nobles, and had power of remitting any man's fine, if it was made appear to them that the magistrates had unjustly imposed it. Pollux tells us, they were the same with those they called Κωλακρέται; and these, as the scholiast upon Aristophanes reports, used to receive not only the money due to the gods from fines, but other incomes designed for civil uses, and particularly the Τριώβολα, distributed amongst the judges, and therefore called Δικαστικὸς μισθός. They were so named, *q.* Κωλακρέται, because they were a kind of priests, and used to claim as their due, the relics of sacrifices, amongst which were the skins and the Κῶλα [g].

Ζητηταὶ, were officers appointed upon extraordinary occasions to inquire after the public debts, when, through the neglect of the receivers, or by other means, they were run up to large sums, and began to be in danger of being lost, if not called in.

The distinction of the officers hitherto mentioned has been taken chiefly from the different receptions of the public money; I shall proceed in Sigonius's method, and give you an account, in the next place, of those that were distinguished by the different manners of disbursing it. And to this end, you must know the public treasure was divided into three sorts, according to the various uses to which it was employed; the first they called,

1. Χρήματα τῆς διοικήσεως, being such as were expended in civil uses.

2. Στρατιωτικὰ, those that were required to defray the charges of the war.

3. Θεωρικὰ, such as were consecrated to pious uses; in which they included the expences at plays, public shows, and festivals, because most of them were celebrated in honour of some of the

[g] Aristoph. Schol. Avibus, Vespis.

gods, or in memory of some deceased hero; and Pollux tells us, the money given to the judges, and the people that met in the public assemblies, was called by this name. There is a law mentioned by Demosthenes[h], whereby this money was commanded, when the necessary expences of war could not otherwise be provided for, to be applied to that use. This Eubulus (to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, who were generally more concerned to maintain the public shows and festivals than the most necessary war) caused to be abrogated, and at the same time to be declared a capital crime for any man to propound that the Θεωρικὰ χρήματα should be applied for the service of the war[i].

Ταμίας τῆς Διοικήσεως, otherwise called Ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν κοινῶν προσόδων, was the principal treasurer, being far superior to all the rest in honour and power, created by the people, and continued in his office for five years; after which, if he had behaved himself with honesty and integrity, it was an usual thing for him to be elected a second and third time.

Ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς Διοικήσεως, seems to have been one that kept a counterpart of the chief treasurer's accounts, to preserve them from being falsified, or corrupted.

Ταμίας τῶν Στρατιωτικῶν, was the paymaster-general of the army.

Ταμίας τῶν Θεωρικῶν, or Ὁ ἐπὶ Θεωρικῷ, had the disposal of the Θεωρικὰ χρήματα, for the uses above mentioned. But the greatest and most troublesome part of his office consisted in distributing them to the poor citizens, to buy seats in the theatre: which custom was first begun and enacted into a law by Pericles, to ingratiate himself with the commonalty[j]; for, as Libanius observes, in the primitive ages of the commonwealth, when the theatres were composed of wood, the people being eager of getting places, used to quarrel among themselves, and sometimes beat and wound one another; to prevent which inconvenience, it was ordered that every one, before he entered into the theatre, should pay two oboli, or a drachm, according to Harpocration, for admittance; and lest by this means the poorer sort should be deprived of the pleasure of seeing, every man was allowed to demand that sum of the public exchequer[k].

h Orat. in Neæram.
i Ulpianus in Olynthiac. α.
j Plutarch. Pericle.
k In Olynthiac.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

ΣΙΤΩΝΑΙ, were so called from their office, which was to lay in corn for the use of the city; and to this end the Ταμίας τῆς διοικήσεως was to furnish them with as much money as they had occasion for. Athens was seated in a barren and unfruitful country, which was not able to furnish its own inhabitants with necessary provisions, whereby they were forced to fetch corn from foreign nations, and supply their own wants by the superfluities of others: and this it was that caused them to institute this office.

Σιτοφύλακες, were fifteen in number, ten of whom officiated in the city, and five in the Piræeus; their business was to take care that corn and meal should not be sold at too dear a price, and to appoint the size of bread. Nearly related to these were the Σιτομέτραι, or Αποδεκταῖοι, whose office was to see that the measures of corn were just and equal.

Αγορανόμοι, sometimes termed Λογισαὶ[l], were ten in number, five belonging to the city, and as many to the Piræeus. Others make them fifteen; ten whereof they give to the city, and five to the Piræeus, which was reckoned a third part of Athens. To these men a certain toll or tribute was paid by all those who brought any thing to sell in the market: whence Dicæopolis is introduced by Aristophanes[m], demanding an eel of a Bœotian for the τέλος τῆς ἀγορᾶς, *toll of the market*:

Αγορᾶς τέλος ταύτην γέπȣ δώσεις ἐμοί.

This thou shalt give me for toll of the market; for their business lay in the market, where they had the care of all vendibles, except corn; and were especially obliged to see that no man wronged, or any way circumvented another in buying or selling[n].

Μετρονόμοι, were officers that inspected all sorts of measures, except those of corn; there were five of them in the city, and double that number in Piræeus, in which the greatest mart in Attica was kept.

Οψονόμοι, were officers who took care of the fish-market. They were two or three in number, and chosen by the senate.[o] Their

[l] Aristophanes Scholiast. in Acharn.
[m] Acharnens. act. i. scen. 4.
[n] Theophrast. de Legibus.
[o] Athenæus. lib. vi. Eustath. ad Iliad. λ'.

name is derived from ὄψον, which, though originally of a more general signification, is many times appropriated to *fish*. Thus, Plutarch [p] has informed us: Πολλῶν ὄντων ὄψων, ἐκνενίκηκεν ὁ ἰχθὺς μόνον, ἢ μάλιστά γε, ὄψον καλεῖσθαι· *Many other things being called ὄψα, that name is nevertheless now applied only, or chiefly, to fish*: whence ὀψάριον is used in that sense by St John [q].

Ἐμπορίου ἐπιμεληταὶ, were officers that belonged to the haven; they were ten in number, and the chief part of their business was to take care that two parts, at least, of all the corn which was brought into the port, should be carried into the city, and that no silver should be exported by any private person, except such as designed to trade in corn [r].

Ναυτοδίκαι, or Ὑβριστοδίκαι, had cognizance of controversies that happened between merchants and mariners, and examined persons, that being the children of strangers both by the father and mother's side, had by fraud inserted their names into the public register, thereby claiming the privileges of free-born citizens; this they did upon the 26th of every month. Not much different from these were the Ἐπαγωγεῖς, according to Sigonius and Emmius's account of them; only they were to hear such causes in matters of trade, as required dispatch, and could not be deferred to the monthly sessions of the Ναυτοδίκαι. But Pollux tells us, that besides those trials, they had cognizance of controversies about feasts and public entertainments.

Ἀστυνόμοι, were officers who took care of the streets, and several other things, especially such as any way concerned the streets, περί τε τῶν αὐλητρίδων, καὶ κοπρολόγων, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, *of the minstrels, and singers, and scavengers, and such like*. Aristotle, as he is cited by Harpocration, makes ten astynomi, five in the city, and as many in the Piræeus. But Samuel Petitus enlarges their number, as likewise that of the agoranomi to fifteen; ten of which he would have to officiate in the city, and five in the Piræeus, which was never accounted more than a third part of Athens; and therefore he thinks that the numbers in Harpocration have been by some accident or other changed. But as this is no certain way of arguing, so it is not improbable that the Piræeus, though only a third part of Athens, yet being a very great and celebrated mart, might find employment for as many agoranomi and astynomi as the

[p] Symposiac. lib. iv. probl. 4. [q] Evangelii, cap. 6. ver. 9.
[r] Demosthen. in Lacritum, Harpocrat.

other two parts; however that be, we are informed by Demosthenes[s], that no man served in this office oftener than once.

Ὀδοποιοὶ, were the surveyors of the ways.

Ἐπιςάται τῶν ὑδάτων, were those that took care of the aqueducts, and other conveyances of waters; but the fountains belonged to other officers, called Κρηνοφύλακες. And the offices of these four are by Aristotle comprehended under the name of Ἀςυνομία.

Ἐπιςάται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων, were officers with whom was intrusted the care, contrivance, and management of all public edifices, except the city walls, for which there were peculiar curators, called from their offices Τειχοποιοὶ, whose number was usually the same with that of the tribes, every one of which had the choice of one Τειχοποιὸς, as often as occasion required.

Σωφρονιςαὶ, were in number ten, and, as their name imports, took care that the young men behaved themselves with *sobriety*, and *moderation*[t]. For this same end, the thesmothetæ used to walk about the city in the night-time, and correct such as they found committing any disorder[u].

Οἰνόπται, were three officers that provided lights and torches at the public entertainments, and took care that every man drank his due proportion[v].

Γυναικονόμοι, also had an office at public feasts, sacrifices, marriages, and other solemnities, and took care that nothing should be done contrary to custom[w].

Γυναικοκόσμοι, were magistrates, whose business it was to regulate the women's apparel, according to the rules of modesty and decency, and set a fine upon such as were too nice and fantastical in their dresses, which they exposed to public view in the Ceramicus.

Λειτουργοὶ, were persons of considerable estates, who, by their own tribe, or the whole people, were ordered to perform some public duty, or supply the commonwealth with necessaries at their own expences. Of these there were divers sorts, all which were elected out of twelve hundred of the richest citizens, who were appointed by the people to undergo, when they should be required, all the burdensome and chargeable offices in the commonwealth, every tribe electing an hundred and twenty out of their own body, though, as Sigonius has observed, this was contrary to Solon's constitution, by which every man, of what quality soever, was obliged to serve the public according to his ability, with this ex-

[s] Conf. Demosthenis proem. 64.
[t] Æschin. in Axiocho.
[u] Ulpian. in Orat. advers. Mediam.
[v] Athenæus, lib. x.
[w] Idem. lib. vi.

ception only, that two offices should not be imposed on the same person at once, as we are informed by Demosthenes, in his oration against Leptines, where he likewise mentions an ancient law, requiring every man to undergo some of the λειτεργίαι every second year.

These twelve hundred were divided into two parts, one of which consisted of such as were possessed of the greatest estates, the other of persons of meaner abilities. Each of these were divided into ten companies, called Συμμορίαι, which were distinct bodies, and had distinct governors and officers of their own. They were again subdivided into two parts, according to the estates of the persons that composed them; and thus, out of the first ten Συμμορίαι, were appointed three hundred of the most wealthy citizens in Athens, who, upon all exigencies, were to furnish the commonwealth with necessary supplies of money, and, together with the rest of the twelve hundred, were required to perform all extraordinary duties in their turns [x]. The institution of these Συμμορίαι happened about the third year of the 100th olympiad, Nausinicus being archon. Before that time, such as were unable to bear the expence of any λειτεργία assigned to them, had relief from the ἀντίδοσις, or exchange of goods, which was one of Solon's inventions, and performed in the following manner.—If any person appointed to undergo one of the λειτεργίαι, or duties, could find another citizen of better substance than himself, who was free from all the duties, then the informer was excused. But in case the person thus substituted in the other's place, denied himself to be the richest, then they exchanged estates in this manner.—The doors of their houses were close shut up and sealed, lest any thing should be carried thence. Then both the men took the following oath.—Αποφαίνω τὴν ἐσίαν τὴν ἐμαυτε̃ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, πλὴν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἀργυρείοις, ὅσα καὶ νόμοι ἀτελῆ πεποιήκασι· *I will truly and faithfully discover all my substance, except that which lies in the silver mines, which the laws have excused from all imposts and taxes.* Then within three days a full discovery was made of their whole estates, and this was termed ἀπόφασις. Neither was this custom wholly laid aside upon the institution of the fore-mentioned συμμορίαι; but then and afterwards, if any one of the three hundred citizens could give information of any other person more wealthy than himself, who had been passed by in the nomination, the informer was excused [y]. This whole controversy was termed διαδικασία, the sense of which

[x] Ulpian. in Olynthiac. ii. et aphob. I. [y] Conf. Demosth. in Leptin. et Phænip.

word is so much enlarged by some, as to be equivalent to the general terms, κρίσις and ἀμφισβήτησις [z]; and by others [a] is restrained to the controversies happening between the χορηγοὶ, though perhaps these may be taken in general for the λειτυργοὶ, one remarkable part being put for the whole. This must be observed farther, that if any controversy happened between such as were appointed τριήραρχοι, it was to be brought before the ϛρατηγὸς, who had the care of all warlike preparations, and by him to be referred to the customary judges; the rest of the διαδικασίαι seem to have belonged to other magistrates.

Of the duties to be undergone in the fore-mentioned matters, some concerned the affairs of peace, others related to those of war. The duties of peace were chiefly three, χορηγία, γυμνασιαρχία and ἑϛίασις. Those of war were two, τριηραρχια and εἰσφορά.

Χορηγοὶ, were at the expence of players, singers, dancers, and musicians, as oft as there was occasion for them at the celebration of their public festivals, and solemnities [b].

Γυμνασίαρχοι, were at the charge of the oil, and such like necessaries for the wrestlers, and other combatants [c].

Εϛιάτορες τῶν φυλῶν, were such as, upon public festivals, made an entertainment for the whole tribe [d]. Besides those who were appointed by lots to this office, others voluntarily undertook it to ingratiate themselves [e]. It may be further observed, that the μέτοικοι, *sojourners*, had also their ἑϛιάτορες, by whom they were entertained.

Τριήραρχοι, were obliged to provide all sorts of necessaries for the fleet [f], and to build ships. To this office no certain number of men was nominated; but their number was increased or diminished according to the value of their estates, and the exigencies of the commonwealth.

Εἰσφέροντες, were required, according to their abilities, to supply the public with money for the payment of the army, and other occasions [g].

Besides these, upon extraordinary occasions, when the usual supplies were not sufficient, as in times of long and dangerous wars, the rich citizens used generously to contribute as much as they were able to the public necessities, beside what was required

[z] Hesychius.
[a] Suidas.
[b] Lysias Orat. de Muneribus. Plut. de Prudentia Atheniensium.
[c] Ulpianus in Leptin.
[d] Demosth. Mediana et Leptiniana.
[e] Pollux.
[f] Plut. loco citato.
[g] Lysias Orat. de Muneribus.

of them and could not be avoided. These are by Pollux called ἐπιδίδοντες, ἐπιδόσεις, εἰσφέροντες, ἑκόντες, ἐθελονταὶ, &c.

Others there were, that were not properly magistrates, yet, because they were employed in public business, must not be omitted in this place.

Such were the Σύνδικοι, or *orators,* appointed by the people, to plead in behalf of any law which was to be abrogated or enacted, of whom I have spoken in another place. These men, though differing from those who are next to be mentioned, were sometimes termed ῥήτορες, and συνήγοροι, and their fee τὸ συνηγορικόν. Lest this office, which was created for the benefit of the commonwealth, should be abused, to the private advantage of particular men, there was a law enacted, whereby the people were prohibited from conferring it twice upon the same person [h].

Ῥήτορες, were ten in number, elected by lots, to plead public causes in the senate-house or assembly; and for every cause wherein they were retained, they received a drachm out of the public exchequer. They were sometimes called Συνήγοροι, and their fee τὸ συνηγορικόν [i]. No man was admitted to this office under the age of forty years [j]: though others think it was lawful to plead both in the senate-house and before the public assembly at the age of thirty. Neither were they permitted to execute this office till their valour in war, piety to their parents, prudence in the management of affairs, frugality and temperance, had been examined into. The heads of which examination are set down amongst the laws of Athens.

Πρέσβεις, were ambassadors chosen by the senate, or most commonly by the suffrages of the people, to treat with foreign states. Sometimes they were sent with full power to act according as themselves should judge most conducive to the safety and honour of the commonwealth, and then they were Πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορες, or *plenipotentiaries,* and were not obliged at their return home to render an account of their proceedings; but their power was usually limited, and they liable to be called in question if they exceeded their commission, by concluding any business besides what they were sent about, or in any other manner than what was prescribed them. During the time of their employment they received a salary out of the exchequer. Whether that was always the same does not certainly appear; but it is more probable that, like the pay

h Demosthenes in Leptin. ibidemque Ulpian.

i Aristophan. Scholiast. in Vesp. pag. 464. edit. Amstelod.

j Aristophanis Scholiastes Nubibus.

of soldiers and other salaries, it was first very small, and afterwards, when the commonwealth flourished with trade and riches, raised to a greater value. When Euthymenes was archon they received every day two drachms, as we are informed by Aristophanes[k];

Επέμψαθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν,
Μισθὸν φέροντας δύο δραχμὰς τῆς ἡμέρας,
Επ' Εὐθυμένες Αρχόντος.

We were sent to the great king of Persia, with an allowance of two drachms a-day, Euthymenes being archon. Those who faithfully discharged their embassies were publicly entertained by the senate in the Prytaneum[l]; those who had been wanting in care and diligence were fined[m]. But such as undertook any embassy without the designation of the senate or people, were punished with death[n].

The Πρέσβεις were usually attended by a Κῆρυξ, or *herald;* and sometimes the Κήρυκες were sent upon embassies by themselves, as Sigonius observes, especially in the primitive times, when all embassies were performed by these men, who were accounted sacred and inviolable, not only as being descended from Mercury, and employed in his office, but because they were public mediators without whom all intercourse and hopes of reconcilement between enemies must be at an end. Therefore, as Eustathius observes[o], whenever Ulysses in his travels dispatched his scouts to discover what sort of country and people the winds and seas had brought them to, he always sent a Κῆρυξ along with them, whereby they were secured from receiving any harm in all parts of the world whither they were driven, except in the countries of the Lastrygones, Cyclopes, and such savages as were altogether void of humanity.

Γραμματεῖς, *notaries,* were of several sorts, and employed by several magistrates; concerning whom this may be observed in general, that for the prevention of fraud and deceit, a law was enacted, μή τις δὶς ὑπογραμματεύῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ἀρχῇ, *that no man should serve the same magistrate in the quality of a notary above once.* Besides these, there were other γραμματεῖς, *notaries,* who had the custody of the laws and the public records, which it was their business to write, and to repeat to the people and senate when so required. These were three in number: one chosen by the popular

k Acharnensibus, act. i. scen. 2.

l Demosthenes Orat. de falsa legat. ibique Ulpianus.

m Thucydides Scholiastes, lib. vi.

n Demosthenes, loco citato.

o Iliad. α, p. 183. edit. Basil.

assembly, whose business was to recite before the people or senate; and two appointed by the senate, one whereof was keeper of the laws, another of other public records[p]. The custom was for a notary to be appointed by every Prytanea, who laid down his office at the end of thirty days, and then underwent the accustomed (εὐθύνη) examination[q]. It may not be improper to add in this place, that at Syracuse, the office of notaries was very honourable, but at Athens, reputed εὐτελὴς ὑπηρεσία, *a mean employment*[r], and executed by those who are called by the Greeks Δημόσιοι, by the Roman lawyers, *vulgares*, or, as that word is explained, *calones*. These were commonly slaves, who had learned to read and write, that they might thereby become the more serviceable to their masters[s]. One of these was that Nicomachus against whom Lysias wrote his oration.

Beside the forementioned magistrates and officers, there were several others, as the Πρυτάνεις, Πρόεδροι, &c. But of these, and such as had military commands, or were employed in the divine service, I shall give an account in their own places.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Council of the Amphictyones.

BEING in the next place to speak of the Athenian councils, and courts of justice, I cannot omit the famous council of the Amphictyones; which though it sat not at Athens, nor was peculiar to that city, yet the Athenians, and almost all the rest of the Grecians, were concerned in it.

It is commonly thought to have been first instituted, and received its name from Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion[t]; but Strabo is of opinion that Acrisius, king of the Argives, was the first that founded and gave laws for the conduct and management of it[u]; and then it must have its name from Αμφικτίονες, because the inhabitants of the countries *round about* met in that council[v]: And Androtion in Pausanias tells us, that the primitive name of those senators was Amphictiones: however in later ages it hath been

[p] Pollux, lib. viii.
[q] Lysias in Nicomachum.
[r] Libanius argumento Orat. Demosth. de falsa Legat.
[s] Ulpianus in Olynthiac. β'.
[t] Pausanias Phocicis, Suidas, &c.
[u] Geogr. lib. ix.
[v] Suidas.

changed into Amphictyones. But the former opinion receives confirmation from what Herodotus reports of the place where this council was assembled, viz. that it was a temple dedicated to Amphictyon and Ceres Amphictyoneis [w]; and Strabo also reports, that this goddess was worshipped by the Amphictyones.

The place in which they assembled was called Thermopylæ, and sometimes Pylæ, because it was a strait narrow passage, and, as it were, a gate or inlet into the country. Hence these counsellors are often called Πυλαγόραι, and the council Πυλαία [x]: But the scholiast upon Sophocles tells us, that this name was given them from Pylades, the friend of Orestes, who was the first that was arraigned in this court, having assisted in the murder of Clytæmnestra. Sometimes they met at Delphi, where they were intrusted with the care of Apollo's temple, and the Pythian games, which were celebrated in that place [y], the situation of which rendered it very commodious for them to assemble in, for it was seated in the midst of Greece, as the geographers tell us.

The persons that first composed this assembly by the appointment of Amphictyon, were, according to Pausanias, the representatives of the Ionians, amongst whom the Athenians were included, Dolopians, Thessalians, Ænianians, Magnesians, Melians, Phthians, Dorians, Phocians, and the Locrians, that inhabited near Mount Cnemis, and were called upon that account Epicnemidii. Strabo reports, that at their first institution they were twelve in number, and were delegated by so many cities. Harpocration also, and Suidas, reckon up twelve nations, of which this council consisted, viz. Ionians, Dorians, Perrhæbians, Bœotians, Magnesians, Achæans, Phthians, Melians, Dolopians, Ænianians, Delphians, Phocians. Æschines reckons only eleven; instead of the Achæans, Ænianians, Delphinians, and Dolopians, placing these three only, viz. Thessalians, Œtæans, Locrians [z].

Afterwards, in the time of Philip king of Macedon, and father of Alexander the Great, the Phocians, having ransacked and spoiled the Delphian temple, were by a decree of the Amphictyones invaded by the rest of the Grecians, as a sacrilegious and impious nation, and after a ten years war, deprived of the privilege of sitting amongst them, together with their allies the Lacedæmonians, who were one part of the Dorians, and under that name, had former-

[w] Lib. vii. cap. 200.
[x] Herodot. Hesychius, Suidas, Harpocration, Strabo, Pausanias Achaicis.
[y] Pausanias Phocicis, et Achaicis, aliique.
[z] Orat. Περὶ Παραπρεσϐ.

ly sat in this assembly; and their vacant places were supplied by the Macedonians, who were admitted, in return of the good services they had done in the Phocian war. But about sixty-eight years after, when the Gauls, under the command of Brennus, made a terrible invasion upon Greece, ravaging and destroying all before them, sparing nothing sacred or profane, and with a barbarous and sacrilegious fury, robbed and despoiled the Delphian temple, the Phocians behaved themselves with so much gallantry, signalizing themselves in the battle above the rest of the Grecians, that they were thought to have made a sufficient atonement for their former offence, and restored to their ancient privilege and dignity [a].

In the reign of Augustus Cæsar they suffered another alteration; for that emperor, having worsted Antony in a sea-fight at Actium, and, in memory of that victory, founded the city of Nicopolis, was desirous that its inhabitants should be admitted into this assembly, and to make way for them, ordered that the Magnesians, Meleans, Phthians, and Ænianians, who, till that time, had distinct voices, should be numbered with the Thessalians, and send no representatives but such as were common to them all; and that the right of suffrage, which formerly belonged to those nations and the Dolopians (a people whose state and name were extinct long before), should be given to the Nicopolitans [b].

Strabo, who flourished in the reign of Augustus and Tiberius, reports that this council, as also the general assembly of the Achæans, was at that time dissolved; but Pausanias, who lived many years after, under Antoninus Pius, assures us, that in his time it remained entire, and that the number of the amphictyones was then thirty, being delegated by the following nations, viz. the Nicopolitans, Macedonians, Thessalians, Bœotians (who in former times were called Æolians, and inhabited some parts of Thessaly), Phocians, Delphians, Locrians, called Ozolæ, with those that lie opposite to Eubœa, Dorians, Athenians, and Eubœans.

This assembly had every year only two set meetings, one in the beginning of spring, the other in autumn [c], except some extraordinary occasion called them together. The design of their meetings was to determine public quarrels, and decide the differences that happened between any of the cities of Greece, when no other means were left to compose them. Before they entered upon business, they jointly sacrificed an ox, cut into small pieces, to Delphian Apollo, thereby signifying the union and agreement of the

[a] Pausanias Phocicis. [b] Idem, ib. [c] Strabo, loc. cit.

cities which they represented. Their determinations were always received with a great deal of respect and veneration, and held inviolable; the Grecians being always ready to join against those that rejected them, as common enemies.

An assembly of neighbouring cities, met to consult about the common good, seems usually to have been called Αμφικτιονία; and beside the famous one already spoken of, Strabo mentions another, held in the temple of Neptune at Trœzen, at which the delegates of the seven following states were present, viz. Hermione, Epidaurus, Ægina, Athens, the Persians, Nauplians, and the Orchomenians of Bœotia [d].

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Athenian Εκκλησίαι, *or Public Assemblies.*

ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, was an assembly of the people met together according to law, to consult about the good of the commonwealth. It consisted of all such as were freemen of Athens, of what quality soever, as has been elsewhere mentioned. But such as had been punished with infamy (ἀτιμία), slaves, foreigners, women, and children, were excluded. In the reign of Cecrops, women are said to have been allowed voices in the popular assembly: where Minerva contending with Neptune, which of them two should be declared protector of Athens, and gaining the women to her party, is reported, by their voices, which were more numerous than those of the men, to have obtained the victory [e]. It was of two sorts, the first of which they called Κυρία, the other Σύγκλητος.

Κυρίαι, were so called, ἀπὸ τȣ͂ κυρεῖν τὰ ψηφίσματα, because in them the people confirmed and ratified the decrees of the senate; or rather because they were held upon ἡμέραι κυρίαι, or ὡρισμέναι καὶ νόμιμοι, days stated and appointed by law [f].

They were held four times in five-and-thirty days, which was the time that each Πρυτάνεια, or company of prytanes, presided in the senate. The first assembly was employed in approving and rejecting magistrates, in hearing actions called Εἰσαγγελίαι, and

d Geogr. lib. vii.
e Varro apud Sanctum Augustinum de civitate Dei, lib. xviii. cap. 9.
f Suidas Aristoph. Schol. Acharn.

proposals concerning the public good; as also in hearing the catalogue of such possessions, as were confiscated for the service of the commonwealth, and several other things. The second made provision both for the community and private persons; and it was permitted every man to prefer any petition, or speak his judgment concerning either of them. In the third, audience was given to the ambassadors of foreign states. The fourth was wholly taken up with religion, and matters relating to the divine worship [g]. At this time the prytanes, who were obliged θύειν ἑκάστοτε κοινῇ, *every day to offer sacrifices for the public safety*, seem to have acquainted the assembly with the success of their devotions after this manner: 'It is just and meet, O Athenians, as has been customary with you, that we should take care that the gods be religiously worshipped. We have therefore faithfully discharged this duty for you. We have sacrificed to Jupiter the Saviour, to Minerva, to Victory; all which oblations have been accepted for your safety. We have likewise offered sacrifices to Persuasion (Πειθοῖ), to the mother of gods, to Apollo, which have met with the like good success. Also the sacrifices, offered to the rest of the gods, have been all secure and acceptable, and salutiferous: receive, therefore, the happiness which the gods have vouchsafed to grant you [h]. The first assembly was upon the eleventh day of the Prytanea; the second upon the twentieth; the third upon the thirtieth; the fourth upon the thirty-third. Some there are that reckon by the month, and tell us that they had three assemblies every month, upon the first, tenth, and thirtieth days; or upon the tenth, twentieth, and thirtieth [i]. But the former computation seems to be more agreeable to the custom of the ancient Athenians, amongst whom were ten Πρυτανεῖαι, according to the number of their tribes, each of which ruled thirty-five days, in which they had four assemblies. Afterwards, the number of the tribes being increased by an accession of two new ones, the Πρυτανεῖαι were also twelve in number, each of which ruled a month, and then perhaps the latter computation might take place.

Σύγκλητοι Ἐκκλησίαι, were so called, ἀπὸ τοῦ συγκαλεῖν, because the people were summoned together; whereas in the Κυρίαι, they met of their own accord, without receiving any notice from the magistrates, as Ulpian observes [j]. The persons that summoned the people, were commonly the Στρατηγοὶ, the Πολέμαρχοι, or the Κήρυκες

g Pollux, lib. viii cap. 8.
h Demosthenes, proem. 65.
i Ulpian. in Demosth. Aristoph. Schol.
j In Orat. de falsa Legat.

in their names, because the occasion of these extraordinary assemblies, was, for the most part, the coming on of some sudden, unexpected, and dangerous war; sometimes the prytanes, if the senate so ordered it, as they usually did when any civil affairs, in which the Στρατηγοὶ were not concerned, required a quicker dispatch than could be given them in the Κυρίαι. The crier (κῆρυξ) seems to have summoned them twice at the least: whence in Aristophanes it is said to be full time to go to the assembly, because the crier had given the second call;

> Ὥρα βαδίζειν, ὡς ὁ κῆρυξ ἀρτίως,
> Ἡμῶν προσιόντων, δεύτερον κεκόκκυκεν [k].

Κατεκκλησίαι, as Pollux, κατακλήσεις, as Ammonius, or Κατακλησίαι, as Hesychius calls them, were assemblies held upon some very weighty and momentous affair, to which they summoned not only those citizens that resided in the city, but all that lived in the country, or were in the ships then at anchor in the haven.

The places where the Ἐκκλησίαι were assembled, were several; as first,

Ἀγορὰ, or the market-place; and there, not the Athenians only, but most other cities, had their public meetings, because it was usually very capacious. Hence the assemblies themselves came to be called Ἀγοραὶ, and to make a speech ἀγορεύειν, as Harpocration observes.

Πνὺξ, was a place near the citadel, so called διὰ τὸ πεπυκνῶσθαι τοῖς λίθοις, ἢ ταῖς καθέδραις, ἢ διὰ τὸ πεπυκνῶσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς βουλευτὰς, because it was filled with stones, or seats set close together, or from the crowds of men in the assemblies; and therefore πνυκίτης is by the comedians taken for the thronging and pressing of a multitude [l]. It was remarkable for nothing more than the meanness of its buildings and furniture, whereby, in ages that most affected gaiety and splendour, it remained a monument of the ancient simplicity [m].

The theatre of Bacchus, in later times, was the usual place in which the assemblies were held [n]; but even then Pnyx was not wholly forsaken, it being against law to decree any man a crown, or elect any of the magistrates in any other place, as Pollux, or at least, the Στρατηγοὶ, as Hesychius reports.

The stated assemblies were held in the fore-mentioned places; but such as were called upon extraordinary occasions were not confined to any certain place, being sometimes held in the Piræeus,

[k] Concionatricibus, p. 686. ed. Amstelod.
[l] Aristoph. Schol. Acharn. Equit. &c.
[m] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 8.
[n] Demosthen. Mediana.

where there was a forum called Ἱπποδαμεία ἀγορὰ, in the Munychia, or any other place capacious enough to contain the people.

The magistrates, that had the care and management of these assemblies, were the Prytanes, Epistatæ, and Proedri.

The Prytanes sometimes called the people together, and always before their meeting, set up a Πρόγραμμα in some place of general concourse, in which were contained the matters to be consulted upon in the following assembly, to the end that every man might have time to consider of them before he gave his judgment [o].

Πρόεδροι, were so called from the *first places* which they had in the assemblies. Whilst the tribes of Athens were no more than ten, the proedri were nine in number, being appointed by lots out of the nine tribes, which at that time were exempted from being prytanes. Their business was to propose to the people the things they were to deliberate upon, and determine in that meeting [p], at the end of which their offices expired. For the greater security of the laws and commonwealth from the attempts of ambitious and designing men, it was customary for the Νομοφύλακες in all assemblies συγκαθίζειν τοῖς προέδροις, ἵνα διακωλύοντας ἐπιχειροτονεῖν ὅσα μὴ συμφέρει, *to sit with the proedri, and to hinder the people from decreeing any thing contrary to the public interest* [q]. By another law, it was likewise provided, that in every assembly, one of the tribes should be appointed by lots, προεδρεύειν, *to preside* at the Suggestum, *to defend the commonwealth* [r], viz. by preventing the orators and others from propounding any thing inconsistent with the received laws, or destructive of the peace and welfare of the city.

Ἐπιστάτης, the *president of the assembly*, was chosen by lots out of the proedri; the chief part of his office seems to have consisted in granting the people liberty to give their voices, which they were not permitted to do, till he had given the signal [s].

If the people were remiss in coming to the assemblies, the magistrates used their utmost endeavours to compel them: they shut up all the gates, that only excepted through which they were to pass to the assembly; they took care that all vendibles should be carried out of the market, that there might be nothing to divert them from appearing; and if this was not sufficient, the logistæ (whose business this was) took a cord dyed with vermilion, with which they detached two of the Τοξόται into the market, where one

[o] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 8.
[p] Ulpianus in Timocrat.
[q] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9.
[r] Æschines in Timarchum.
[s] Harpocration. Demosthenes Androtiana, Æschines in Ctesiphont.

of them standing on one side, and another on that which was opposite, pursued all they found there, and marked with the cord as many as they caught, all which had a certain fine set upon them, as the scholiast upon Aristophanes observes at this verse;

> Οἳ δ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ λαλῦσι, κἄνω καὶ κάτω
> Τὸ σχοινίον φεύγυσι τὸ μεμιλτωμένον [t].
>
> They in the forum chat, and up and down
> Scamper, t' avoid the cord vermilion dy'd. J. A.

Lastly, for an encouragement to the commonalty to frequent the assemblies, it was decreed, at the instance of Callistratus, that an obolus should be given out of the exchequer to all such as came early to the place appointed for the assembly. This was afterwards increased to three oboli, at the instance of Agyrrhius. The expectation of this reward drew many of the poorer sort, who would otherwise have absented themselves. Whence that saying of Aristophanes[u], where he speaks of Plutus the god of money;

> Εκκλησία δ' ὐχὶ διὰ τῦτον γίγνεται;

Is not the assembly frequented for his sake? They who came late to the assembly received nothing; which is evident from the following verses of the same author [v];

> ΒΛΕ. Ατὰρ πόθεν ἥκεις ἐτεόν; ΧΡ. Εξ ἐκκλησίας.
> ΒΛΕ. Ηδη λέλυται γάρ; ΧΡ. Νὴ Δί', ὄρθριον μὲν ὖν.
> Καὶ δῆτα πολὺν ἡ μίλτος, ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε,
> Γέλων παρέσχεν, ἣν προσέῤῥαινον κύκλῳ.
>
> ΒΛΕ. Τριώβολον δῆτ' ἔλαβες; ΧΡ. Εἰ γὰρ ὤφελον·
> Αλλ' ὕστερος νῦν ἦλθον, ὥστ' αἰσχύνομαι,
> Μὰ τὸν Δί', ὐδέν' ἄλλον ἢ τὸν θύλακον.

If boisterous and tempestuous weather, or a sudden storm, which they called Διοσημεία [w], or earthquake happened, or any inauspicious omen appeared, the assembly was immediately adjourned. But if all things continued in their usual course, they proceeded in this manner:

First, the place where they were appointed to meet, was purified by killing young pigs, which, as was usual in such lustrations, they carried round about the utmost bounds of it; on the outside of which no man was permitted to stand, because those places were accounted profane and unsanctified, and therefore unfit for the transacting business of so great consequence as that in which the welfare and safety of the state was nearly concerned: this we learn from Aristophanes, in whom the public crier warns the people to stand on the inside of the κάθαρμα, for so they called the sacrifices offered at expiations;

[t] Acharn.
[u] Plut. act. i. scen. 2.
[v] Concionatricibus, pag. 704. edit. Amstelod.
[w] Aristophan. Schol. ibid.

Πάριθ', ὡς ἂν ἦτε τȣ̃ καθάρματος.

The person that officiated in the lustration was called Καθαρτὴς, and Περιςίαρχος, from Περίςια, another name for Καθάρματα [x], and Εςίαρχοι, according to Pollux.

The *expiatory* rites being ended, the public crier made a solemn prayer for the prosperity of the commonwealth, and the good success of their counsels and undertakings [y]. For amongst the primitive Greeks, all things were carried on with a great show of piety and devotion; and so great a share they thought their gods had in the management of human affairs, that they never undertook any thing of weight or moment, especially in public business, without having first invoked their direction and assistance.

Then he pronounced a bitter execration against such as should endeavour any thing in that assembly to the prejudice of the commonwealth, praying that he and his whole family might be made remarkable examples of the divine vengeance [z].

Then the crier, the proedri giving the command, repeated the Προϐȣ́λευμα, or decree of the senate, upon which the assembly was then to deliberate. That being done, the crier proclaimed with a loud voice, τίς ἀγορεύειν βȣ́λεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων; *which of the men above fifty years old will make an oration?* Then the old men propounded whatever they thought convenient. After which, the crier, by a second proclamation, gave them to understand, λέγειν τῶν Αθηναίων τὸν βȣλόμενον οἷς ἔξεςι, *That every Athenian might then speak, whom the laws allowed so to do* [a]. For as they judged it unreasonable, that any man's quality or age (so he were not under thirty), should debar him from uttering what he had conceived for the good of the commonwealth; so, on the other hand, it was thought very indecent and unbecoming for young men to give their opinions before they had heard the sentiments of such as years and experience had rendered more fit and able to judge.

But the wisdom of the lawgiver thought it not expedient to permit every man without distinction to deliver his opinion; for such as were convicted of any heinous crime, of impiety, profaneness, or debauchery, had fled from their colours, or were deeply indebted to the commonwealth, he excluded from having any thing

[x] Aristoph. Schol. ibid. et Concionatric. &c. Suidas, Harpocration, præcipue Hesychius, v. κάθαρμα.

[y] Demosthen. Timocrat.

[z] Demosthen. Περὶ Παραπρεσϐείας.

[a] Aristophan. Acharn. Demosthenes, et Æschines in Ctesiphont.

to do in such consultations[b]; it being scarce probable that persons of wicked lives, or desperate fortunes, should endeavour any thing conducive to the peace and prosperity of the state, but rather that they should design the confusion and ruin of it, that themselves might be enriched with the spoils of honest men, and be at liberty to take their full career in their unlawful pleasures, without the restraint of laws and fear of punishments. Wherefore, if any man was thought by the prytanes to be unfit to make an oration to the people, they enjoined him silence. Thus, in the assembly of women in Aristophanes[c], Praxagora, who is there one of the prytanes, commands an impertinent woman to hold her peace:

Σὺ μὲν βάδιζε, καὶ κάθησ', οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶ,

Go you and sit down, for you are nobody. They who refused obedience to the prytanes were pulled down from the suggestum by the lictors (τοξόται), as appears from another place of the same author[d].

When the debates were ended, the crier, by the command of the epistatæ, or proedri, as others report, asked the people, *whether they would consent to the decree?* permitting them to give their voices, and thereby either establish or reject it; the doing which they called Ἐπιψηφίζειν τὸ ψήφισμα, or Διδόναι διαχειροτονίαν τῷ δήμῳ.

The manner of giving their suffrages was by holding up their hands, and therefore they called it χειροτονία; and χειροτονεῖν signifies to ordain, or establish any thing; ἀποχειροτονεῖν, to disannul by suffrage. This was the common method of voting; but in some cases, as particularly when they deprived magistrates of their offices for mal-administration, they gave their votes in private, lest the power and greatness of the persons accused should lay a restraint upon them, and cause them to act contrary to their judgments and inclinations. The manner of voting privately was by casting pebbles (ψήφους) into vessels (κάδους), which the prytanes were obliged to place in the assembly for this purpose. Before the use of pebbles they voted with (κύαμοι) beans[e].

As soon as the people had done voting, the proedri having carefully examined the number of the suffrages, pronounced the decree ratified, or thrown out, according as the major part had approved or rejected it. It is observable, in the last place, that it was unlawful for the prytanes to propose any thing twice in the same as-

b Demost. in Aristogit. Æschines in Ctesiphont.

c Concionatr. p. 692. edit. Amstelod.

d Acharnensibus, act. i. scen. 2. ibique Vetus Scholiastes.

e Suidas.

sembly[f]. The business being over, the prytanes dismissed the assembly, as we read in Aristophanes[g];

Οἱ γὰρ Πρυτάνεις λύουσι τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν.

Whoever desires to have a more full account of the popular assemblies at Athens, may consult the Concionatrices of Aristophanes[h], where their whole management is accurately described.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Senate of the Five Hundred.

By Solon's constitution, the whole power and management of affairs were placed in the people. It was their prerogative to receive appeals from the courts of justice; to abrogate old laws, and enact new; to make what alterations in the state they judged convenient; and in short, all matters, whether public or private, foreign or domestic, civil, military, or religious, were determined by them.

But because it was dangerous that things of such vast moment and concern should be, without any further care, committed to the disposal and management of a giddy and unthinking multitude, who by eloquent men would be persuaded to enact things contrary to their own interests, and destructive to the commonwealth, the wise lawgiver, to prevent such pernicious consequences, judged it absolutely necessary for the preservation of the state, to institute a great council, consisting only of men of the best credit and reputation, in the city, whose business it should be to inspect all matters before they were propounded to the people, and to take care that nothing, but what had been diligently examined, should be brought before the general assembly[i], At the same time he instituted, at least regulated, another council, I mean that of the areopagites, which, though inferior to the former in order and power, yet was superior to it in dignity and esteem, and therefore was called ἡ ἄνω Βουλὴ, or *the upper council:* to this he gave the inspection and custody of the laws, supposing that the commonwealth being held by these two, as it were by firm anchors, would be less liable to be tost by tumults, and made a prey to such as had

[f] Nicia Orat. apud Thucydid. lib. vi.
[g] Acharnens.
[h] Pag. 783. edit. Aurel. Allobrog.
[i] Plutarch. Solone.

knavery enough to design, and cunning and eloquence to entice the people to their own destruction [j].

At the first institution of the former council, it consisted only of *four hundred senators, one hundred* of whom were appointed out of each tribe; for the tribes in Solon's time were only four in number [k].

They were elected by lots, in drawing of which they made use of beans, and therefore Thucydides calls them Βȣλευτὰς ἀπὸ κυάμȣ, and the *senate*, Βȣλὴν ἀπὸ κυάμȣ. The manner of their election was thus:—On a certain day, before the beginning of the month Hecatombæon, the president of every tribe gave in the names of all the persons within his district, that were capable of this dignity, and had a mind to appear for it: these were engraven upon tables of brass, called Πινάκια [l], and cast into a vessel set there for that purpose; into another vessel were cast the same number of beans, an hundred of which were white, and all the rest black. Then the names of the candidates, and the beans were drawn, one by one, and those whose names were drawn out together with the white beans, were received into the senate [m].

About eighty-six years after Solon's regulation of the commonwealth, the number of tribes being increased by Clisthenes from four to ten, the senate also received an addition of one hundred, which being added to the former, made it to consist of five hundred; and from that time it was called Βȣλὴ τῶν πεντακοσίων.

Afterwards two new tribes were added to the former, in honour of Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, from whom they received their names: and then the number of the senators was augmented by the accession of another hundred [n]; for in both these last alterations, it was ordered that out of every tribe fifty should be elected into the senate. As to the manner of election, that continued the same, excepting only, that instead of a hundred white beans drawn by each tribe, they had now only fifty, according to the number of their senators.

After the election of senators, they proceeded in the next place to appoint officers to preside in the senate, and these they called Πρυτάνεις. The manner of their election was thus:—The names of the tribes being thrown into one vessel with nine black beans, and a white bean cast into another, the tribe whose fortune it was to

j Plutarch. Solone.
k Idem.
l Harpocrat.
m Sigonius et Emmius de Rep. Athen. et ubique in hac parte hujus libri.
n Stephan. Byzant. de Urbb. et Populis.

be drawn out together with the white bean, presided first, and the rest in the order in which they were drawn out of the vessel; for every tribe presided in its turn; and therefore, according to the number of tribes, the Attic year was divided into ten parts, each of which consisted of thirty-five days; only the four first parts contained thirty-six, thereby to make the lunar year complete, which, according to their computation, consisted of one hundred and fifty-four days [o]. Others are of opinion, that those four supernumerary days were employed in the creation of magistrates, and that during that time the Athenians had no magistrates at all [p], and therefore they called them Ἀναρχοι ἡμέραι, and Ἀρχαιρέσιοι. Afterwards, when the tribes were increased to twelve, every one of them presided a full month in the senate, as we learn from Pollux [q]. The time that every company of prytanes continued in their office, was termed Πρυτανεία, during which they were excused from all other public duties.

For the avoiding of confusion, every Πρυτανεία was divided into five weeks of days, by which the fifty prytanes were ranked into five *decuriæ*, each *decuria* being to govern their week, during which time they were called Πρόεδροι; out of these, one, whom they elected by lots, *presided* over the rest, each of the seven days; so that of the ten *proedri*, three were excluded from *presiding*.

The president of the proedri was termed Ἐπιστάτης. To his custody was committed the public seal, and the keys of the citadel, and the public exchequer. This, therefore, being an office of so great trust and power, no man was permitted, by the laws, to continue in it above one day, nor to be elected into it a second time [r].

There are said to have been nine proedri distinct from the former, and chosen by the epistatæ at every convention of the senate, out of all the tribes, except that of which the prytanes were members [s]. Both of these were different from the Ἐπιστάτης, and Πρόεδροι in the popular assemblies.

One thing more there is remarkable in the election of senators, that beside those, who were immediately admitted into the senate, they chose subsidiaries, who, in case any of the senators were deposed for mal-administration, or died before the expiration of their

[o] Harpocrat.
[p] Liban. Argument. in Androtian.
[q] Lib. viii. cap. 9.
[r] Pollux, lib. viii. Ulpianus in Androtianam.
[s] Pollux, Suidas.

offices, should, without any farther trouble, supply their places; and these they called Ἐπιλαχόντες[t].

The authority of the prytanes consisted chiefly in assembling the senate, which, for the most part, was done once every day (festivals only excepted), and oftener, if occasion required. And that they might be ready to give audience to all such as had any thing to propose, that concerned the commonwealth, they constantly resorted to a common hall near the senate-house, called Prytaneum, in which they offered sacrifices and had their diet together[u].

Every time the senate was assembled, they offered sacrifices to Jupiter Βουλαῖος, and Minerva Βουλαία, the counsellors, who had a chapel near the senate-house[v]. This they termed εἰσιτήρια θύειν[w].

If any man offered any thing that deserved to be taken into consideration, they engraved it upon tablets, that all the senators might beforehand be acquainted with what was to be discussed at their next meeting, in which after the prytanes, or epistata, had propounded the matter, every man had liberty to declare his opinion, and give his reasons either for or against it. This they did standing; for it is everywhere observable in ancient authors, that no person, of what rank or quality soever, presumed to speak sitting; and, therefore, whenever a poetical hero makes an oration, he is always first said to rise:

> Τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.

saith Homer; and Ovid, to trouble you with no more instances, mentions the same custom.

> *Surgit ad hos clypei Dominus septemplicis Ajax.*

When all had done speaking, the business designed to be passed into a decree, was drawn up in writing by any of the prytanes, or other senators, and repeated openly in the house[x]; after which, leave being given by the epistata, or prytanes, the senators proceeded to vote, which they did in private, by casting beans into a vessel placed there for that purpose. The beans were of two sorts, black and white; and if the number of the former was found to be the greatest, the proposal was rejected; if of the latter, it was enacted into a decree[y], which they called Ψήφισμα, and Προβούλευμα, because it was agreed upon in the senate, with a design to have it afterwards propounded to an assembly of the people, that it might receive from them a farther ratification, without which it could

[t] Harpocrat.
[u] Pausanias.
[v] Antiphon. de Choreuta.
[w] Ulpianus.
[x] Demosth. Orat. in Ctesiph. et in Neæram.
[y] Ulpianus.

not be passed into a law, nor have any force or obligatory power after the end of that year, which was the time that the senators and almost all other magistrates laid down their commissions.

The power of this council was very great, almost the whole care of the commonwealth being devolved upon them; for the commonalty being by Solon's constitution, invested with supreme power, and intrusted with the management of all affairs, as well public as private, it was the peculiar charge of the senate to keep them within due bounds, to take cognizance of every thing before it was referred to them, and to be careful that nothing should be propounded to them, but what they, upon mature deliberation, had found to be conducive to the public good. And beside the care of the assembly, there were a great many things that fell under the cognizance of this court, as the accounts of magistrates at the expiration of their offices [z], and the care of poor persons, that were maintained by an allowance out of the public exchequer [a]. It was their business to appoint jailors for the public prisons, and to examine and punish persons accused of such crimes as were not forbidden by any positive law [b], to take care of the fleet, and look after the building of new men of war, with several other things of great consequence.

Now, because these were places of great trust, no man could be admitted to them till he had undergone a strict Δοκιμασία, or probation, whereby the whole course of his life was inquired into, and found to have been managed with credit and reputation, else he was rejected [d].

And to lay the greater obligation upon them, they were required to take a solemn oath, the substance whereof was this: 'that they would, in all their councils, endeavour to promote the public good, and not advise any thing contrary to the laws: that they would sit as judges in what court soever they were elected to by lots, (for several of the courts of justice were supplied with judges out of the senate); that they would never keep an Athenian in bonds that could give three sureties of the same quality, except such as had bought or collected, or been engaged as a surety for the public revenues, and did not pay the commonwealth, and such as were guilty of treasonable practices against the government. But this (as Demosthenes interprets it) must be understood only of

[z] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 8.
[a] Harpocration.
[b] Pollux.
[c] Aristoph. Avibus, et Libanius Argument. in Androtianam.
[d] Æschines in Timarch.

criminals before their condemnation[e], for, to put them in fetters after sentence passed upon them, was no breach of the laws. But the highest punishment which the senate was allowed to inflict upon criminals was a fine of five hundred drachmæ. When this was thought not enough, they transmitted the criminal to the thesmothetæ, by whom he was arraigned in the usual method[f]. It must not be omitted, that, after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, they took an oath to observe τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, *the act of oblivion*, whereby all the disorders committed during the government of the tyrants were remitted.

After the expiration of their trust, the senators gave an account of their management; and therefore, to prevent their being exposed to the rage and malice of the multitude, they severely punished whatever offences were committed by any of their own members. If any of the senators was convicted of breaking his oath, committing any injustice, or behaving himself otherwise than as became his order, the rest of his brethren expelled him, and substituted one of the Ἀντιλαχόντες in his place. This they called Ἐκφυλλοφορῆσαι, from the leaves which they made use of in giving their suffrages, in the same manner that the Ὄστρακα were used by the commonalty in decreeing the ostracism. But this custom was not very ancient, being invented upon the account of one Xenotimus, an officer, that by changing the beans (which till that time were always made use of), was found to have corrupted the suffrages[g]. It was lawful τοὺς ἐκφυλλοφορηθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ καταδέχεσθαι, *to admit those men to be judges who had been expelled out of the senate.* Whence we may conclude, that it was customary to deprive senators of their office for very small offences.

On the contrary, such as had behaved themselves with justice and integrity, were rewarded with an allowance of money out of the public exchequer[h]. Every senator received a drachm by the day for his maintenance. Whence βουλῆς λαχεῖν, *to be elected by lots into the senate,* is all one, according to Hesychius's explication, with δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας λαχεῖν, *to obtain a drachm every day.* And if any man of war had been built during the regency, the people, in their public assembly, decreed them the honour of wearing a crown; if not, the law prohibited them from suing for this privilege, as having been wanting to the commonwealth, whose

e Demosth. in Timocrat.

f Demosthen. in Euerg. et Mnesib. Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9.

g Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 5. Harpocration. Etymolog. Suidas.

h Demosth. Timocrat.

safety and interest depended upon nothing so much as the strength and number of their ships [i]. This seems to have been enacted after the fight near Salamis, that being the first occasion which moved the Athenians to think of increasing their fleet.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Senate and Court of Areopagus.

THE name of this senate was taken from the place in which it was wont to be assembled, being a hill not far distant from the citadel [j], called Ἀρειοπάγος, or Αρειος πάγος, that is, *Mars's hill*, from Mars, the god of war and blood, because all wilful murders came under the cognizance of this court [k]; or, as fables tell us, from the arraignment of Mars, who was the first criminal that was tried in it [l]; or, lastly, because the Amazons, whom the poets feign to have been the daughters of Mars, when they besieged Athens, pitched their camps, and offered sacrifices to the god of war in this place [m].

When this court was first instituted is uncertain. Some make it as ancient as Cecrops, the first founder of Athens; others think it was begun in the reign of Cranaus; and lastly, others bring it down as low as the times of Solon. But this opinion, though defended by authors of no less credit than Plutarch [n], and Cicero [o], is in express terms contradicted by Aristotle [p], and one of Solon's laws cited by Plutarch himself, wherein there is mention of judgments made in this court before Solon had reformed the commonwealth. What seems most probable, is, that the senate of areopagus was first instituted a long time before Solon, but was continued, regulated, and augmented by him; was by him made superior to the ephetæ, another court instituted by Draco [q], and invested with greater power, authority, and larger privileges, than ever it had enjoyed before.

The number of the persons that composed this venerable assembly is not agreed upon; by some it is restrained to nine, by others

i Idem Androtiana.
j Herodot. lib. viii.
k Suidas.
l Pausan. Aristid. Panath. Suidas.
m Æschyl. Eumenidib. Etymol. Auctor.
n Solone.
o De offic. lib. i.
p Polit. lib. ii.
q Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 10.

enlarged to thirty-one, by others to fifty-one, and by some to more. Maximus tells us it consisted of fifty-one, *πλὴν ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ βίῳ σώφρονι διαφερόντων*, beside such of the nobility as were eminent for their virtue and riches; by which words he seems to mean the nine archons, who were the constant seminary of this great assembly, and having discharged their several offices, passed every year into it [r]; others affirm, that not all the nine archons, but only the thesmothetæ were admitted into the areopagus [s]. This was the reason why their number was not always the same, but more or less according as those persons happened to continue a greater or lesser time in the senate. Therefore, when Socrates was condemned by this court, (as the nature of his crime makes it evident he was,) we find no less than two hundred four-score and one giving their votes against him, besides those who voted for his absolution; and in an ancient inscription upon a column in the citadel at Athens, erected to the memory of Rufus Festus, proconsul of Greece, the senate of areopagus is said to consist of three hundred.

All that had undergone the office of an archon were not taken into this senate, but only such of them as had behaved themselves well in the discharge of their trust; and not they neither, till they had given an account of their administration before the logistæ, and obtained their approbation, after an inquiry into their behaviour, which was not a mere formality, and thing of course, but extremely severe, rigorous, and particular [t]. This being done, after the performance of certain sacrifices at Limnæ, a place in Athens dedicated to Bacchus, they were admitted upon set days [u]. Thus it was ordered by Solon's constitutions, which were nicely and punctually observed for many ages; but towards the declination of the Athenian grandeur, together with many other useful and excellent ordinances, were either wholly laid aside and abrogated, or, which was all one, neglected and not observed. And then not the archons only, but others, as well as those of loose lives and mean fortunes, as persons of high quality, and strict virtue, nay, and even foreigners, were taken into this assembly, as appears by several instances produced by the learned Meursius, and particularly that of Rufus Festus, mentioned in the aforesaid inscription, as a member of it.

[r] Plut. Solone, et Pericle.

[s] Libanius in Argumento Androtianæ.

[t] Plut. Pericle, Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 10. Demosth. Timocrat.

[u] Demosth. in Neæram.

Aristides tells us, this court was τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι δικαστηρίων τιμιώτατον καὶ ἁγιώτατον, *the most sacred and venerable tribunal in all Greece;* and if we consider the justice of their sentences and judicial determinations, the unblameableness of their manners, their wise and prudent behaviour, and their high quality and station in the commonwealth, it will easily appear that this character was not unreasonable or undeserved. To have been sitting in a tavern or public-house, was a sufficient reason to deny an archon's admission into it [v]; and though their dignity was usually continued to them as long as they lived, yet if any of the senators was convicted of any immorality, he was without mercy or favour presently expelled. Nor was it enough that their lives were strictly innocent and unblameable, but something more was required of them; their countenances, words, actions, and all their behaviour must be composed, serious, and grave, to a degree beyond what was expected from other (the most virtuous) men. To laugh in their assembly was an unpardonable act of levity [w]; and for any of them to write a comedy, was forbidden by a particular precept of the law [x].

Nay, so great an awe and reverence did this solemn assembly strike into those that sat in it, that Isocrates [y] tells us, that in his days, when they were somewhat degenerated from their primitive virtue, however otherwise men were irregular and exorbitant, yet once chosen into this senate, they presently ceased from their vicious inclinations, and chose rather to conform to the laws and manners of their court, ἢ ταῖς αὐτῶν κακίαις ἐμμένειν, *than to continue in their loose and debauched course of life.* And so exactly upright and impartial were their proceedings, that Demosthenes [z] tells us, that to his time there had never been so much as one of their determinations, that either plaintiff or defendant had any just reason to complain of. This was so eminently remarkable in all parts of Greece, that even foreign states, when any controversies happened among them, would voluntarily submit to their decision: Pausanias [a] reports in particular of the Messenians, that before their first wars with the Spartans, they were very desirous that their quarrel should be referred to the areopagites, and both parties stand to their determination.

It is reported that this court was the first that sat upon life and

[v] Athenæus, lib. xiv.
[w] Æschin. in Timarch.
[x] Plutarch. de Gloria Atheniens.
[y] Areopagitica.
[z] Aristocratea.
[a] Messeniacis.

death[b]; and in latter ages, a great many capital causes came under its cognizance. Before it were brought all incendiaries, all such as deserted their country, against whom they proceeded with no less severity than was used to those that were convicted of treason, both being punished with death[c]; such also as had laid wait for any person's life, whether their wicked contrivances were successful or not; for the very designing to murder a man, was thought to deserve no less than capital punishment; others are of opinion, that such causes were tried at the tribunal of the palladium[d]. However that be, it is certain, that all wounds given out of malice, all wilful murders, and particularly such as were effected by poison, came under the cognizance of this court[e]. Some say that there was no appeal from the areopagites to the people; but others, amongst whom is Meursius, are of a contrary opinion, and assure us, that not only their determinations might be called in question, and, if need was, retracted by an assembly of the people[f], but that themselves too, if they exceeded the due bounds of moderation in inflicting punishments, were liable to account for it to the logistæ[g]. The same author tells us afterwards, that this court had power to cancel the sentence of an assembly, if the people had acquitted any criminal that deserved punishment[h], and to rescue out of their hands such innocent persons as were by prejudice or misinformation condemned by them. Perhaps in both these opinions there is something of truth, if you understand the former, of the areopagus in its primitive state; and the other, when its power was retrenched by Pericles.

Their power in the commonwealth was very great; for by Solon's constitution, the inspection and custody of the laws were committed to them[i], the public fund was disposed of and managed according to their discretion[j], the care of all young men in the city belonged to them, and it was their business to appoint them tutors and governors[k], and see that they were educated suitably to their several qualities[l]. Nor did they only superintend the youth, but their power was extended to persons of all ages and sexes. Such as lived disorderly, or were guilty of any impiety, or immorality,

b Etymolog. v. Ἄρειος Πάγος.
c Lycurgus in Leocratem.
d Harpocrat. Suidas.
e Demosthen. Aristocrat. Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 10. aliique.
f Dinarchus Orat. in Aristogiton.
g Demosthenes in Neæram, Æschines in Ctesiphont.
h Demosthen. pro Corona.
i Plutarch. Solone.
j Plutarch. Themistocle.
k Æschines Philosophus in Axiocho.
l Isocrates Areopagitic.

they punished according to the merit of their offences; and such as were eminent for a virtuous course of life, they had power to reward. To this end they went about with the gynæconomi to all public meetings; such as were marriages, and solemn sacrifices, which were usually concluded with a banquet, to see that all things were carried on with decency and sobriety [m]. Idleness was a crime that came more especially under their cognizance, and (which seems to have been an institution peculiar to Solon) they were obliged to inquire strictly after every man's course of life, and to examine by what means he maintained himself in the station he was in, that so there might be no room for such as lived by unlawful arts, by cheating and cozenage, or theft or rapine [n]. Besides this, matters of religion, blasphemy against the gods, contempt of the holy mysteries, and all sorts of impiety, the consecration also of new gods, erection of temples and altars, and introduction of new ceremonies into divine worship, were referred to the judgment of this court; therefore Plato, having been instructed in the knowledge of one god in Egypt, was forced to dissemble or conceal his opinion, for fear of being called to an account for it by the areopagites [o]; and St Paul was arraigned before them, as a *setter forth of strange gods, when he preached* unto them Jesus, and Ἀνάστασις, or *the resurrection* [p]. These were the chief businesses that this senate was employed about, for they seldom intermeddled in the management of public affairs, except in cases of great and imminent danger, and in these the commonwealth usually had recourse to them, as the last and safest refuge [q].

They had three meetings in the areopagus every month, upon the 27th, 28th, and 29th days [r]: but if any business happened that required dispatch, it was usual for them to assemble in the Βασιλικὴ Στοά, or royal portico, which they encompassed with a rope, to prevent the multitude from thronging in upon them [s], as was usual also in other courts of justice.

Two things are very remarkable in their judgments: First, that they sat in the open air [t], a custom practised in all the courts of justice that had cognizance of murder; partly because it was unlawful for the accuser and criminal in such cases to be under the same roof; and partly, that the judges, whose persons were esteem-

m Athenæus, lib. vi.
n Plut. Solone, Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 6.
o Justinus Martyr.
p Act. Apostol. xviii. 18. 19.
q Argument. Orat. Androt.
r Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 10.
s Demosth. Orat. 1. in Aristogit.
t Pollux, loc. citat.

ed sacred, might contract no pollution from conversing with men profane and unhallowed, for such they were accounted that had been guilty of so black and heinous a crime [u]. Secondly, they heard and determined all causes at night, and in the dark, to the end that, having neither seen the plaintiff nor defendant, they might lie under no temptation of being biassed or influenced by either of them [v]. And of what consequence this was, may be learned from the example of the harlot Phryne, who being accused of impiety for feigning herself to be Minerva, the protectress of Athens, when sentence was going to pass against her, so changed the minds of her judges, by uncovering her breasts, that she was immediately acquitted [w].

Actions about murder were ushered into the areopagus by the Βασιλεὺς, who was allowed to sit as judge amongst them, laying aside his crown, which was one of the ornaments of his office [x].

The common method they proceeded in was this:—the court being met, and the people excluded, they divided themselves into several committees, each of which had their causes assigned to be heard and determined by them severally, if the multitude of business was so great that the whole senate could not take cognizance of them together. Both these designations were performed by lots, to the end that every man coming into the court before it was determined what causes would fall to his share, none of them might lie under any temptation of having his honesty corrupted with bribes [y].

Before the trial began, the plaintiff and defendant took solemn oaths upon the testicles of a goat, a ram, and a bull, by the Σεμναὶ Θεαὶ, or furies. The plaintiff, in case of murder, swore that he was related to the deceased person (for none but near relations, at the farthest a cousin, were permitted to prosecute the murderer), and that the prisoner was the cause of his death. The prisoner swore that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge. Both of them confirmed their oaths with direful imprecations, wishing, that if they swore falsely, themselves, their houses, and their whole families might be utterly destroyed and extirpated by the divine vengeance [z]; which they looked upon to be so dreadful and certain, that the law inflicted no penalty upon those that at such a time

[u] Antiphon. Orat. de cæde Herodis.
[v] Lucian. Hermotimo.
[w] Athenæus, lib. xiii. et qui eum sequitur Eustathius, aliique.
[x] Pollux.
[y] Lucian. Bis accusato.
[z] Demosthen. Aristocrat. Dinarchus in Demosthen. Lysias in Theomnestum. Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 10.

were guilty of perjury, remitting them, as it were, to be punished by a higher tribunal.

Then the two parties were placed upon two silver stools; the accuser was placed upon the stool Ὕβρις, or *injury*; the prisoner upon the stool of Ἀναιδεία, or *impudence*; or, according to Adrian Junius's correction, of Ἀναιτία, or *innocence*; these were two goddesses, to whom altars, and afterwards temples, were erected in the Areopagus[a]. The accuser in this place proposed three questions to the prisoner, called by Æschylus, τρία παλαίσματα[b], to each of which he was to give a distinct answer. The first was εἰ κατέκτονας; *Are you guilty of this murder?* To which he made answer, ἔκτονα, or οὐκ ἔκτονα, *guilty*, or *not guilty*; Secondly, ὅπως κατέκτονας; *How did you commit this murder?* Thirdly, Τίνος βουλεύμασι κατέκτονας; *Who were your partners and accomplices in the fact?*

In the next place, the two parties impleaded each other, and the prisoner was allowed to make his defence in two orations, the first of which being ended, he was permitted to secure himself by flight, and go into voluntary banishment, if he suspected the goodness of his cause; which privilege if he made use of, all his estate was confiscated, and exposed to sale by the Πωληταί. In the primitive times, both parties spoke for themselves[d], but in later ages they were permitted to have counsel to plead for them. But whoever it was that spoke, he was to represent the bare and naked truth, without any preface or epilogue, without any ornament, figures of rhetoric, or other insinuating means to win the favour or move the affections of the judges[e].

Both parties being heard, if the prisoner was resolved to stand the trial, they proceeded to give sentence, which they did with the most profound gravity and silence; hence Ἀρεοπαγίτου σιωπηλότερος, and Ἀρεοπαγίτου στυγνότερος, came to be proverbial sayings; though some derive them from the reservedness, and severe gravity of their manners; whence also Ἀρεοπαγίτης, is usually taken for a grave, majestic, rigid person; and others from the great care they took to conceal the transactions of the senate, of which the poet speaks,

Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis[f].

The manner of giving sentence was thus: There were placed in the court two urns, one of which was of brass, and called ὁ ἐμ-

[a] Pausanias, Cicero de Legib. lib. ii.
[b] Eumenidibus.
[c] Demosthen. in Aristocrat. Pollux, lib. viii.
[d] Sext. Empiric. adv. Mathemat. lib. ii.
[e] Aristoteles Rhetoric. lib. i. Lucianus Anacharside, Demosthen. Quintilian. aliique innumeri.
[f] Juvenal, Sat. ix.

προσθὲν, from the place it stood in; κύριος, because the votes cast into it pronounced the accusation valid; and θανάτυ, because they decreed the death of the prisoner. The second urn was of wood, being placed behind the former; into it they that acquitted the prisoner were to cast their suffrages; for which reason it was called ὁ ὕστερος, or ὁ ὀπίσω, ὁ ἄκυρος, and ὁ ἐλέυ[g]. Afterwards the thirty tyrants having made themselves masters of the city, ordered them to give their voices in a manner more public and open, by casting their calculi upon two tables, the former of which contained the suffrages which acquitted, the latter those which condemned the prisoner; to the end that it might be known which way every man gave his voice, and how he stood affected to their interest and proceedings[h].

Beside the crimes that came peculiarly under their cognizance, there were sometimes others brought before them, in which their sentence was not final or decretory, for there lay an appeal to the court to which they properly belonged, as Sigonius observes.

The senators of areopagus were never rewarded with crowns for their services, being not permitted to wear them[i]; but received a sort of maintenance from the public, which they called Κρέας[j]; and Meursius has observed out of Lucian[k], that they had the same pension that was allotted to some other judges, viz. three oboli for every cause they gave judgment upon.

Their authority was preserved entire till the time of Pericles, who, because he could not be admitted amongst them, as never having borne the office of an archon, employed all his power and cunning against them; and having gained a great interest with the commonalty, so embroiled and routed their senate by the assistance of Ephialtes, that most of the causes and matters which had been formerly tried there, were discharged from their cognizance[l]. From this time, the Athenians being, in a great measure, freed from the restraint that had been laid upon them, began sensibly to degenerate from their ancient virtue, and in a short time let loose the reins of all manner of licentiousness[m]; whence they are compared by Plutarch to a wild unruly horse, that having flung his rider, would be governed and kept in no longer. The same vices and excesses that were practised in the city, crept in by degrees amongst the areopagites themselves; and therefore Demet-

[g] Aristophan. Schol. Vesp. Equit.
[h] Lysias in Agorat.
[i] Æschines in Ctesiphont.
[j] Hesychius in Κρέας.
[k] Bis accusato.
[l] Plutarch. Pericle.
[m] Isocrates Areopagit.

rius, one of the family of the Phalerean, being censured by them as a loose liver, told them plainly, that if they designed to make a reformation in the city, they must begin at home, for that even amongst them there were several persons of as bad and worse lives than himself, and (which was a more unpardonable crime than any that he had been guilty of) several, that debauched and corrupted other men's wives, and were themselves corrupted and seduced by bribes[n].

CHAP. XX.

Of some other Courts of Justice.

SOLON intending to make the Athenians a free people, and wisely considering that nothing would more conduce to secure the commonalty from the oppression of the nobility, than to make them final judges of right and wrong, enacted, that the nine archons, who till that time had been the supreme and last judges in most causes, should thence have little farther power than to examine the causes brought before them, which they were obliged to refer to the determination of other judges in the several courts hereafter to be mentioned.

The judges were chosen out of the citizens, without distinction of quality, the very meanest being by Solon admitted to give their voices in the popular assembly, and to determine causes, provided they were arrived at the age of thirty years, and had never been convicted of any notorious crime.

The courts of justice were ten, beside that in areopagus. Four had cognizance ἐπὶ τῶν φονικῶν πραγμάτων, *of actions concerning blood;* the remaining six, ἐπὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν, *of civil matters.* These ten courts were all painted with colours, from which names were given them, whence we read of Βατραχιοῦν, Φοινικιοῦν, and others. And on each of them was engraven one of the ten following letters, Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, Κ: whence they are likewise called *alpha, beta,* &c. Such, therefore, of the Athenians as were at leisure to hear and determine causes, delivered in their names, together with the names of their father and borough, inscribed upon a tablet, to the thesmothetæ; who returned it to them with another tablet, where-

[n] Athenæus Δειπνοσοφ.

on was inscribed the letter of one of the courts, as the lots had directed. These tablets they carried to the crier of the several courts, signified by the letters, who thereupon gave to every man a tablet inscribed with his own name, and the name of the court which fell to his lot, and a staff or sceptre. Having received these, they were all admitted to sit in the court[o]. If any person sat among the judges, who had not obtained one of the fore-mentioned letters, he was fined. It may not be improper to mention in this place, that σκῆπτρον the *sceptre,* or *staff,* was always the ensign of judicial and sovereign power; whence in Homer it is accounted sacred, and the most solemn oaths are sworn by it:

Ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμοῦμαι,
Ναὶ μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον, τὸ μὲν οὔποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους
Φύσει, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτα τομὴν ἐν ὄρεσσι λέλοιπεν,
Οὐδ' ἀναθηλήσει, περὶ γάρ ῥά ἑ χαλκὸς ἔλεψε
Φύλλα τε, καὶ φλοιόν· νῦν αὖτέ μιν υἷες Ἀχαιῶν
Ἐν παλάμης φορέουσι δικάσπολοι, οἵ τε θέμιστας
Πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται——[p]

But this I do with solemn oath declare,
An oath, which I'll by this same sceptre swear,
Which in the wood hath left its native root,
And, sapless, ne'er shalt boast a tender shoot,
Since from its sides relentless steel hath torn
The bark, but now by Grecian chiefs is borne;
Chiefs that maintain the laws of mighty Jove
Committed to their charge.——

MR. H. HUTCHIN OF LINC. COLL.

Sometimes we find the sceptres of kings, and great persons, adorned with studs of silver, or gold;

——Ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίῃ
Χρυσέιοις ἥλοισι πεπαρμένον——[q]

—— —He cast his sceptre on the ground,
Emboss'd with studs of gold.——

To return; the Athenian judges having heard the causes they were appointed to take cognizance of, went immediately and delivered back the sceptre to the prytanes, from whom they received the reward due to them. This was termed δικαςικὸν[r], or μισθὸς δικαςικός. Sometimes it was an obolus for every cause they decided; sometimes three oboli, being sometimes raised higher than at others, by the instance of men, who endeavoured by that means to become popular[s]. No man was permitted to sit as judge in two courts upon the same day[t], that looking like the effect of covetousness. And if any of the judges was convicted of bribery, he was fined[u].

[o] Aristophanes Scholiastes in Pluto.
[p] Iliad. ά, v. 233.
[q] Ibid. v. 245.
[r] Hesychius, v. δικαςικόν.
[s] Hesychius, ibid. Aristophanis Scholiastes ex Aristotele de Repub.
[t] Demosthen. et Ulpian. in Timocrat.
[u] Thucydides, Scholiastes, lib. vi.

Ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ was a court of judicature instituted in the reign of Demophoon, the son of Theseus, upon this account: some of the Argives, under the conduct of Diomedes, or, as others say, of Agamemnon, being driven in the night upon the coasts of Attica, landed at the haven of Phalerus, and supposing it to be an enemy's country, went out to spoil and plunder it. The Athenians presently took the alarm, and having united themselves into one body under the conduct of Demophoon, repulsed the invaders with great loss, killing a great many of them upon the place, and forcing the rest to retire into their ships; but upon the approach of day, Acamus, the brother of Demophoon, finding amongst the dead bodies the palladium, or statue of Minerva, brought from Troy, discovered that the persons they had killed were their friends and allies; whereupon (having first advised with an oracle) they gave them an honourable burial in the place where they were slain, consecrated the goddess's statue, erected in a temple to her, and instituted a court of justice, in which cognizance was taken of such as were indicted for involuntary murders. The first that was arraigned in it was Demophoon, who, in his return from the forementioned conflict, killed one of his own subjects by a sudden turn of his horse. Others report, that Agamemnon being enraged at the loss of his men, and dissatisfied at Demophoon's rash and hasty attempt upon them, referred the quarrel to the decision of fifty Athenians, and as many Argians, whom they called Ἐφέται, διὰ τὸ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐφεθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς κρίσεως, *because* both parties *committed* the determination of their cause to them.

Afterwards the Argians were excluded, and the number of the ephetæ reduced to fifty-one by Draco, whom some affirm to have been the first institutor of them; but others, with more probability, report that he regulated and reformed them, augmented their power, honoured them with many important privileges, and made them superior to the senate of areopagus. In this state they continued till Solon's time, by whom their power was lessened, and their authority restrained; the causes which had formerly been tried by them were discharged from their cognizance, and only those about man-slaughter and chance-medley, and, as some say, conspiracies against the lives of citizens, that were discovered before they took effect, left to them.

Fifty of them were appointed for election, five being chosen out of every tribe, but the odd man was appointed by lots; all of them were men of good characters and virtuous lives, of severe manners,

and a settled gravity; and no person under the age of fifty years was admitted into their number.

Causes were entered in this court by the Βασιλεὺς, and the proceedings were in some things agreeable to those of the areopagus; for both parties, the plaintiff and defendant, were obliged to confirm their allegations by solemn oaths and curses, and then, the orators having performed their parts, the judges proceeded to give sentence [v].

Ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ, was a court of justice in the temple of Apollo Delphinius and Diana Delphinia. Under its cognizance came all murders wherein the prisoner confessed the fact, but pleaded that it was committed by permission of the laws, as in the case of self-preservation or adultery; for it was allowed any one to kill an adulterer, if he caught him in the act [w]. The first person that was tried in this court, was Theseus, who, in his journey to Athens, had slain the robbers that infested the ways between Trœzen and that place; and afterwards the sons of Pallas, that raised a rebellion against him [x].

Ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ, was a court of judicature, which had cognizance of murders committed by things without life, or sense, as stones, iron, timber, &c. which, if they killed a man by accident, or by the direction of an unknown hand, or of a person that had escaped, had judgment passed upon them in this place, and were ordered to be cast out of the territories of Athens by the Φυλοβασιλεῖς. This court was as ancient as Erechtheus: and the first thing that was brought to trial in it was an ax, wherewith one of Jupiter's priests killed an ox (an animal accounted very sacred in those days), that had eaten one of the consecrated cakes, and, as soon as he had committed the fact, secured himself by flight [y]. This place also was the common-hall, in which public entertainments were made; and the sacred lamp, that burned with a perpetual fire, was kept by widows, who, having passed the years and desires of marriage, were devoted to the mother of the gods; which lamp, as Plutarch, in the life of Numa, tells us, was extinct under the tyranny of Aristion; it was always managed with the same rites and ceremonies that were used at Rome, about the vestal fire, which he saith was ordained and instituted after the pattern of

[v] Pausanias, Harpocration, Suidas, Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 10.

[w] Plut. Solone, Hesych. v. Δικαστήρια.

[x] Pollux, loc. cit. Pausanias.

[y] Idem. Ælian. V. H. lib. viii. cap. 3. Harpocration.

this, and another holy fire of the same nature amongst the Delphians.

Ἐν Φρεαττοῖ, Ἐν Φρεάττῳ, was seated upon the sea-shore in the Piræeus, and received its name ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος, because it stood in a pit; and therefore Pollux calls it Ἐν Φρεάτει, or, as is more probable, from the hero Phreatus. The causes heard in this court were such as concerned persons that had fled out of their own country for murder; or those that fled for involuntary murder, and had afterwards committed a wilful and deliberate murder. The first person that was tried in this place was Teucer, who, as Lycophron reports, was banished out of Salamis by his father Telamon, upon a groundless suspicion that he had been accessory to Ajax's death. The criminal was not permitted to come to land, or so much as to cast anchor, but pleaded his cause in his bark, and, if found guilty, was committed to the mercy of the winds and waves; or, as some say, suffered there condign punishment; if innocent, was only cleared of the second fact, and (as it was customary) underwent a twelvemonth's banishment for the former [z].

And thus much may suffice concerning the courts for capital offences; it remains that I give you an account of those which had the cognizance of civil affairs.

CHAP. XXI.

Of some other Courts of Justice, their Judicial Process, &c.

ΠΑΡΑΒΥΣΤΟΝ, was either so called, as being a court of no great credit or reputation, having cognizance only of trivial matters, whose value was not above one drachm; or because it was situate ἐν ἀφανεῖ τόπῳ τῆς πόλεως, *in an obscure part of the city*. Pollux reports there were two courts of this name, one of which was called Παράβυστον μεῖζον, and the other Παράβυστον μέσον. The persons that sat as judges in the latter of these were the eleven magistrates called οἱ Ἕνδεκα [a]. On which account it is by some not placed among the ten courts, the commons of Athens being all permitted to judge in them; and instead hereof another court is reckoned into the ten, called Τὸ Καινὸν, the *new court*, which is mentioned by Aristophanes [b];

z Demosthen. in Arist. Harpocrat. Pollux, loc. cit. Hesychius.

a Harpocrat. Suidas, Pausan. Atticis.

b Vespis, p. 430. edit. Amstelodam.

——————Ο δ' αὐτῷ τυμπάνῳ
Αἴξας, ἐδίκαζεν εἰς τὸ καινὸν ἐμπεσών.

Τρίγωνον was, in all probability, so called because it was triangular [c].

Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκου, received its name from the temple of the hero Lycus in which it was erected. The same person had a statue in all the courts of justice, by which he was represented with a wolf's face, and therefore λύκου δεκὰς signifies sycophants, and τοὺς δωροδοκοῦντας, those who took bribes, who, by tens, that is, in great numbers, frequented those places [d].

Τὸ Μητίχου, was so called from one Metichus, an architect, by whom it was built [e].

The judges in all these courts were obliged to take a solemn oath, by the paternal Apollo, Ceres, and Jupiter the king, that they would give sentence uprightly, and according to law; if the law had determined the point debated: or, when the law was silent, according to the best of their judgments. Which oath, as also that which was taken by those that judged in the Heliæa, was given in a place near the river Ilissus, called Ardettus, from a hero of that name, who, in a public sedition, united the contesting parties, and engaged them to confirm their treaties of peace by mutual oaths in this place. Hence common and profane swearers came to be called Ἄρδηττοι [f].

Of all the judicial courts that handled civil affairs, Ἡλιαία was far the greatest and most frequented, being so called ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁλίζεσθαι, from the people's thronging together [g], or rather ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡλίου, because it was an open place, and exposed to the sun [h].

The judges that sat in this court were at the least fifty, but the more usual number was two or five hundred. When causes of great consequence were to be tried, it was customary to call in the judges of other courts. Sometimes a thousand were called in, and then two courts were said to have been joined; sometimes fifteen hundred or two thousand, and then three or four courts met together [i]. Whence it appears, that the judges were sometimes five hundred in other courts.

They had cognizance of civil affairs of the greatest weight and

[c] Vespis, p. 430. edit. Amstelodam.

[d] Aristoph. Schol. Vesp. Zenobius, Harpocrat. Pollux, Suidas, &c.

[e] Pollux, &c.

[f] Etymolog. Pollux, Suidas, Hesych. Harpocrat.

[g] Ulpian. in Demosth.

[h] Idem. Aristoph. Schol. Nub. Equit. Vesp. Suidas.

[i] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 10. Harpocrat. Stephan. Byzantin. v. Ἡλιαία.

importance, and were not permitted to give judgment till they had taken a solemn oath, the form whereof was this, as we find it in Demosthenes[j]: 'I will give sentence according to the laws, and the decrees of the people of Athens, and the council of five hundred. I will not consent to place the supreme power in the hands of a single person or a few; nor permit any man to dissolve the commonwealth, or so much as to give his vote, or make an oration in defence of such a revolution. I will not endeavour to discharge private debts, nor to make any division of lands or houses. I will not restore persons sent into banishment, nor pardon those that are condemned to die, nor expel any man out of the city contrary to the laws and decrees of the people, and council of five hundred, nor permit any other person to do it. I will not elect any person into any public employ, and particularly, I will not create any man archon, hieromnemon, ambassador, public herald, or synedrus, nor consent that he shall be admitted into any of those offices, which are elected by lots upon the same day with the archons, who has undergone any former office, and not given in his accounts; nor that any person shall bear two offices, or be twice elected into the same office in one year. I will not receive gifts myself, nor shall any other for me; nor will I permit any other person to do the like by any means, whether direct or indirect, to pervert justice in the court of Heliæa. I am not under thirty years of age. I will hear both the plaintiff and defendant without partiality, and give sentence in all the causes brought before me. I swear by Jupiter, Neptune, and Ceres; if I violate this oath, or any part of it, may I perish with my whole family; but if I religiously observe it, may we live and prosper.'

These were the ten public courts in Athens. There were others of less note, where particular magistrates, or the Διαιτηταὶ, or the Τεσσαράκοντα, took cognizance of causes belonging to the several offices; such was the court at Cynosarges, Odeum, Theseus's temple, Bucoleum, and some others.

The method of judicial process was thus: first of all, the plaintiff delivered in the name of the person against whom he brought his action, together with an account of his offence, to the magistrate, whose concern it was (εἰσάγειν) to introduce it into the court where causes of that nature were heard. The magistrate then examined whether the cause was one of those which belonged to his cognizance, and then εἰ ὅλως εἰσάγειν χρή· whether it deserved to be tried

j Orat. in Timocrat.

in a court of justice? This inquiry was termed ἀνάκρισις. Then by the magistrate's permission, the plaintiff summoned his adversary to appear before the magistrate, which was termed κλητεύειν[k]. This was sometimes done by apparitors or bailiffs, whom they called κλήτορες, or κλητῆρες[l]; sometimes by the plaintiff himself, who always carried with him sufficient witnesses to attest the giving of the summons; and these were also termed κλήτορες, or κλητῆρες[m]. An example of this method we find in the Vespæ of Aristophanes[n];

——————Προσκαλοῦμαί σ᾽ ὅστις εἶ,
Πρὸς τοὺς Ἀγορανόμους βλάβης τῶν φορτίων,
Κλητῆρ᾽ ἔχουσα Χαιρεφῶντα τουτονί.

I summon thee, whoever thou art, to answer before the agoranomi *for the damage done to my goods: this* Chærephon *is witness.* This, therefore, was the form in which the plaintiff himself summoned his adversary: Προσκαλοῦμαι τὸν δεῖνα τοῦδε ἀδικήματος πρὸς τὴν Ἀρχὴν τήνγε, κλητῆρα ἔχων τὸν δεῖνα· *I summon such a person to answer for this injury before this magistrate, having such a one for my witness*[o]. When the plaintiff employed an *apparitor*, the form was thus varied: Κατηγορῶ τὸν δεῖνα τοῦδε, καὶ Προσκαλοῦμαι τοῦτον διὰ τοῦ δεῖνος εἰς τὴν Ἀρχὴν τήνδε· *I accuse such a person of this injury, and summon him by such an one to answer before this magistrate.* For it was necessary to mention the name of the κλητὴρ in the summons. Lastly, when a married woman was cited to appear before a magistrate, her husband was also summoned in this form: Τὴν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν Κύριον· *Such a woman and her lord,* &c. because wives being under the government of their husbands, were not permitted to appear in any court without them. If the criminal refused to appear before the magistrate, he was carried thither by force. Whence the following dialogue in Terence's Phormio[p];

DE. *In jus eamus.* PH. *In jus? huc, si quid lubet.*
DE. *Assequere, ac retine, dum ego huc servos evoco.*
CH. *Enim solum nequeo: occurre huc.* PH. *Una injuria est*
Tecum. CH. *Lege agito ergo.* PH. *Altera est tecum, Chreme.*
DE. *Rape hunc.*

Afterwards *Demipho* speaks these words;

——————Ni sequitur, pugnos in ventrem ingere,
Vel oculum exclude——————

Sometimes the criminal was not summoned to appear immediately, but upon a certain day, which was always mentioned in the form of his citation. This custom is mentioned by Aristophanes[q];

[k] Ulpianus in Demosthenis Orat. de Corona.
[l] Aristophanis Scholiastes ad Aves.
[m] Ulpian. loc. cit. Suidas, Harpocrat.
[n] Pag. 502. edit. Amstelod.
[o] Ulpianus in Midianam.
[p] Act. v. scen. 7.
[q] Avibus, p. 572. edit. Amstelod.

Καλῶμαι Πεισθέταιρον ὕβρεως
Εἰς τὸν Μουνυχιῶνα μῆνα·

I summon Pisthetærus to answer the next month of Munychion for the injury done me. When the plaintiff and defendant were both come before the magistrate, he inquired of the plaintiff, whether all his evidence was ready, or whether he needed any other witness to be summoned? This was the second ἀνάκρισις, to which the plaintiff was obliged to offer himself under the penalty of (ἀτιμία) *infamy*. If any of his witnesses were not ready, or any other necessaries were wanting, he desired farther time to make his prosecution, swearing that this delay was not on his part voluntary; to do which was termed ὑπόμνυσθαι, and the thing itself ὑπωμοσία [r]. The same excuse was likewise admitted in behalf of the defendant, who had also another plea, termed παραγραφή, or παραμαρτυρία, when he alleged, by sufficient witnesses, that the action brought against him was not δίκη εἰσαγώγιμος, *a cause which could then lawfully be tried;* which happened on several accounts: when the injury had been committed five years before the accusation; for that time being expired, the laws permitted no action to be preferred. When the controversy had been formerly composed before credible witnesses; for any voluntary agreement before witnesses was valid, provided it was not about things unlawful. When the defendant had been formerly either punished for, or legally tried and acquitted of the fact. Lastly, it was a just exception, that the cause was not one of those whereof that magitrate was empowered to take cognizance. To this παραγραφή the plaintiff was obliged to give his answer, proved by sufficient evidence; and both the exception and the answer together, as sworn by the witnesses, were termed διαμαρτυρία [s]. But if the defendant, without alleging any plea or excuse, was willing to proceed to a speedy trial, he was said εὐθυδικεῖν, and the trial was termed εὐθυδικία Then an oath was required of both parties. The plaintiff swore that he would ἀληθῆ κατηγορεῖν, *prefer no accusation that was untrue;* and, if the crime was of a public nature, he farther swore, that he would not be prevailed with, either by bribes or promises, or any other temptation, to desist from the prosecution. The defendant swore, ἀληθῆ ἀπολογήσειν, *that his answer should be just and true;* or, μὴ ἀδικεῖν, *that he had not injured the plaintiff.* The plaintiff's oath was termed προωμοσία, the defendant's ἀντωμοσία, and,

[r] Demosth. in Olympiad. Isæus de Philoctemone, et Ulpian. in Midiana.

[s] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 6. Harpocration, v. διαμαρτυρία.

as some think, ἀντιγραφὴ; and both together διωμοσία. These oaths, together with those of the witnesses, and all other matters relating to the action, being wrote upon tablets, were put into a vessel, termed ἐχῖνος, and delivered afterwards to the judges [t].

This being done, the magistrate proceeded to the election of judges, which was performed by lots; and they, upon the κυρία ἡμέρα, or *appointed day*, came to the tribunal, and took their places, the public crier having before commanded all those that had no business, to depart, in those words, Μετάστητε ἔξω. Then, to keep the crowds from thronging in upon them, the court was surrounded with a rope, by the command of a magistrate, and serjeants appointed to keep the doors, which they called Κιγκλίδες, being the same with those which the Romans called Cancellatæ [u]. Now, lest any of the judges should be wanting, proclamation was made in this manner: Εἴ τις θύρασιν Ηλιαστὴς, εἰσίτω, *If any judge be without the doors, let him enter;* for, if any man came after the cause began to be discussed, he could not have admission, as not being capable of giving sentence, because he had not heard all that both parties could say for themselves [v].

Then the magistrate proposed the cause to the judges, and gave them power to determine it, the doing which they called εἰσάγειν τὴν δίκην εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, the cause itself Δίκη εἰσαγώγιμος, and the person that entered it Εἰσαγωγεύς. For, by the laws of Athens, there were certain causes brought before several of the magistrates who had no power to determine them by a final decision, but were only to examine into the matter, and, if it deserved to be heard in the court, refer it to the cognizance of judges appointed for that purpose, upon a day fixed by himself; and this is what they called Ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίων.

Then the indictment was read by the public crier, in which were contained the reasons of the accusation, with an account of the injury said to be received, the manner also of it, and the damage suffered by the plaintiff; the heads of which the judges took in writing [w].

If the person accused did not make his appearance, sentence was given against him, without any farther trouble; and this they called Ἐξ ἐρήμης καταδικασθῆναι and ἐρήμην ὀφλισκάνειν. But if, in the space of ten days, he came and presented himself, proving that he

[t] Pollux, Aristoph. Schol. in Vespas. Harpocration, Suidas.
[u] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 10.
[v] Aristophan. ejusq. Schol. Vesp.
[w] Demosth.

had been detained by sickness, or any other extraordinary and unavoidable necessity, the former sentence was disannulled; and therefore this proceeding they called Δίκη μὴ ἔστα. Then the trial was to be brought on afresh, within the space of two months, by the defendant, and this they called Αντίληξις, and the doing it ἀντιλαχεῖν δίκην; but, if he neglected to have the cause decided in that time, the former sentence was to stand good, and be put in execution upon him [x]. And hence appears the reason for which they were always obliged to insert the name of the person who was witness to the citation of the criminal. But if any man falsely pretended that his adversary was legally cited, and could not produce any κλήτορες, who were present at the citation, he was prosecuted by an action termed γραφὴ ψευδοκλητείας [y].

Before the trial began, both parties were obliged to deposit a certain sum of money, which they called Πρυτανεῖα, into the hands of the magistrate that entered their cause into the court, who, upon failure of the payment, immediately expunged the cause out of the roll. If the cause in debate was concerning the value of an hundred drachms, or upwards, to a thousand, they deposited three drachms; if its value was more than a thousand, and not above ten thousand, they deposited thirty, which, after the decision of the cause, were divided among the judges; and the person that was cast, was obliged, beside the payment of other charges, to restore the money to his adversary [z].

Παρακαταβολὴ, was a sum of money deposited by those that sued the commonwealth for confiscated goods, or any others that were claimed by the public exchequer, or by private persons for the inheritances of heiresses; the former deposited the fifth, the latter the tenth part of the estates contended for [a].

Παράστασις, was a drachm deposited in law-suits about small and private matters, which were decided by the Διαιτηταί [b].

Επωβελία, was a fine laid upon those that could not prove the indictment they had brought against their adversaries; so called, because they were obliged to pay the sixth part of the value of the thing they contended for, from ὀβολὸς, besause out of every drachm they deposited one obolus, which is the sixth part of a drachm [c]. Some of these sums were deposited in all law-suits, a very few excepted, before the trial could proceed.

Then the witnesses were produced, and if any of them refused

[x] Ulpian. in Demosth. Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 6.
[y] Idem.
[z] Pollux, Harpocration.
[a] Idem.
[b] Idem.
[c] Idem.

to make his appearance, he was summoned by a serjeant, whom they called Κλητὴρ, and if he seemed unwilling to be an evidence, had three things proposed to him, viz. to swear the fact; to abjure it, or deny that he was privy to it; or, lastly, to pay a mulct of a thousand drachms. He that was fined for refusing the oath, or that took it out of fear, was said ἐκκλητεύεσθαι; he that was only summoned, and took it voluntarily, κλητεύεσθαι[c]. The oath was taken to the altar, with all the solemnity imaginable, to which end they erected altars in all the courts of judicature.

The persons that gave evidence were to be men of credit, free-born, and disinterested; for no man's oath was taken in his own cause; and such as by their ill behaviour had forfeited their privileges, and were ἄτιμοι, *infamous*, were not thought to deserve belief: the slaves were not permitted to have any concern in public business, and therefore could not be evidences, except they were examined upon the rack, nor plead in any court of justice[d]. Nevertheless, the testimony of the μέτοικοι and ἀπελεύθεροι, *sojourners* and *freed men*, seems to have been received in all cases, except the διαμαρτυρία, in the actions called ἀπροστασίυ δίκαι, as the grammarians inform us from Hyperides.

There were two sorts of evidences; the first of which they called Μαρτυρία, when the person that swore was an eye-witness of the fact. The other, Εκμαρτυρία, when the juror received what he testified from another person that had been an eye-witness of it, but was at this time either dead, or in a foreign country, or detained by sickness, or hindered by some other unavoidable accident from making his appearance; for, except in such cases, the allegations of absent persons were never taken for lawful evidence[e]. The witnesses were required by the laws to deliver their testimony in writing; whereby it became impossible to recede from what they had once sworn, and such as had borne false witness were convicted with less difficulty. But the tablets of those witnesses, who, upon a citation before given, came from home with an intention to give their testimonies, were different from the tablets of such as casually came into the court; the latter being only composed of wax, and ordered in such a manner as gave the witness opportunity to make such alterations in the matter of his evidence, as afterwards, upon better consideration, appeared to be necessary[f].

When the witnesses were sworn, the plaintiff being placed upon

[c] Pollux, Harpocration.
[d] Vide Petitum de Leg. Atticis.
[e] Harpocrat. Pollux.
[f] Pollux, Harpocration.

the left hand of the tribunal, and the defendant upon the right[g], both of them spoke set orations in their own behalf. These were, for the most part, composed by some of the orators, which custom was first introduced by Antiphon a Rhamnusian[h]. Sometimes, if they desired it, the judges granted them Συνήγοροι, or *advocates*, to plead for them, the doing which they called ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνηγορεῖν, *to plead for a fee.*[i] And lest by the length of their orations they should weary the judges patience, and hinder them from proceeding to other business, they were limited to a certain time, called διαμεμετρημένη ἡμέρα[j], which was measured by a Κλέψυδρα, or *hour-glass*, differing from ours in this, that instead of sand, they made use of water; and to prevent all fraud and deceit, there was an officer appointed to distribute the water equally to both sides, whom, from his business, they called Εφύδωρ or Εφ' ὕδωρ. When the glass was run out, they were permitted to speak no farther, and therefore we find them very careful not to lose or mispend one drop of their water: and whilst the laws quoted by them were reciting, or if any other business happened to intervene, they gave order that the glass should be stopped[k]. Yet if any person had made an end of speaking before the time allotted him was expired, he was permitted to resign the remaining part of his water to any other that had occasion; and this is meant by the orator, when he saith, τῷ ὕδατι τῷ ἐμῷ λαλείτω, *let him speak till what remains of my water be run out.*

When both parties had made an end of speaking, the public crier, by the command of the magistrate that presided in the court, ordered the judges to bring in their verdict; and in such cases, as the laws had made provision, and appointed penalties for, (which were called Αγῶνες ἀτίμητοι,) a single verdict, whereby the person was declared guilty, or not guilty, was sufficient; but in those cases that the laws were silent in, (which they called Αγῶνες τιμητοί,) a second sentence was required, if the accused person was brought in guilty, to determine what punishment was due to his offence[l]. And here, before they proceeded to give sentence, the condemned person was asked what damage he thought his adversary had received from him, and what recompense he ought in justice to make him? And the plaintiff's account, which, together with the indictment he had delivered in before, was taken into consideration:

[g] Aristotel. Problem.
[h] Idem Rhetor. lib. i. cap. 33.
[i] Clemens Alexandrin.
[j] Harpocration.
[k] Demosthen.
[l] Harpocration.

and then the circumstances on both sides being duly weighed, the decretory sentence was given. Sometimes the judges limited the punishment in criminal, as well as civil causes, where the laws were silent. This happened in the case of Socrates, 'who, to apply the words of Cicero [m], was not only condemned by the first sentence of the judges, which determined whether the criminal should be condemned or acquitted, but by that also which the laws obliged them to pronounce afterwards. For at Athens, when the crime was not capital, the judges were empowered to value the offence: and it was inquired of the criminal, to what value he thought his offence amounted. Which question being proposed to Socrates, he replied, that he had *merited very great honours and rewards, and to have a daily maintenance in the Prytaneum;* which the Grecians accounted one of the highest honours. By which answer the judges were incensed to such a degree, that they condemned that most innocent man to death.'

The most ancient way of giving sentence was by black and white sea shells, called Χοιρίναι; or pebbles, called Ψῆφοι. Ovid has taken notice of this custom;

> *Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisque Lapillis,*
> *His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa* [n].
>
> Black and white stones were us'd in ages past,
> These to acquit the pris'ner, those to cast. H. H.

After them, σπόνδυλοι, which were pellets of brass, came into use; which, when laid aside, κύαμοι, or beans, succeeded: they were of two sorts, white and black; the white were whole, and were made use of to absolve; the black were bored through, and were the instruments of condemnation [o].

Hence it is, that in Aristophanes [p], judges that lived upon the gifts they received for doing justice, are called Κυαμοτρῶγες, *eaters of beans,* and λευκὴ ψῆφος, is a proverb not much different from αἲξ ὀυρανία, or *Amaltheæ capra,* being usually applied to things that bring in large gains, and are a maintenance to their masters [q].

These beans the judges took from the altar; and two urns, which they called Κάδοι, or Καδίσκοι, being placed, they cast in their beans through a little tunnel called Κημὸς, holding them only with three fingers, viz. the fore finger, middle, and thumb, that it might be impossible for them to cast in above one at a time. The rest of

[m] De Oratore, lib. i.
[n] Metam. lib. xv.
[o] Pollux, Hesychius, Harpocration, Aristoph. Schol. Ran. et Vesp. &c.
[p] Equit.
[q] Hesychius, Eusthathius, Iliad. γ', p. 884. edit. Basil.

their customary rites are somewhat the same with those I have already described in the judgments of the court of areopagus, except that in private causes there were four urns placed in the court, as Sigonius has observed out of Demosthenes[r].

But this, perhaps, was occasioned by the number of the persons concerned in the trial; for if there were more than two competitors that laid claim to an estate, each of them had a distinct urn, into which those that passed sentence on his side were to cast their beans, and he that had the greatest number obtained the victory, which Sigonius seems not to have observed.

When all had given over voting, lest any man out of favour should suspend his suffrage, the crier made proclamation in this manner: Εἴ τις ἀψήφιστος, ἀνιστάσθω· *If there be any that has not given his voice, let him now arise* and give it.

Then the urns were opened, and the suffrages numbered in presence of the magistrate, who stood with a rod in his hand, which he laid over the beans as they were numbered, lest any person should through treachery or mistake omit any of them, or count the same twice. If the number of the black beans were greatest, he pronounced the person guilty, and as a mark to denote his condemnation, drew a long line, whence ἅπασι τιμᾷν μακρὰν, in the comedian, signifies *to condemn all*; on the contrary, he drew a short line, in token of absolution, if the white beans exceeded, or only equalled the number of the black[s]; for such was the clemency of the Athenian laws, that when the case seemed equally disputable on both sides, the severe and rigorous commands of justice gave place to the milder laws of mercy and compassion; and this rule seems to have been constantly observed in all the courts of Athens. Euripides, to omit a great many others, has mentioned this custom in several places;

Ἴσαι δέ σ' ἐκσώζουσι μὴ θανεῖν δίκῃ
Ψῆφοι τεθεῖσαι· Λοξίας γὰρ αἰτίαν
Εἰς αὐτὸν οἴσει, μητέρος χρήσας φόνον.
Καὶ τοῖσι λοιποῖς ὅδε νόμος τεθήσεται,
Νικᾷν ἴσαις ψήφοισι τὸν φεύγοντ' ἀεί[t].

There thou must make appeal; this bloody deed
Be there decided: from the doom of blood
Absolv'd, the equal number of the shells
Shall save thee that thou die not; for the blame
Apollo on himself will charge, whose voice
Ordain'd thy mother's death: in future times
This law for ever shall be ratified
That votes in equal number shall absolve. POTTER.

[r] Orat. in Macart. [s] Aristoph. ejusq. Schol. Ran. et Vesp. [t] Electra, v. 1265.

And again to the same purpose in another tragedy;

Γνώμης δικαίας ὕνεκ' ἐξέσωσά σε,
Καὶ πρίν γ' Ἀρείοις ἐν πάγοις ψήφους ἴσας
Κρίνασ', Ὀρέστα, κ̀ νόμισμ' εἰς ταυτό γε
Νικᾷν, ἰσήρεις ὅστις ἂν ψήφους λάβῃ [u].

Since you with equal suffrages I freed,
When justice ample vengeance had decreed,
And once before, when we debating sate
At Areopagus on your dubious fate,
And there the dooming sentence must have pass'd,
Had I not you with equal loss releas'd:
On this account shall after ages save
Such criminals, as equal voices have. H. H.

The plaintiff was called Διώκων; the whole suit Δίωξις; and the defendant Φεύγων. The indictment before conviction was named Αἰτία; after conviction, Ἔλεγχος; and after condemnation, Ἀδίκημα. All the time the cause was in suspence and undetermined, it was exposed to public view, being engraved in a tablet, together with the name of the person accused, and hung up at the statue of the heroes, surnamed Ἐπώνυμοι, than which there was not a more public place in the whole city; this they called Ἐκκεῖσθαι [v], and it seems to have been done with a design that all persons who could give any information to the court, having sufficient notice of the trial, should come and present themselves.

If the convicted person was guilty of a capital crime, he was delivered into the hands of the Ἕνδεκα, to receive the punishment due to his offence: but if a pecuniary mulct was laid upon him, the Ταμίαι τȢ̃ ΘεȢ̃ took care to see it paid; but in case his estate was not able to make payment, they confined him to perpetual imprisonment [w].

If, on the contrary, the plaintiff had accused his adversary unjustly, and produced false evidence against him, he was in some places obliged to undergo the punishment due by law to the crime, of which he had falsely accused an innocent person; but at Athens had only a fine laid upon him. And both the villain that had forsworn himself, and he that suborned him, were severely prosecuted; the former by an action of Ψευδομαρτυρία, the latter of Κακοτεχνία. Of these, and the punishment due to such offenders, I shall speak farther in another place.

When the trials were over, the judges went to Lycus's temple, where they returned their Ῥάβδοι, *staffs* or *sceptres*, which were ensigns of their office, and received from certain officers called

[u] Iphigenia Taurica, v. 1469.
[v] Demosthen. ejusq. Schol. in Median.
[w] Demosthen. Androtian. Cornel. Nep. Miltiade.

Κωλακρέται, a piece of money for their service, which at the first was only one *obolus;* afterwards it was increased to two, then to three, and at length to a *drachm,* which was six *oboli,* as we have before observed from the scholiast upon Aristophanes [x]. And though these rewards may seem trifling and inconsiderable expences, yet the troublesome temper of the Athenians, and their nice exaction of every little duty, or privilege, occasioned so great a number of law suits, that the frequent payment of these small sums by degrees so exhausted the exchequer, that they became a burden to the commonwealth, and are particularly reflected upon by Aristophanes [y], who takes occasion everywhere to ridicule this litigious humour, which was then grown to such a height, that every corner of the streets was pestered with swarms of turbulent rascals, that made it their business to pick up stories, and catch at every occasion to accuse persons of credit and reputation: these they called Συκοφάνται, which word sometimes signifies *false witnesses,* but is more properly taken for what we call common *barretors,* being derived ἀπὸ τῦ σῦκα φαίνειν, *from indicting* persons *that exported figs;* for amongst the primitive Athenians, when the use of that fruit was first found out, or in the time of a dearth, when all sorts of provision were exceeding scarce, it was enacted, that no figs should be exported out of Attica; and this law not being actually repealed, when a plentiful harvest had rendered it useless, by taking away its reason, gave occasion to ill-natured and malicious men, to accuse all persons they caught transgressing the letter of it; and from them all busy informers have ever since been branded with the name of sycophants [z]. Others will have the stealing of figs to have been prohibited by a particular law, and that thence informations grew so numerous, that all vexatious informers were afterwards termed sycophonts.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Τεσσαράκοντα *and* Διαιτηταί.

Oi Τεσσαράκοντα, were forty men that went their circuits round the several boroughs, and had cognizance of all controversies about

[x] Ran. Vesp. item Suidas, Pollux, Hesychius.
[y] Ran. pag. 280. edit. Æmil. Porti, et Scholiast. ibid.
[z] Suidas, Aristoph. Schol. Pluto, Equit. &c.

money, when the sum exceeded not ten drachms; also, as Demosthenes reports[a], had actions of assault and battery brought to their hearing. Pollux tells us, that at their first institution, they were no more than thirty in number; but Hesychius reports, the magistrates or judges called Οἱ Τριάκοντα, were those that amerced the people for absenting themselves from the public assemblies.

Διαιτηταὶ, or arbitrators, were of two sorts.

1. Κληρωτοὶ, were forty-four men in each tribe, above the age of sixty, as Pollux, or fifty, as Suidas reports, drawn by lots, to determine controversies in their own tribe about money, when the sum was above ten drachms. Their sentence was not final; so that if either of the contesting parties thought himself injured by it, he might appeal to the superior courts of justice[b]. At their first institution, all causes whatsoever that exceeded ten drachms were heard by them, before they could be received into the other courts[c]. They passed sentence without obliging themselves by any oath, but in other things acted in the same manner with the rest of the judges; they received a drachm of the plaintiff, which was called Παράστασις or διάστασις, and another of the defendant when they administered the oath to him, which was termed ἀντωμοσία. And in case the parties did not appear at the appointed time and place, they staid expecting till the evening, and then determined the cause in favour of the party there present. Their office continued a whole year, at the end of which they gave up their accounts; and if they were proved to have refused to give judgment, or to have been corrupted[d], they were punished with (ἀτιμία) *infamy*. Under them were certain officers called Εἰσαγωγεῖς, whose business it was εἰσάγειν τὰς δίκας, to receive the complaints that fell under the cognizance of the Διαιτηταὶ, and *enter* them into their court[e].

2. Διαλλακτήριοι, or κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν Διαιτηταὶ, or *compromissarii*, were such as two parties chose to determine any controversy betwixt them; and these the law permitted any person to request, but obliged him to stand to whatever they determined, without any farther appeal; and therefore, as a greater obligation to justice, they took an oath that they would give sentence without partiality[f].

The determination of the Διαιτηταὶ, was called Διαίτα, and ἐπιτροπὴ, and to refer any thing to them, δίαιταν ἐπιτρέψαι[g].

[a] Orat. in Pantænet.
[b] Demosthen. Orat. in Aphobum.
[c] Pollux, Ulpian.
[d] Demosthen. et Ulpian. Median. Petit. Misc. lib. viii.
[e] Pollux.
[f] Demosthen.
[g] Pollux.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Public Judgments, Actions, &c.

THE Athenian judgments were of two sorts, δημοτικαὶ and ἰδιωτικαὶ, *public* and *private*: the former were about such crimes as tended to the prejudice of the state, and these actions were called Κατηγορίαι; the latter comprehended all controversies that happened between private persons, and were called Δίκαι [h]. Nor did they only differ as to their matter, but in their process and management, and particularly in this, that in private actions no man could prosecute the offender, beside the party injured, or some of his near relations; whereas, in the public, the laws encouraged all the citizens to revenge the public wrong, by bringing the criminal to condign punishment [i].

The public judgments were these:

1. Γραφὴ, was an action laid upon such as had been guilty of any of the following crimes: [j]

Φόνος, murder.

Τραῦμα ἐκ προνοίας, a wound given out of malice.

Πυρκαϊὰ, firing the city.

Φάρμακον, poison.

Βούλευσις, a conspiracy against any person's life; or the crime of the city-treasurers, that entered into the public debt-book persons not indebted to the city [k]: wherein it differs from Ψευδεγγραφὴ, whereby the treasurers charged men with debts which were already discharged [l].

Ἱεροσυλία, sacrilege.

Ἀσέβεια, impiety.

Προδοσία, treason.

Ἑταίρησις, fornication.

Μοιχεία, whoredom; this was punished with a *mulct* [m].

Ἀγάμιον, celibacy.

Ἀστρατεία, refusing to serve in the wars. They who were convicted of this crime were punished with (ἀτιμία) *infamy*.

Λειποστράτιον, desertion of the army. This drew only a fine on the criminal [n].

h Isocrates.
i Plutarchus, Solone.
j Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 6. Sigonius de Rep. Athen.
k Harpocrat,
l Suidas, v. ψευδὴς ἐγγραφή.
m Thucyd. Scholiastes, lib. vi.
n Thucydidis Scholiastes, loco citato.

Λιποτάξιον, desertion of a man's station, as when any person refused to serve on foot, and listed himself among the horsemen, which by Solon's laws was esteemed as great a crime as a total desertion of the army.

Δειλία, cowardice. The convicted were punished with infamy.

Λειποναύτιον, desertion of the fleet. The punishment was only a fine.

Αναυμάχιον, refusing to serve in the fleet. The punishment was (ἀτιμία) infamy.

Τὸ ῥίψαι τὴν ἀσπίδα, losing a man's shield. This was likewise punished with infamy.

Ψευδεγγραφὴ, ψευδογραφὴ, or ψευδὴς ἐγγραφὴ, was the crime of those that falsely charged others, and sued them for public debts, which Harpocration calls Ψευδοκλητεία· but this seems rather to have been an action for false arrests, according to Pollux. The punishment was only a mulct.

Συκοφαντία, barretry or frivolous accusation. This was punished also with a mulct. It differed from ψευδομαρτυρία, or false witness, the third act whereof was punished with (ἀτιμία) infamy.

Δῶρα or δωροδοκία, taking bribes to manage any public affair, or pervert justice; it was not thought enough to punish the receiver, but the person also that offered bribes was prosecuted, and the action against him called Δεκασμός. The same action in causes about freedom of the city, was by a peculiar name termed Δωροξενία. All who had been guilty of receiving bribes were fined in ten times the value of what they had gained, and punished with the highest degree of (ἀτιμία) infamy. But if the accuser could not prevail with a fifth part of the judges to credit his information, he was fined a thousand *drachmæ* and underwent the lowest degree of (ἀτιμία) infamy.

Ὕβρις, beating a freeman, or binding him as they used to do slaves.

Αγράφιον, erasing a name out of the public debt-book before the debt was discharged.

Ἄγραφον μέταλλον, digging a mine without acquainting the public officers; for before any person could dig a mine, he was obliged to inform certain officers, appointed by the people, of his design, to the end that the twenty-fourth part of the metal might be reserved for the public use.

Αλόγιον, was against magistrates that had neglected to give up their accounts.

Παρανόμων γραφὴ, against such as, in proposing a new law, acted contrary to the old and established laws.

K 2

Εὐθύνη, was against magistrates, ambassadors, or other officers that had misemployed the public money, or committed any other offence in the discharge of their several trusts. That against ambassadors was sometimes, by a peculiar name, called Παραπρεσβεία.

Δοκιμασία, was a probation of the magistrates, and persons employed in public business.

Προβολὴ, was an action against persons disaffected to the government, and such as imposed upon the people; against sycophants, and such as at the celebration of any festival had caused an uproar, or committed any thing indecent and unsuitable to the solemnity.

Απογραφὴ, was when any person, being sued for debts said to be due to the public, pleaded that they were falsely charged upon him, withal producing all the money he was possessed of, and declaring by what means it came into his hands. Suidas adds, that ἀπογραφὴ is sometimes taken for an action against such as neither paid the fines laid upon them, before the ninth prytanea following their sentence, nor were able to give sufficient security to the city.

Απόφασις, was sometimes the same with Απογραφὴ, as we learn from Suidas; but was also usually taken for the account of estates given at the exchange of them for the avoiding of public employment. For, when any man would excuse himself from any troublesome and chargeable trust, by casting it upon another richer than himself, the person produced by him had power to challenge him to make an exchange of estates, and thereby compel him to undergo the office he had before refused.

2. Φάσις, was commonly taken for the discovery of any hidden and concealed injury, but more peculiarly signified an action laid against such as exported corn out of Attica, embezzled the public revenues, and converted them to their own private use, or appropriated to themselves any of the lands or other things that of right belonged to the commonwealth. It is sometimes taken for an action against those that were guardians to orphans, and either wholly neglected to provide tenants for their houses and lands, or let them at too easy a rate.

3. Ἔνδειξις, was against such as committed any action, or affected any place of which they were incapable by law; as when a person disfranchised, or indebted to the public, sued for offices in the state, or took upon him to determine controversies in a judicial way: also against those that confessed the crime laid to their charge, without standing the trial.

4. Ἀπαγωγὴ, was the carrying of a criminal taken in the fact to the magistrate. If the accuser was not able to bring him to the magistrate, it was usual to take the magistrate along with him to the house where the criminal lay concealed, or defended himself; and this they called Ἐφηγεῖσθαι, and the action Ἐφήγησις.

5. Ἀνδρολήψιον, or Ἀνδροληψία, was an action against such as protected persons guilty of murder, by which the relations of the deceased were empowered to seize three men in the city or house, whither the malefactor had fled, till he were either surrendered, or satisfaction made some other way for the murder.

6. Εἰσαγγελία, was of three sorts; the first was about great and public offences, whereby the state was brought into danger. Such actions were not referred to any court of justice, but immediately brought before the senate of five hundred, or the popular assembly, before whom it was introduced by the thesmothetæ at the first convention in the Prytanea, where the delinquent was severely punished, but the plaintiff underwent no danger, although he could not prove his indictment, except he failed of having the fifth part of the suffrages, and then he was fined a thousand drachms. The second sort of Εἰσαγγελία, was an action of Κάκωσις, of which I shall speak in another place; it was brought before the archon, to whom the plaintiff gave in his accusation, but was not liable to have any fine laid upon him, though sentence was given against him. The third was an action against the Διαιτηταὶ, preferred by persons that thought themselves unjustly dealt with by them, who ran the hazard of being disfranchised, and forfeiting their freedom, if they were not able to make good their accusation. Indeed, in all the forementioned accusations, the Εἰσαγγελίαι only excepted, this penalty, together with a fine of a thousand drachms, was inflicted upon the plaintiff, if he had not the fifth part of the suffrages.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Private Judgments, Actions, &c.

Ἀδικίου δίκη, an action κατὰ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ἀδικούντων, *against such as had done any sort of injury*[o]. A fine was laid on the delinquent, which was to be doubled, if not paid within the ninth Prytanea[p].

[o] Etymologici Auctor. [p] Harpocration.

Κατηγορίας δίκη, was an action of slander, by which the criminal was fined five hundred drachms.

Αἰκίας δίκη, was an action of battery, in which case there was no set penalty inflicted by the laws, but the judges took an account of the damages suffered by the plaintiff, and compelled the delinquent to make sufficient retribution.

Βιαίων, or Βίας δίκη, was an action against such as ravished women, or had used violence towards any man's person.

Βλάβης δίκη, was an action of trespass, being against those that had endangered another man's estate, lands, houses, clothes, &c.

Κακώσεως δίκη, γραφὴ, or εἰσαγγελία, was an action entered by heiresses against their husbands, by parents against their children, and orphans against their guardians, when they were ill used or injured by them.

Αποπομπῆς δίκη, was an action of divorce, when the husband had put away his wife. On the contrary, when the woman fled from her husband, the action was called Απολείψεως δίκη.

Κλοπῆς δίκη, was against thieves. Demosthenes [q] reports, that if any man had stolen above fifty drachms in the day time, he was to be indicted at the tribunal of the eleven. But if any theft was committed in the night, it was lawful to kill the criminal, if he was caught in the fact, or to pursue him, and if he made any resistance, to wound him, and so haul him to the eleven; and this action was termed ἐπαγωγὴ. He was not permitted to give security for restitution, but suffered death. If any person surreptitiously conveyed any thing of the smallest value out of the Lyceum, Academy, Cynosarges, or any of the gymnasia, or out of havens, above the value of ten drachms, he was adjudged to die. If any man was convicted of theft from a private person, he was to make retribution to the person he had injured, by paying him double the value of what he had deprived him of; nor was this punishment alone thought sufficient to expiate his offence, but it lay in the judge's power to keep him in bonds five days, and as many nights, and expose him in that condition to the view of all the people. And we are farther informed by Andocides [r], that (ἀτιμία) *infamy* was the punishment of this crime.

Παρακαταθήκης δίκη, was against such as refused to restore any thing committed to their charge.

Χρέος δίκη, was a suit between debtors and usurers.

Συμβολαίου δίκη, was an action against those that would not stand

[q] Timocratea.

[r] De Mysteriis.

to their contracts or bargains. Not much different from this was Συνθηκῶν δίκη, only Συμβόλαια are distinguished from Συνθῆκαι in this, that these chiefly imply private contracts about the loan of money, division of inheritances, and references to the Διαιτηταί· whereas, the other are extended, as well to public negotiations between public bodies, as to bargains made by private persons. Others there are that acknowledge no such difference betwixt them.

Εἰς δατητῶν αἵρεσιν δίκη, was an action against such persons as would not consent to make a division of goods or estates, wherein other men were sharers with them.

Διαδικασίας δίκη, was an action, περὶ χρημάτων ἢ περὶ κτημάτων, *concerning money or possessions,* as it is defined by Ulpian[s], and seems to be a term of equal extent with ἀμφισβήτησις, or κρίσις, which are general names for all law-suits. But it was sometimes taken in a more limited sense, for the controversies of those, who being appointed to undergo some of the public duties (λειτουργίαι), excused themselves by informing against others more wealthy, as has been elsewhere shewn.

Επιδικασιας δίκη, when daughters inherited the estates of their parents, they were obliged by law to marry their nearest relation. This was the occasion of this suit, which was commenced by persons of the same family, each of which pretended to be more nearly allied to the heiress than the rest. The virgin, about whom the relations contested, was called Επίδικος, Επίκληρος was a daughter, that had no brothers lawfully begotten, and therefore inherited her father's whole estate. Επίπροικος was one that had brothers, and shared the estate with them.

Αμφισβήτησις, was a suit commenced by one that made pretensions to the estate of a deceased person, as being his son either by nature or adoption. This term is sometimes taken in a larger sense.

Παρακαταβολὴ, was an action entered by the relations of the deceased, whereby they claimed a right to his estate, as belonging to them by reason of their consanguinity, or bequeathed by will. It was so called ἀπὸ τȣ̃ παρακαταβάλλειν, because the plaintiff *deposited* the tenth part of the inheritance, if the cause was private, and the fifth, if it was a public estate he contended for; this he was to forfeit if he could not make his plea good.

Αντιγραφὴ, was a law-suit about kindred, whereby any person claimed a relation to such or such a family, and therefore it seems to have been of the same nature with Παρακαταβολή.

[s] In Timocrateam.

Διαμαρτυρία, was a protestation that the deceased person has left an heir, made to hinder the relations from entering upon the estate.

Επίσκηψις, was an action whereby the Διαμαρτυρία was proved to be false and groundless.

Ενεπίσκημμα, was when any person claimed some part of another man's goods, which were confiscated and sold by auction.

Σίτυ δίκη, when a husband divorced his wife, the law obliged him to restore her portion; or, in case he refused that, to pay her for each pound nine oboli every month; upon failure of which he was liable to have this action entered against him in the Odeum by his wife's Επίτροπος, or guardian, whereby he was forced to allow her a separate maintenance.

Μισθώσεως δίκυ, &c. δίκη, sometimes called Φάσις, was an action against guardians that were negligent in the management of the affairs of their pupils, and either let out their houses or estates at too small a price, or suffered them to lie void of tenants. When any house was vacant, it was customary to signify so much, by fixing an inscription upon the door, or other part of it, as appears from these words of Terence;

> ———*Inscripsi illico*
> *Ædes mercede*— —— [t]
> Over the door I wrote,
> *This house is to be let.*

Επιτροπῆς δίκη, was an action against guardians that had defrauded their pupils. It was to be commenced within five years after the pupil was come to age, otherwise it was of no force.

Ενοικίυ δίκη, when any man laid claim to a house, he entered an action against the person that inhabited it, whereby he demanded the rent of the house. If he claimed an estate of land, the action was called Χωρίυ δίκη, or Καρπῦ δίκη, because the fruits of the ground were demanded. If the plaintiff cast his adversary in either of the former suits, he entered a second action against him, whereby he laid claim to the house or land, as being a part of his estate, for which reason it was called Οὐσίας δίκη. After this, if the person in possession continued obstinate, and would not deliver up the estate to the lawful owner, there was a third action commenced, which was named Εξύλης δίκη, from ἐξίλλω, *to eject*; because the plaintiff was ἐξιλλόμενος, *ejected*, or hindered from entering upon his estate. The same term was used when any other thing was unjustly detained from its owner, περὶ ἀνδραπόδυ ϗ παντὸς, ῦ φησί τις αὐτῷ μετεῖναι·

[t] Heaut. act. i. scen. 1.

concerning a slave, and every other thing which any person calls his own; as we are informed by Suidas.

Βεβαιώσεως δίκη, was an action whereby the buyer compelled the seller to *confirm*, or stand to the bargains which he before had given a pledge to ratify.

Εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν δίκη, was designed as an enquiry about something that was concealed, as about stolen goods.

Ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη, was against a freeman that endeavoured to give a slave his liberty, without his master's consent.

Ἀπροστασίου δίκη, was an action against sojourners that neglected to choose a patron; of which custom I have spoken in another place.

Ἀποστασίου δίκη, was an action commenced by a master, or patron, against his clients; such as were the freed slaves, when they refused to perform those services they were bound to pay to him.

Ἀφορμῆς δίκη, was a suit about money put into the banker's hands, which the ancient Athenians called Ἀφορμὴ, and the modern Ἐνθήκη.

Ἄφεσις, was when a person deeply indebted desired the people to remit part of his debt, upon pretence that he was unable to make payment.

Ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκη, was against false witnesses.

Κακοτεχνιῶν δίκη, was against those that suborned false witnesses.

Λειπομαρτυρίου δίκη, was against such as, having promised to give evidence in a cause, disappointed the person that relied upon them.

Several other judgments we meet with in ancient authors, some of which I have already spoken of in other places, and the names of the rest are so well known that I need not give you any explication of them; such were Βολίτου δίκη, Ἀχαριστίας δίκη, and some others[u].

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Athenian Punishments and Rewards.

THE most common and remarkable punishments inflicted at Athens, on malefactors, were these:

Ζημία, which, though sometimes it be used in a large and general sense for any punishments, yet has often a more limited and re-

[u] Hesychius, Harpocration, Suidas, Pollux, Ulpianus in Demosthen. Sigonius de Rep. Athen. et Rosæus in Arch. Attic. Iidemque ubique in his capitibus sunt consulendi.

strained signification, being taken for a pecuniary mulct or fine, laid upon the criminal according to the merit of his offence.

Ατιμία, *infamy*, or public disgrace. Of this there were three degrees: 1. When the criminal retained his possessions, but was deprived of some privilege, which was enjoyed by other citizens. Thus, under the reigns of tyrants, some were commanded to depart out of the city, others forbidden to make an oration to the people, to sail to Ionia, or to some other particular country. 2. When he was for the present deprived of the privileges of free citizens, and had his goods confiscated. This happened to those who were indebted to the public exchequer, till their debts were discharged. 3. When the criminal, with all his children and posterity, were for ever deprived of all rights of free citizens, both sacred and civil. This was inflicted on such as had been convicted of theft, perjury, or other notorious villanies [v]. Out of these men the scholiast upon Aristophanes [w] tells us they appointed whom they pleased to labour at the oars; to which drudgery, Plutarch reports, it was usual also to put their prisoners of war [x].

Δουλεία, servitude, was a punishment by which the criminal was reduced into the condition of a slave. It was never inflicted on any besides the Ἄτιμοι, sojourners and freed servants, because it was forbidden by one of Solon's laws that any free-born citizen should be treated as a slave.

Στίγματα, was a severity seldom exercised upon any but slaves, or some very notorious malefactors, of which I have spoken more at large in another place.

Στήλη, was, as the word imports, a *pillar*, whereon was engraven, in legible characters, an account of the offender's crime. The persons thus exposed to the laughter and reproaches of the people were called Στηλῖται. Hence ϛηλιτευτικὸς λόγος is taken for any *invective* or *defamatory oration*.

Δεσμὸς, was a punishment by which the criminal was condemned to *imprisonment* or *fetters*. 'The prison was called by a lenitive name, Οἴκημα, or *house*; for the Athenians used to mitigate and take off from the badness of things, by giving them good and innocent appellations; as a whore, they would call a mistress; taxes, rates; garrisons, guards; and this (saith Plutarch) seemed at first to be Solon's contrivance, who called the releasing of the people from their debts Σεισάχθεια, *a throwing off a burden* [y].'

v Andocides de Mysteriis.
w Ranis.
x Lysandro.
y Plutarch. Solone.

Plato tells us, the Athenians had three sorts of prisons; the first was near the forum, and was only designed to secure debtors or other persons from running away. The second was called Σωφρονιστήριον, or a house of correction, such as our *bridewell.* The third was seated in an uninhabited and lonesome place, and was designed for malefactors guilty of capital crimes [z]. One of their most remarkable prisons was called Νομοφυλάκιον, and the gate through which criminals were led to execution, Χαρωνεῖον, from *Charon,* the infernal ferryman. At the prison door was erected the image of Mercury, the tutelar deity of the place, called Στροφαῖος, from Στροφεὺς, the *hinge* of a door.

Of fetters there were divers sorts, the most remarkable are these; Κύφων, a collar usually made of wood, so called from κύπτω, because it constrained the criminal to *bow* down his head. This punishment was called Κυφωνισμὸς, and hence pernicious fellows or things are sometimes named Κύφωνες [a]. Hesychius will have it applied ἐπὶ πάντων δυσχερῶν καὶ ὀλεθρίων, *to all things hurtful and destructive.* Others call it κλοιὸς, or κολοιὸς, from κλείω, because the criminal's neck was *shut* or *inclosed* within it. Some grammarians tell us, the neck, hands and feet were made fast in it; and therefore it is probable it was the same with the ξύλον πεντεσύριγγον, or fetters with *five holes,* mentioned by Pollux, and seems to resemble the punishment of binding neck and heels, used amongst our soldiers. Aristophanes calls it ξύλον τετρημένον, as his scholiast informs us in his comment upon these words in Lysistrate;

——————— τὰς δ' Ἀμαζόνας σκόπει,
Ἃς Μίκων ἔγραψεν ἐφ' ἵππων μαχομένας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν·
Ἀλλὰ τούτων χρῆν ἁπασῶν ἐς τετρημένον ξύλον
Ἐγκαθαρμόσαι λαβόντας τουτονὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

Women must have their stiff and haughty necks
With fetters crampt, lest they grow insolent,
And of our just authority defraud us.
For see here, in this canvas pourtraiture
By skilful Micon drawn, how th' Amazons,
Mounted on prancing steeds, with burnish'd spears engage. J. A.

Παυσικάπη, a round engine put about the neck, in such a manner that the sufferer could not lift his hand to his head.

Χοῖνιξ, signifies *fetters,* in which the feet or legs were made fast, as we are informed by Aristophanes in his Plutus, where, speaking of an insolent slave, he saith he deserves to be set in the stocks;

——————— αἱ κνῆμαι δέ σου βοῶσιν
Ἰοὺ, ἰού· τὰς χοίνικας, καὶ τὰς πέδας ποθοῦσαι.

You're ripe, you rogue, for fetters; the stocks groan for you.

[z] Plato de Legib. lib. x. [a] Aristophan. Schol. Pluto.

Not much unlike this seems to have been the ποδοκάκη, ποδοκάκκη, or ποδοστράβη, sometimes called ξύλον, from the matter it was made of[b]. But ποδοκάκκη and ποδοστράβη, seem to have differed in this, that in ποδοστράβη, the feet were tortured; whereas, in ποδοκάκκη, they were only made fast without pain or distention of joints. Though perhaps this distinction will not be found constant and perpetual[c]. Σανὶς, was a piece of wood to which the malefactor was bound fast, as the same poet reports[d];

———δῆσον αὐτὸν εἰσάγων
Ω τόξοτ', ἐν τῇ σανίδι.
Here lictor, bring him in, and bind him to the rack.

And a little after;

———γυμνὸν ἀποδήσαντά με
Κέλευε πρὸς τῇ σανίδι δεῖν τὸν τοξότην·
Order the executioner to strip
Me naked, and to bind me to the rack. J. A.

Beside these, many others occur in authors, which, barely to mention, would be both tedious and unnecessary.

Φυγὴ, perpetual banishment, whereby the condemned persons were deprived of their estates, which were publicly exposed to sale, and compelled to leave their country without any possibility of returning, except they were recalled (which sometimes happened) by the same power that expelled them; wherein it differed from Οστρακισμὸς, which only commanded a ten years absence, at the end of which, the banished persons were permitted to return, and enjoy their estates, which were all that time preserved entire to them[e]. And the latter was instituted not so much with a design to punish the offender, as to mitigate and pacify the fury of the envious, that delighted to depress those who were eminent for their virtues and glorious actions, and by fixing this disgrace upon them, to exhale part of the venomous rancour of their minds. The first that underwent this condemnation was, as Plutarch reports, Hipparchus the Cholargian, a kinsman to the tyrant of the same name. Eustathius makes it much ancienter, and carries it as high as Theseus's time, who, he tells us out of Theophrastus and Pausanias, was the first that suffered it[f]. Heraclides will have it to have been first instituted by Hippias the tyrant, a son of Pisistratus[g]; Photius, by one Achilles, the son of Lyco[h]; and Ælian, by Clisthenes, who also, as he tells us, was the first that underwent it[i]. It

[b] Aristophan. Schol. Equit.
[c] Conf. Ulpianus in Timocrateam, Hesychius, Suidas.
[d] Thesmophor.
[e] Aristoph. Schol. Equit. et Vesp.
[f] Iliad. ί.
[g] Lib. de Rep.
[h] Excerpt. ex Ptolem. Hephæst. lib. vi.
[i] Var. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 24.

was never inflicted upon any but great persons; Demetrius the Phalerian, as Plutarch reports, will have it to have happened to none but men of great estates, and therefore, as an argument to prove the plentiful condition of Aristides (whom he maintains to have been possessed of a large fortune, contrary to the opinion of most other writers), he alleged, that he was banished by ostracism. But my author is of another opinion, and not without reason, for all persons were liable to the ostracism, who, for reputation, quality, riches, or eloquence, were esteemed above the common level, and exposed to the envy of the people, insomuch that even Damon, preceptor to Pericles, was banished thereby, because he seemed a man of more than ordinary sense. Afterwards, when base, mean, and villanous fellows became subject to it, they quite left it off, Hyperbolus being the last whom they banished by ostracism. This Hyperbolus was a very rascally fellow, who furnished all the writers of comedy in that age with matter for their satirical invectives; but he was wholly unconcerned at the worst things they could say, and being careless of glory, was also insensible of shame; he was neither loved nor esteemed by any body, but was a necessary tool to the people, and frequently made use of by them, when they had a mind to disgrace or calumniate any person of authority or reputation. The cause of his banishment was this: Alcibiades, Nicias, and Phæax, at that time were of different factions, and each of them bearing a great sway in the city, lay open to the envy of the inferior citizens, who, at Hyperbolus's persuasion, were very eager to decree the banishment of some one of them. Alcibiades perceiving the danger they were in, consulted with Nicias, or Phæax (for it is not agreed which), and so contrived matters, that by uniting their several parties, the ostracism fell upon Hyperbolus, when he expected nothing of it. Hereupon the people being offended, as if some contempt or affront had been put upon the thing, left off, and quite abolished it. It was performed, to be short, in this manner: every one taking an Οστρακον, or *tyle*, carried it to a certain part of the market-place, surrounded with wooden rails for that purpose, in which were ten gates appointed for the ten tribes, every one of which entered at a distinct gate. That being done, the archons numbered all the tyles in gross, for if they were fewer than six thousand, the ostracism was void; then laying every name by itself, they pronounced him whose name was written by the major part, banished for ten years,

enjoying his estate[j]. This punishment was sometimes called Κεραμεικὴ μάστιξ, from κέραμος, because the Ὄστρακα, by which the people gave their suffrages, were earthen tyles, or pieces of broken pots[k]. The like was used at Argos, Megara, and Miletus[l]; and the Syracusian Πεταλισμὸς was instituted upon the same account, in the third year of the 86th olympiad; but differed from it in this, that this banishment was but for five years, and instead of Ὄστρακα, the people made use of Πέταλα, or *leaves*, usually those of the olive-tree, in giving their voices[m].

Θάνατος, *death*, was inflicted on malefactors several ways; the chief of which were these:

Ξίφος, with which the criminal was beheaded.

Βρόγχος, with which he was either strangled after the Turkish fashion, or hanged in the manner usual amongst us; for that this was a very ancient, but withal a very ignominious punishment, appears from Homer, in whom Ulysses and Telemachus punish the men that took part with the young gentlemen who made love to Penelope, only with a common and ordinary death; but the maid-servants that had submitted to their lusts, and behaved themselves with scorn and contempt towards their masters, as being guilty of a more notorious crime, they ordered to be hanged; the manner of it the poet has described in these words[n].

——— Πεῖσμα νεὼς κυανοπρώροιο,
Κίονος ἐξάψας μεγάλης, περίβαλλε θόλοιο,
Ὑψόσ' ἐπεντανύσας, μή τις ποσὶν οὖδας ἵκηται.
Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἢ κίχλαι τανυσίπτεροι, ἠὲ πέλειαι
Ἕρκει ἐνιπλήξωσι, τό, θ' ἑστήκει ἐνὶ θάμνῳ,
Αὖλιν ἐσιέμεναι, στυγερὸς δ' ὑπεδέξατο κοῖτος.
Ὡς αἵ γ' ἑξείης κεφαλὰς ἔχον, ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσαις
Δειρῇσιν βρόχοι ἦσαν, ὅπως οἴκτιστα θάνοιεν.
Ἤσπαιρον δὲ πόδεσσι μίνυθά περ, οὔτι μάλα δήν.

——— On the circling wall he strung
A ship's tough cable, from a column hung;
Near the high top he strain'd it strongly round,
Whence no contending foot could reach the ground.
Their heads above connected in a row,
They beat the air with quivering feet below:
Thus on some tree hung strugg'ling in the snare,
The doves or thrushes flap their wings in air.
Soon fled the soul impure, and left behind
The empty corse to waver with the wind. POPE.

Φάρμακον, *poison*, of which there were divers sorts; but what they most commonly made use of, was the juice of the herb κώνειον,

[j] Plutarch. Aristide, Alcibiade, Nicia, Themistocle.
[k] Hesych. in V.
[l] Aristoph. Schol. Equit.
[m] Diodor. Sic. lib. xi.
[n] Odyss. κ', v. 465.

cicuta, not much unlike hemlock, which, through its extreme coldness, is poisonous. A draught of this gave Socrates his death.

> *Rem populi tractas barbatum hoc crede magistrum*
> *Dicere, sorbitio tollit quem dira cicuta.*
>
> You who sustain the weight of government,
> To these prudential maxims be attent,
> Maxims, not mine, but that grave sir's, whose fate
> A draught of hemlock did precipitate. J. A.

saith Perseus, meaning Socrates [o].

Κρημνὸς, a *precipice,* from which the malefactor was tumbled headlong.

Τύμπανα or Τύπανα, were cudgels of wood, with which malefactors were beaten to death [p], being hanged upon a pole, which was also called Τύμπανον: and therefore τυμπανίζεται is, by Suidas and the etymologist, expounded κρέμαται, and ἐτυμπανίσθησαν, ἐκρεμάσθησαν by Hesychius; for their conceit is vain and ridiculous, that would thence infer it to have been a kind of gallows or cross. No less groundless is their opinion, that imagine it to have been an instrument, on which criminals were distended, like the covering of a drum, which the Greeks call Τύμπανον, and to have been of the same nature with the Roman *fidiculæ,* which were little cords by which men were stretched upon the rack, and seem to have resembled the Greek Σχοίνοι used in the punishment called Σχοινισμός.

Σταυρὸς, the *cross,* mentioned in Thucydides [q], was used in Greece, but not so frequently as at Rome. It consisted of two beams, one of which was placed cross the other; the figure of it was much the same with that of the letter T, as Lucian tells us [r], differing only from it, because the transverse beam was fixed a little below the top of the straight one. The malefactor was hanged upon the beam that was erect, his feet being fixed to it with nails, and his hands to each side of that which was transverse.

Βάραθρον, was a deep pit belonging to the tribe Hippothoontis, into which condemned persons were cast headlong. It is sometimes called Ὄρυγμα, whence the public executioner received the appellation of Ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀρύγματι. It was a dark noisome hole, and had sharp spikes at the top, that no man might escape out; and others at the bottom, to pierce and torment such as were cast in [s]. From its depth and capaciousness, it came to be used proverbially

[o] Satir. iv. v. 1.

[p] Aristoph. Schol. Plato, Suidas, Hesychius, Etymol. Pollux, et ubique in hoc capite.

[q] Lib. i.

[r] Δίκη φωνηέντων,

[s] Aristoph. Pluto, Schol.

for a covetous miser, or voracious glutton, that is always craving, and can never be satisfied; and such an one the Latins called *barathro;* hence Lucretius[t];

> *Aufer abhinc lacrymas, barathro, et compesce querelas.*
> ——— Forbear thy sighs,
> Thou miser, cease complaints, and dry thine eyes.

And Horace;

> *Mendici, mimæ, barathrones, hoc genus omne*[u].
> Beggars, jack-puddings, rooksters, and such like.

A place of the same nature was the Lacedæmonian Καιάδας, into which Aristomenes the Messenian being cast, made his escape after a wonderful manner, as Pausanias reports[v].

Λιθοβολία, or lapidation, was a common punishment, and usually inflicted by the primitive Greeks upon such as were taken in adultery, as we learn from Homer's third Iliad, where Hector tells Paris he deserves to die this death;

> Λαῖνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἕνεκ', ὅσσα ἔοργας·
> For all your villanies you shall be *stoned* to death.

Many other punishments there were, which they inflicted for particular crimes, some of which I shall treat of in their proper places.

As the laws inflicted severe penalties upon offenders, thereby to deter men from vice and wickedness, and from base dishonourable designs, so again they conferred ample rewards upon such as merited them, thereby to incite others to the practice of virtue and honesty, and the performance of good and glorious actions; and upon the just and equal dispensation of these two things, it was Solon's opinion, that the safety of the commonwealth chiefly depended[w]. Now, not to mention public honours and state preferments, to which even those of the inferior sort might not despair of advancing themselves in a popular state, if by their eminent services they approved themselves to the people; besides these, I say, there were several public rewards and honours conferred upon such as were thought worthy of them; the chief of which were these:

Προεδρία, or the privilege of having the *first place* at all shows, sports, banquets, and public meetings[x].

Εἰκὼν, or the honour of having a *picture* or *statue* erected in the citadel, *forum*, or other public places of the city[y]. With such

[t] Lib. iii.
[u] Lib. i. Sat. ii.
[v] Messeniac.
[w] Ciceron. Epist. ad M. Brutum.
[x] Aristoph. Equit. ejusque Scholiast. et Suidas.
[y] Demosthen. Orat. de falsa Legat. aliique.

monuments of virtue, Athens seems to have abounded more than any city in the world, as will evidently appear to any that will be at the pains to peruse Pausanias's accurate description of them.

Στέφανοι, or *crowns*, were conferred in the public assemblies by the suffrages of the people, or by the senators in their council, or the tribes to their own members, or by the Δημόται in their own (δῆμος) *borough*. The people were not allowed to present crowns in any place beside their assembly, nor the senators out of the senate-house; it being the law-giver's intention that the Athenians should ἀγαπᾷν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενοι ὑπὸ δήμου, *acquiesce in the honours paid them by their own people*, and not court the favour and esteem of other cities. For this reason, the Athenians never rewarded any man with crowns in the theatre, and at the solemn games, where there was commonly a great concourse of people from all the parts of Greece: and if any of the criers there proclaimed the crowns which any man's tribe or borough had presented him with, he was punished with (ἀτιμία) *infamy*. Nevertheless στέφανοι ξενικοὶ, *coronæ hospitales*, were sometimes presented by foreign cities to particular citizens of Athens. But that could not be done, till the ambassadors of those cities had first obtained leave from the people of Athens, and the men for whom that honour was intended had undergone a public examination, wherein their course of life was inquired into. Lastly, whereas the crowns presented by the Athenians themselves to any of their own citizens, were kept in the families of those who had obtained them, as monuments of honour; those which were sent from other cities were dedicated to Minerva, the protectress of Athens [z]. But of these, because they were for the most part bestowed upon those that had signalized themselves by their valour, as also of other military rewards, I shall give you a farther account in another place.

Ἀτέλεια, was an immunity from all public duties, taxes, and contributions, except such as were required for carrying on the wars, and building ships, which no man was excused from, except the nine archons. This honour was very rare; but yet there want not instances of it, as particularly those of Harmodius and Aristogiton's whole families, which enjoyed it for many generations [a].

Σιτία, παρασιτία, σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ, was an entertainment allowed to such as deserved well of the commonwealth, in particular to those who had been ambassadors, in the common hall, called Pry-

[z] Æschines in Ctesiphontem.
[a] Demosthen. Orat. in Leptinem, ejusque Interpret.

taneum. Solon made a law that no man should be entertained in this place oftener than once [b]. But this being afterwards abolished, some were ἀείσιτοι, *constantly maintained* in the Prytaneum [c]; whence Socrates being asked by the court, what punishment he thought himself to deserve? replied, *ut ei victus quotidianus in Prytaneo publicè præberetur*, that they should allow him a constant maintenance in the Prytaneum; *qui honos apud Græcos maximus habetur*, which is reputed one of the greatest honours amongst the Grecians, as we are informed by Cicero [d]. And sometimes we find the privilege granted to whole families, for the service of their ancestors, as particularly to those of Hippocrates, Harmodius and Aristogiton. Their common fair was a sort of cakes, or puddings, called Μάζα. Upon holidays, they had an allowance of bread [e]; which Solon appointed, μιμέμενος τὸν Ὅμηρον, *in imitation of Homer*, whose heroes used to feast in that manner. Beside other provisions, the tenths of all the bellies of animals offered in sacrifice were always reserved for them; which, if any man neglected to send, he was liable to be punished by the prytanes, as we learn from Aristophanes [f];

> Καὶ σε φανῶ τοῖς Πρυτάνεσιν,
> Αδεκατεύτες τῶν θεῶν ἱε-
> ρὰς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.
> Your frauds I'll to the prytanes disclose,
> Since you with sacrilegious stealth keep back
> The tithes of sacred victims' bellies.

It must not be omitted in this place, that such as had received any honour or privilege from the city, were under its more particular care and protection; and the injuries done to them were resented as public affronts to the whole commonwealth: insomuch, that whoever did ὑβρίζειν, πατάσσειν, κακῶς εἰπεῖν, *affront, strike*, or *speak ill* of any such person, was by the law declared (ἄτιμος) *infamous* [g]. More might be said about the honours conferred after death, upon such as had been eminently serviceable to the commonwealth, in the celebration of their funerals, and the pious care of their memories; but this I shall leave to be spoken of in another place, and shall only add, that not themselves only, but their posterity reaped the fruits of their virtues; for if any of their children were left in a poor condition, they seldom failed of obtaining a plentiful provision from the public: thus Aristides's two

[b] Plutarchus in Solone.
[c] Pollux.
[d] Lib. i. de Oratore.
[e] Demosthen. loc. cit. Pollux, lib. ix. cap. 5. Athenæus, lib. iv. &c.
[f] Equitibus. [g] Demosth. in Midiana.

daughters were publicly married out of the Prytaneum, the city decreeing each of them three hundred drachms for her portion. Nor is it to be wondered (saith Plutarch) that the people of Athens should take care of those that lived in the city, since, hearing that Aristogiton's grand-daughter was in a low condition in the isle of Lemnus, and by means of her poverty like to want a husband, they sent for her to Athens, married her to a person of considerable quality, and bestowed upon her a large farm as a dowry. Of which bounty and humanity (saith he) this city of Athens, even in this age, has given divers demonstrations, for which she is deservedly had in great honour and admiration [h].

It will not be improper to add, in the last place, that whilst the ancient virtue and glory of the Athenians lasted, it was exceeding difficult to obtain any of the public honours: insomuch that when Miltiades petitioned for a crown, after he had delivered Greece from the Persian army at Marathon, he received this answer from one of the people, *that when he conquered alone he should be crowned alone.* But in Aristophanes's age, honours were become more common. Thus he complains [i];

——— Καὶ ςρατηγὸς ὐδ' ἂν εἷς
Τῶν πρὸτȢ σίτησιν ᾔτησ', ἐρόμενος Κλεαίνετον·
Νιῶ δ' ἐὰν μὴ προεδρίαν φέρωσι καὶ τὰ σιτία,
Οὐ μαχεῖσθαι φασίν.———

Not one of the generals in former ages desired a public maintenance; but now, unless the privilege of having the first seats, and a maintenance is given to them, they say they will not fight. In later ages, how lavish the Athenians grew of their public honours, may easily be known from the stories of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and Demetrius the Phalerean [j], which have been already mentioned in another place.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Athenian Laws.

It was Tully's observation, that most of the arts and inventions which are necessary to the management of human life, owe their first original to the Athenians, from whom they were derived into

h Plutarch. Aristide.

i Equitibus, act. i. scen. 3.

j Conf. Plutarchus, Demetrio.

the other parts of Greece, and thence carried into foreign countries for the common benefit of mankind. But of all the inventions commonly ascribed to them, none has been of greater or more general use to the world than that of laws, which, as Ælian[k] and others report, were first established in Athens; though some ascribe the first invention of laws to Zaleucus the Locrian, or to Minos, king of Crete[l]. Most other ingenious contrivances respect the conveniencies of human life, but upon this depends the very foundation of all civil government, and of all mutual society amongst men; for by them the magistrate is directed how to govern, and the people how far to obey; the magistrate by them is settled in the possession of his authority over the people, and the people, too, by them are secured from the arbitrary power and unreasonable demands of the magistrate, as well as from the fraud, violence, and oppression of each other.

The poets tell us, that Ceres was the first that taught the Athenians the use of laws; in memory of which benefit, they celebrated the festival called Θεσμοφόρια, in which she was worshipped by the name of Θεσμοφόρος, which exactly answers to the Latin name of Legifera in Virgil[m]:

——— *maclant lectas de more bidentes*
Legiferæ *Cereri.*———
Selected victims on the altars bleed
To Ceres lawgiver.———

The occasion of this opinion seems to have been, their ascribing to this goddess the invention of tillage. After which, the lands being not as yet divided into equal portions, controversies used to be raised; for the composing whereof Ceres gave directions, which afterwards were imitated in all other affairs. Some of the laws of her favourite Triptolemus are still extant, and I have spoken of them in another place. But to pass by poetical fictions, this much is certain, viz. that the Athenians were governed by laws before the dissolution of their monarchy, as may be observed from what Plutarch relates of Theseus, viz. that when he divested himself of sovereign power, and established a commonwealth in Athens, one of the prerogatives that he thought fit still to retain, was the custody or protection of the laws.

The first that gave laws to the Athenians after Theseus's time, was Draco, who was archon in the first year of the 39th olympiad.

His laws, Ælian[n] tells us, are properly called Θεσμοὶ, but are re-

k Lib. iii. cap. 38.
l Clemen. Alexand. Strom. i. p. 309.
m Æneid. iv. v. 57.
n Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 10.

markable for nothing but their unreasonable severity; for by them every little offence was punished with death, and he that stole an apple was proceeded against with no less rigour than he that had betrayed his country. But these extremities could not last long; the people soon grew weary of them, and therefore, though they were not abrogated, yet by a tacit consent they were laid asleep, till Solon, the next lawgiver, repealed them all, except those which concerned murder, called φονικοὶ νόμοι; and having received from the people power to make what alterations he thought necessary, new-modelled the commonwealth, and instituted a great many useful and excellent laws, which, to distinguish them from Draco's Θεσμοὶ, were called Νόμοι. And lest, through the connivance of the magistrates, they should in time be neglected, like those of his predecessor, he caused the senate to take a solemn oath to observe them; and every one of the thesmothetæ vowed, that if he violated any of the statutes, he would dedicate a golden statue as big as himself to the Delphian Apollo; and the people he obliged to observe them for a hundred years [o].

But all this care was not sufficient to preserve his laws from the innovations of lawless and ambitious men; for shortly after, Pisistratus so far insinuated himself into the people's favour, that the democracy instituted by Solon was dissolved, and himself invested with sovereign power, which, at his death, he left in the possession of his sons, who maintained it for some years; and though Pisistratus himself, as Plutarch reports [p], and his sons after him, in a great measure, governed according to Solon's directions, yet they followed them not as laws, to which they were obliged to conform their actions, but rather seem to have used them as wise and prudent counsels, and varied from them whenever they found them to interfere with their interest or inclinations.

Pisistratus's family being driven out of Attica, Clisthenes took upon him to restore Solon's constitutions, and enacted many new laws [q], which continued in force till the Peloponnesian war, in which the form of government was changed, first by the four hundred, and then by the thirty tyrants. These storms being over, the ancient laws were again restored in the archonship of Euclides, and others established at the instance of Diocles, Aristophon, and other leading men of the city. Last of all, Demetrius the Phalerean, being intrusted with the government of Athens by the Mace-

[o] Plutarch. Solone, Diogen. Laërtius, Ælian. loc. cit.

[p] Solone.

[q] Herodotus, Plutarch. Pericle, Isocrat. Areopag.

donians was the author of many new, but very beneficial and laudable constitutions[r]. These seem to have been the chief legislators of Athens, before they submitted to the Roman yoke; two others are mentioned by Suidas, viz. Thales and Æschylus.

Beside these, the Athenians had a great many other laws, enacted upon particular exigencies by the suffrages of the people; for I shall not in this place speak of Ψηφίσματα τῆς Βȣλῆς, the decrees enacted by the authority of the senators, whose power being only annual, their decrees lost all their force and obligation when their offices expired. The manner of making a law was thus: when any man had contrived any thing, which he thought might conduce to the good of the commonwealth, he first communicated it to the prytanes, who received all sorts of informations of things that concerned the public: the prytanes then called a meeting of the senate, in which the new project being proposed, after mature deliberation, was rejected, if it appeared hurtful or unserviceable; if not, it was agreed to, and then called Προβȣ́λευμα. This the prytanes wrote upon a tablet, and thence it was called Πρόγραμμα.

No law was to be proposed to the assembly except it had been written upon a white tablet, and fixed up, some days before the assembly, at the statues of the heroes called Επώνυμοι, that so all the citizens might read what was to be proposed at their next meeting, and be able to give a more deliberate judgment upon it. When the multitude was come together, the decree was read, and every man had liberty to speak his mind about the whole, or any clause of it; and if, after due consultation, the assembly thought it convenient, it was rejected; if they approved of it, it passed into a Ψήφισμα or Νόμος, which, as we learn from Demosthenes, were the same as to their obligation, but differed in this, that Νόμος was a general and everlasting rule, whereas Ψήφισμα respected particular times, places, and other circumstances[s].

No man, without a great deal of caution, and a thorough understanding of the former laws and constitutions, durst presume to propose a new one, the danger being very great, if it suited not with the customs and inclinations of the people; Eudemus a Cydiathenian, is said to have lost his life on that account, being made a sacrifice to the rage of the multitude. Not much unlike this severity was the ordinance of Zaleucus the Locrian Lawgiver, by which it was appointed, that whosoever proposed the enacting of a new law, or the abrogation of an old one, should come into

[r] Plut. Aristide. [s] Demosth. ejusque enarrator Ulpian in Leptin. et alibi.

the assembly with an halter about his neck, and in that habit give his reasons for what he proposed, and, if these were thought good and sufficient, his proposal was embraced; if not, he straightway poured out his soul under the hangman's hands. But the Athenians were not quite so rigid, except upon some extraordinary occasions when the giddy multitude was hurried on with unusual rage and vehemence, as happened in Eudemus's case; yet if any man established a law that was prejudicial to the commonwealth, he might be called in question for it any time within the space of one year; but if he was let alone any longer, the laws took no notice of him. In these cases especially, a writ for *transgressing the laws*, called παρανομίας γραφὴ, might take hold of him; first, if he had not taken care to publish his proposal in due time; secondly, if he proposed it in ambiguous and fallacious terms; thirdly, if he proposed any thing contrary to any of the former and received laws; and therefore, if any of the old laws were found to oppose what they designed to offer, they always took care to have them repealed beforehand [t]. They who had preferred any law, which was παράνομος, or ἀνεπιτήδειος, contrary to the former laws, or the interest of the commonwealth, were first arraigned before the thesmothetæ, according to Julius Pollux; or, as others think, they were sometimes arraigned before the thesmothetæ, sometimes before other archons, according to the different nature of their crimes, every archon having the cognizance of different affairs. The accusation being heard, the archon did εἰσάγειν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, *introduce the cause into that court of justice* where such affairs were examined. If the defendant was declared guilty, he was usually punished with a fine according to his offence, which he was obliged to pay under the penalty of (ἀτιμία) *infamy*. This last punishment was immediately inflicted upon those who had been thrice convicted of this offence, who were, on that account, ever after excluded from all public assemblies. Whence that saying of Antiphanes;

Πῶς γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν——
Ῥήτωρ ἄφωνος, ἢν μὴ ἁλῷ τρὶς παρανόμων.

How can an orator be silenced, unless he has been thrice convicted (παρανόμων) *of enacting laws contrary to those already in force?* If the judges acquitted the defendant, then the plaintiff was amerced a thousand drachmæ, as a punishment of his false accusation [u]. And though he, who had been the occasion of enacting any unjust

[t] Demosth. ejusque enarrator Ulpian. in Leptin. et alibi.

[u] Demosthen. Timocratea, ibique Ulpianus.

law, could not be punished after a whole year was expired, yet it was lawful to cite him before a magistrate, and there oblige him to shew the design and reason of his law, in order to prevent any damage which might ensue from it. But because, notwithstanding all this caution, it sometimes happened that new laws were enacted contrary to the old, it was ordered that the thesmothetæ should once every year carefully peruse the laws; and if they found any of them oppose another, it was to be proposed to the people, who were to proceed about it in the method that was used in abrogating other laws, and so one of the laws made void. In other cases, it was unlawful for any man to endeavour to have any law repealed, without preferring a new one in its place.

And because the change of time and other circumstances make great alterations in affairs, and ordinances, which were formerly useful and necessary, by the different state of things become unprofitable, and perhaps inconvenient and prejudicial, it was ordained by Solon, that once every year the laws should be carefully revised and examined, and if any of them were found unsuitable to the present state of affairs it should be repealed; this was called ἐπιχειροτονία τῶν νόμων, from the manner of giving their suffrages, by holding up their hands. The method of doing it was thus: on the 11th day of the month Hecatombæon, at which time the prytanes held their first stated assembly, after the Κῆρυξ had, according to custom, made a solemn prayer before the assembly, the laws were read over in this order: first, those that concerned the senate; then those that respected the people, the nine archons, and then the other magistrates in their order. This being done, it was demanded, whether the laws then in being were sufficient for the commonwealth; and if it seemed necessary to make any alteration in them, the consideration was deferred till the fourth of Metagitnion, upon which day was the last stated assembly, under the first rank of the prytanes, as the repetition of the laws had been at the first. In all this, the Θεσμοὶ, or laws concerning such matters, were nicely and punctually observed, and the prytanes and proedri severely punished, if any thing was omitted. For this was the difference between θεσμὸς and νόμος, that θεσμὸς ἐστὶ νόμος πῶς ἔδει νομοθετεῖν· θεσμὸς *is a law directing how laws* (νόμοι) *are to be made* [w]. Upon the first of Metagitnion, another assembly was called, and the proedri reported the matter to the people, who did not proceed to the determination of it themselves, but substituted the nomothetæ

[w] Libanius in Argument. Leptineæ.

to do it; and appointed five orators, called Σύνδικοι, to defend the ancient laws in the name of the people. If the prytanes neglected to convene the fore-mentioned assembly, they were to be fined a thousand drachmæ; but if the assembly met, and the proedri then neglected to propound the law to the people, they were fined only forty drachmæ; ὅτι βαρύτερόν ἐστιν ὅλως τὸ μὴ συνάξαι τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῦ μὴ ὑποβάλλειν· *It being a greater crime to neglect the calling of the people together, than the propounding of any particular business to them.* Any man was permitted to arraign the prytanes and proedri, thus offending, before the thesmothetæ, whom the laws obliged to impeach the criminals in the court of heliæa, upon neglect whereof they were denied admission into the senate of areopagus. To return, the nomothetæ having heard what the orators could say in defence of the old law, gave their opinions accordingly, and their sentence was ratified by the people in the following assembly [x].

Solon, and after his example, the rest of those that enacted laws in Athens, committed their laws to writing, differing herein from Lycurgus, and the lawgivers of other cities, who thought it better to imprint them in the minds of their citizens, than to engrave them upon tablets, where it was probable they might lie neglected and unregarded, as Plutarch hath informed us in his life of Numa Pompilius: 'It is reported (saith he) that Numa's body, by his particular command, was not burned, but that he ordered two stone coffins to be made, in one of which he appointed his body to be laid, and the other to be a repository for his sacred books and writings, and both of them to be interred under the hill Janiculum; imitating herein the legislators of Greece, who having wrote their laws on tablets, which they called Κύρβαι, did so long inculcate the contents of them whilst they lived, into the minds and hearts of their priests, that their understanding became as it were living libraries of those sacred volumes, it being esteemed a profanation of such mysteries to commit their secrets unto dead letters.' In some places, especially before the invention of letters, it was usual to sing their laws, the better to fix them in their memories; which custom, Aristotle tells us, was used in his days amongst the Agathyrsi, a people near the Scythians; and this he fancies was the reason why musical rules for keeping time were called Νόμοι [y].

But Solon was of a contrary opinion, esteeming it the safest way,

[x] Libanius in Argument. Leptineæ. [y] Problem. sect. xix. probl. 38.

to commit his laws to writing, which would remain entire, and impossible to be corrupted, when the unwritten traditions of other lawgivers, through the negligence and forgetfulness of some, and the cunning and knavery of others, might either wholly perish in oblivion, or by continual forgeries and alterations be rendered altogether unprofitable to the public, but abundantly serviceable to the designs and innovations of treacherous and ambitious men. Whence we find an express law, *ἀγράφῳ νόμῳ τὰς ἀρχὰς μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδὲ περὶ ἑνός·* that no magistrate should in any case make use of an unwritten law [z]. The tablets in which Solon penned his laws, Plutarch tells us, were of wood, and called Ἄξονες, and so fashioned that they might be turned round in oblong cases; some of them, he saith, remained till his time, and were to be seen in the Prytaneum at Athens, being (as Aristotle affirms) the same with the Κύρβεις. But others are of opinion, that those were properly called Κύρβεις, which contained the laws concerning sacrifices, and the rites of religion; and all the rest Ἄξονες. Thus Plutarch [a]. But Apollodorus, as he is quoted by the scholiast upon Aristophanes [b], will have Κύρβεις to be of stone, and to signify any tablets, wherein laws, or public edicts were written, and to have received their name *παρὰ τὸ κεκορυφῶσθαι εἰς ὕψος*, because they were erected up on high: or from the Corybantes, the first inventors of them, as Theopompus reports in his Treatise of piety. Aristotle adds, that they were triangular, in his account of the republic of Athens, and is seconded herein by Pollux [c], who farther remarks, that the Ἄξονες were quadrangular, and made of brass. Ammonius [d], to trouble you with no more opinions about them, will have the distinction to consist in this; that the Ἄξονες were four-square, containing the laws that concerned civil affairs; whereas the Κύρβεις were triangular, and contained precepts about the worship of the gods. What number there was of them it is impossible to divine, since none of the ancient authors have given us any light in this particular. They were kept in the citadel, but afterwards removed to the Prytaneum, that all persons might have recourse to them upon any occasion [e]; though some report, that only transcripts of them were carried thither, and that the original, written by Solon's own hand, remained still in the citadel. Hence, as Pollux is of opinion, the laws came to be distinguished into *τοὺς κάτωθεν*, and *τοὺς ἄνωθεν νόμους*,

[z] Andocides de Mysteriis.
[a] Solone.
[b] Nubibus et Avibus.
[c] Lib. viii. cap. 10.
[d] Lib. de Different. Voc.
[e] Pollux, ibid.

the former signifying the laws that were in the Prytaneum, which was in the lower city, the latter those that were kept in the citadel, or upper city. Others are of opinion, that by ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος, Demosthenes, whose expression it is, meant no more than the lower part of the tablet: but then, without dispute, he would have mentioned the number of the tablets, as in other places he and others usually do, and not have left us in the dark which of the tablets he meant. Again, the lower part of the tablet might sometimes happen to contain the first part of the law, which it is improper to call τὸν κάτωθεν, because that word seems to import something beneath the rest, and toward the latter end; for one tablet was not always large enough to contain a whole law, as appears from Plutarch [f], in whom we find that the eighth law was engraved in the thirteenth tablet. Petitus will have Demosthenes to mean no more by ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος, than the law which beneath, or afterwards in the same oration, is cited by him. Others understand it of the lower line, because the laws are said to have been written βουστροφηδὸν, which is, as Pausanias explains it [g], when the second line is turned on the contrary side beginning at the end of the former, as the husbandmen turn their oxen in ploughing, in this manner;

Ε Κ Δ Ι Ο Σ Α Ρ-

·Ɐ Θ Ƹ Ǝ W Ʊ X

It was against the law for any man to erase a decree out of any of the tablets, or to make any alterations in them; and for their greater security, there were certain persons called from their office Γραμματεῖς, whose business it was to preserve them from being corrupted [h], and as their name imports, to transcribe the old, and enter the new ones into the tablets: they were elected by the senate; and to render their office more creditable, had several marks of honour conferred upon them, of which in their proper places. Lastly, that no man might pretend ignorance of his duty, the laws were all engraved on the wall in the Βασιλικὴ στοὰ, *royal portico*, and there exposed to public view. But this custom was not begun till after the thirty tyrants were expelled [i]. Thus much of the Athenian laws in general: their particular laws, most of which have been collected by Samuel Petitus, were these which follow.

f Solone.
g Eliac.
h Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 8.
i Andocides de Mysteriis.

ATTIC LAWS.

Laws relating to Divine Worship, Temples, Festivals, and Sports.

LET sacrifices be performed with the fruits of the earth. One of Triptolemus's laws [j]. See book ii. chap. 4.

Let it be a law among the Athenians for ever sacred and inviolable, always to pay due homage in public towards their gods and native heroes, according to the usual customs of their country; and with all possible sincerity to offer in private first-fruits with anniversary cakes. One of Draco's laws [k]. It must be here observed, that no strange god could be worshipped at Athens till he were approved by the areopagite senate. See book i. chap. 19.

One drachm shall be the price of a sheep, eighteen of a medimn. One of Solon's sumptuary laws [l].

Cattle designed for sacrifice shall be culled [m]. This law provided that the best of the cattle should be offered to the gods. See book ii. chap. 4.

It is ordered, that the sacrificer carry part of his oblation home to his family [n]. See book ii. chap. 4.

All the remains of the sacrifice are the priest's fees [o]. See book ii. chap. 3.

Whosoever easeth nature in Apollo's temple, shall be indicted, and sentenced to death [p]. One of Pisistratus's laws, enacted when that tyrant built Apollo's temple in the Pytheum, where the Athenians used to ease nature in contempt of the tyrant.

All slaves and foreigners are permitted to come to the public temples, either out of curiosity of seeing, or devotion [q].

They who survive the report of being dead, are prohibited entrance into the Furies' temple [r]. See book ii. chap. 4.

Let no violence be offered to any one that flies to the temples for succour [s]. A very ancient law. See book ii. chap. 2.

While the celebration of the new moon, or other festival continues at Athens, it is ordered that no one be defamed or affronted in private or public, and that no business be carried on which is not pertinent to this feast [t]. See for this and the following laws, which relate to the festivals, book ii. chap. 19, 20.

j Porphyrius, περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων.
k Porphyrius, loco citato.
l Plut. Solone.
m Plut. loco citato.
n Aristoph. Scholiast. in Plutum.
o Idem in Vespas.
p Suidas, Hesychius, Vaticana Proverb. appen. cent. i. prov. 82.
q Demost. Orat. in Neæram.
r Hesychius, Phavorinus, v. Δευτερόποτμος, Plut. Quæst. Roman.
s Aristoph. Scholiast. in equites.
t Demost. Timocrat.

All who frequent the panathenæa, are forbid the wearing of apparel dyed with colours [u].

It is enacted, that at the institution of panathenæa majora, Homer's rhapsodies be repeated [v].

Sojourners are commanded to carry about at public processions little vessels framed after the model of a boat, and their daughters water-pots with umbrellas [w]. See book i. chap. 10.

No foreigner is to be initiated into the holy mysteries [x].

Death shall be his penalty who divulges the mysteries [y].

The persons initiated shall dedicate the garments they were initiated in, at Ceres and Proserpina's temple [z].

No woman shall go in her chariot to Eleusis; and whoever commits theft during the feast kept at that place, shall be fined 6000 drachms [a].

Let no petitionary address be made at the mysteries [b].

No one shall be arrested or apprehended during their celebration [c].

An assembly of the senate shall convene in the Eleusinian temple, the day following this festival. One of Solon's laws [d].

The festival called Θεσμοφόρια is to be annual, at which time there is to be a jail delivery [e].

Evagoras hath caused it to be enacted, that when there is a procession in the Piræeus to the honour of Bacchus, and likewise at the Lenæan procession, comedies shall be acted; and that, during the celebration of the Διονυσίακα in the citadel, young men shall dance, and tragedians and comedians act, and that at these times, and while the Θαργήλια continue, no suit of law, bailment or suretyship shall be made. If trespass be made against any one of these particulars, let the person herein offending be prosecuted in the usual manner at the popular assembly held in Bacchus's theatre [f].

It is established, that the prytanes, the day subsequent to these observances, call a senate in the theatre of Bacchus, upon the Πανδία, where the first thing in debate shall be touching the sacred rites; after that, the drawing up all the indictments to be executed on the fore-mentioned criminals at the feasts [g].

No arrestment shall be attempted on the Διονύσια [h].

[u] Lucianus Nigrino.
[v] Lycurg. in Leocratem, Ælianus Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. ii.
[w] Harpocrat. v. σκαφηφόροι.
[x] Aristophanis Scholiastes in Plutum.
[y] Sopater in divisione quæstionis.
[z] Aristophanis Scholiastes in Plutum.
[a] Plut. Lycurgo rhetore.
[b] Andocides de Mysteriis.
[c] Demosth. in Mediam.
[d] Andocides de Mysteriis.
[e] Theocriti Scholiastes in Idyll. V.
[f] Demosth. in Mediam.
[g] Ibid. [h] Ibid.

Execution of condemned prisoners shall be deferred till the Θεωροὶ return from Delos[i]. See book ii. chap. 9.

No oblation of victims shall be on the Ἀλῶα[j].

He who comes off conqueror at the olympic games shall receive as his reward 500 drachms, at the isthmic, 100[k].

Fifteen persons shall go to the constitution of a tragic chorus[l].

It is forbid that Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, be brought on the stage; wherefore licence is given that the city clerk read them publicly[m]. This law was enacted out of respect to these three tragedians.

An emulatory performance among the tragedians is ordered to be in the theatre on the feast called Χύτρα, and that he that acts his part best shall be chosen denison[n].

No one under thirty years of age shall be an actor. Others, instead of thirty years, read forty years[o].

Let no archon be exposed by any malignant aspersion in a comedy[p].

If any reflections are designed, let them be palliated under a feigned name. This law was enacted to restrain the old comedy, wherein men were reflected on by name[q].

Let all the different airs and specific kinds of music be observed, and each of them be made use of at its peculiar festival. This was an ancient law, whereby they who confounded the several kinds of music, being first convicted before the masters of music, were liable to be punished. But this practice was afterwards laid aside[r].

All spectators shall sit with due attention and decorum in the theatre, and the archons shall cause their serjeants to turn him out who shall cause any noise or disturbance; but if any one persevere in his rudeness, a fine shall be his punishment[s]. This law relates to the Dionysia, where the chief archon was president, the care of other games being committed to other magistrates, as that of the lenæa, and of the anthesteria, to the Βασιλεὺς.

Sports exhibited in honour of Neptune are to be in the Piræeus, graced with three dances performed in a ring, where the reward to them who come off best shall be ten μναῖ; to them whose perform-

i Plato Phædone Xenoph. Ἀπομνημον. lib. iv.
j Demosth. in Neæram.
k Plut. Solone.
l Pollux, lib. xiv. cap. 15.
m Plut. Lycurgo.
n Plut. Lycurgo.
o Aristoph. Scholiast. in Nubes.
p Id. Ibid.
q Hermogenes de Statibus.
r Plato, lib. iii. de Legibus.
s Demosth. ejusq. Schol. in Midiana.

ance is one degree below, eight, and six to the third victors. This law was enacted by Lycurgus the orator [t].

One day yearly there is to be a public cock-fighting [u]. See book ii. chap. 20. in Αλεκτρυόνων ἀγών.

Sacrifices are required to be at the beginning of every month [v]. see book ii. chap. 20. in Νυμηνία.

Laws concerning them who officiate in holy rites.

The Βασιλεὺς is to take care that the parasites be created out of the people, whose duty it is, each of them to reserve out of his allowance an hecteum of barley, without the least deceit, for the maintenance of the genuine citizens' feast, to be kept in the temple, according to the custom of the country. The Acharnensian parasites are to lay up an hecteum of their dole in Apollo's reservatory, to which deity they are to sacrifice; the Βασιλεὺς also for the time being, likewise the old men and women that have but one husband, are obliged to join in the sacrifices. See book ii. chap. 3.

Out of those of spurious birth, or their children, the parasites shall elect a priest, who shall officiate in the monthly sacrifices; and against him who declines to be a parasite, an action shall be entered [w].

Two of the sacred ceryces must undergo parasiteship, for the space of one year, in Apollo's temple at Delos [x].

The third part of the choicest of the oxen is to be conferred on the victor of a prize, the two remaining shall be divided between the priests and parasites [y]. This law was engraved in the Anaceum.

Let there be given a just value of money, to be disbursed by the priests, for the reparation of the temple, of the Αρχεῖον (or treasury of the temple), and the Παρασίτιον, or place set apart for the parasites executing their office [z].

Out of the most vigorous of the old men, there are to be created Θαλλοφόροι, i. e. persons to carry sprigs of olive in the panathenæa, in honour of Minerva [a]. See book ii. chap. 20. in Παναθήναια.

It is hereby appointed, that the consort of the Βασιλεὺς shall be a citizen of Athens, and never before married [b]. See book i. chap. 12.

Not the priests only shall give an account of their demeanour in

[t] Plut. Lycurgo rhetore.
[u] Ælianus, Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 28.
[v] Athenæus, lib. vi.
[w] Vide ibid.
[x] Id. ibid.
[y] Ibid.
[z] Athenæus, lib. iv. Pollux, lib. vi. cap. 7.
[a] Xenophon Syposio.
[b] Demosthenes in Neæram.

the priesthood, but likewise the sacred families [c]. See book ii. chap. 3.

No impure person shall be elected into the priesthood [d]. See as before.

Laws relating to the Laws.

As for the review of the laws (ἐπιχειροτονία Νόμων), I have purposely omitted it, as being spoken of in the former part of this chapter.

The Decree.

Tisamenus hath established, with the consent and by the authority of the people, that Athens shall keep her ancient form of government, and make use of Solon's laws, weights, and measures, with Draco's sanctions, as hitherto; if new ones shall seem requisite, the nomothetæ, created by the senate for that purpose, shall engross them on a tablet, and hang them up at the statues of the Eponymi, that they may be exposed to the public view of all passers by; the same month they are to be given up to the magistrates, after they have passed the estimation of the senate of five hundred, and the delegated nomothetæ. Be it also farther enacted, that any private man may have free access to the senate, and give in his sentiments concerning them. After their promulgation, the senate of areopagus is required to take care that the magistrates put these laws in execution, which, for the conveniency of the citizens, are to be engraved on the wall, where before they had been exposed to public view [e]. This law was enacted after Thrasybulus had expelled the thirty tyrants. See the former part of this chapter.

He that propounds a law contrary to the common good shall be indicted [f]. See as before.

The proposer of a law, after the year's end, shall be accused, if his law be pernicious, but yet shall be liable to no penalty. See as before.

No law shall be repealed before reference be made of it to the nomothetæ, which being done, any Athenian may endeavour its repeal, supposing he substitutes a new law in its stead. Both these the proedri shall refer to the votes of the people; the first proposal shall be concerning the old law, whether it be any longer conducible to the public good; then the new one shall be proposed; and which of the two the nomothetæ shall judge best, that shall be in force; yet this caution must be observed, that no law shall

[c] Æschines in Ctesiphontem.
[d] Æchines in Timarchum.
[e] Andocides de Mysteriis.
[f] Demosthenes in Timocratem.

be enacted, which gainsays any of the rest; and the person who shall give in a law inconsistent with the former constitutions, shall be dealt with according to the rigour of the act against those who promote prejudicial laws [g]. See as before.

He, who, to abrogate an old law, promiseth to make a new one, and doth not, shall be fined [h].

The thesmothetæ shall yearly assemble in the repository of the laws, and cautiously examine whether one law bears any contradiction to another; whether there be any law unratified, or duplicates about the same things. If any of these shall occur in their examination, it shall be written on a tablet, and published at the statues of the Eponymi: which done, by the Epistata's order, the people shall vote which of them shall be made void, or ratified [i]. See as before.

No man shall enact a law in favour of any private person, unless six thousand citizens give leave by private votes. This was one of Solon's laws [j].

It shall be a capital crime for any man to cite a fictitious law in any court of justice [k].

The laws shall be in force from the archonship of Euclides [l]. This law was enacted after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, and intimates, that what had been done under their usurpation should not henceforth be inquired into, an act of amnesty having been passed.

Diocles hath enacted, that the laws enacted during the freedom of the commonwealth, before Euclides was archon, and also those which were made in his archonship, shall be in full force henceforward. Those which have been enacted since the archonship of Euclides, or hereafter to be enacted, shall be in force from the day wherein each of them shall be enacted, unless a particular time, wherein their force shall begin, is specified in the law. Those which are now in force, shall be transcribed into the public records by the notary of the senate within thirty days; but the laws hereafter to be made shall be transcribed, and begin to be in force from the day of their being enacted [m]. This law gave perpetual force

g Demosthenes, ibid. et in Leptin.
h Ulpianus in Leptin.
i Æschines in Ctesiphontem.
j Andocides de Mysteriis, Æneas Gazæus in Theophrastum.
k Demosthenes, Orat. ii. in Aristogitonem.
l Andocides de Mysteriis.
m Demosthenes in Timocrat.

and authority to the laws of Solon, which were at first enacted only for an hundred years, as has been elsewhere observed.

Laws referring to Decrees of the Senate and Commonalty.

Ψηφίσματα, or *decrees of the senate,* are to be but of one year's continuance [n]. See book i. chap. 18.

No psephism shall pass to the commons before the senate's supervisal [o]. One of Solon's laws. See as before.

The tablets on which the psephisms are engraved, are by no means to be removed [p].

Let no psephism be of greater authority than the laws, the senate, or the people [q].

No sophistication is to be contained in a psephism [r].

Laws concerning native and enfranchised Citizens.

All laws are to be alike obligatory towards the whole body of the people. One of Theseus's laws [s].

All priests and archons are to be elected out of the nobility, (εὐπατρίδαι), whose duty it is to interpret all laws both civil and divine. Another of Theseus's laws [t]. See book i. chap. 3.

The Θῆτες, or those of the meanest sort, shall be capable of no magistracy. This and the following law are Solon's [u]. See book i. chap. 4.

The Θῆτες shall have right of suffrage in public assemblies, and of being elected judges.

Let all the citizens have an equal share in the government, and the archons be indifferently elected out of them all. This law was enacted by Aristides [v]. See book i. chap. 11.

No persons but such as have suffered perpetual banishment, or those who with their whole families come to Athens for the conveniency of trade, shall be enrolled among the denizens. One of Solon's laws [w]. See book i. chap. 9.

Let no person that is a slave by birth be made free of the city [x]. See book i. chap. 10.

No one shall be admitted citizen, unless a particular eminency of virtue entitle him to it: and if the people do confer a citizenship on any one for his merits, he shall not be ratified, before

[n] Demosthenes in Aristocratem.
[o] Plutarchus Solone.
[p] Plutarchus Pericle.
[q] Demosthenes Timocratea.
[r] Æschines in Ctesiphontem.
[s] Plutarchus Theseo. [t] Ibidem.
[u] Plutarchus Solone.
[v] Plutarchus Aristide.
[w] Plutarchus Solone.
[x] Dio Chrysostomus, Orat. xv.

the Athenians, at the next meeting of the assembly, honour him with six thousand private votes; the prytanes likewise shall give them, before the entrance of the strangers, the boxes with the calculi, and take away the largesses. Now these persons, after enfranchisement, shall be altogether incapable of being archons or priests; as for their children, they may officiate, if born of a free woman; if the persons made free presume the taking up of any office, any free born man may bring an action against them, as interlopers on his privileges[y]. This law was enacted after the victory over Mardonius near Plataea. See book i. chap. 9.

There shall be a disquisition made, whether they who are inserted in the register of citizens, be so or not; they who shall not be found citizens on both sides, let them be erased out. The determination of this shall be by their own borough, by whom if they be cast, and acquiesce in their sentence, without any further appeal to an higher court, they shall be ranked among the sojourners; but they that after appeal shall be condemned by the higher court, shall be sold for slaves; or, if acquitted, shall continue in their freedom[z]. See as before. This law was enacted, Archias being archon.

It is permitted any Athenian to leave the city, and take his family and goods along with him[a].

Laws appertaining to Children, legitimate, spurious, or adopted.

They only shall be reckoned citizens whose parents are both so[b]. See book i. chap. 9. This law was enacted at the instance of Pericles.

He shall be looked on as a bastard whose mother is not free[c]. This was enacted by Aristophon the orator.

Let none of spurious birth, whether male or female, inherit either in sacred or civil things, from the time of Euclides being archon[d].

That inheritance shall pass for good, which is given by a childless person to an adopted son[e].

Adoption must be made by persons living[f]: *i. e.* not by their last testament.

No one, except the person who adopted shall have a legitimate son, shall relinquish the family into which he is adopted, to re-

[y] Demosthenes Orat. in Neæram.

[z] Argumentum Demosth. Orat. πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην ἐφέσεως.

[a] Plato Critone.

[b] Plutarchus Pericle.

[c] Carystio Historic. ὑπομνημ. lib. iii.

[d] Demosth. in Macartatum.

[e] Demosth. in Leocharem.

[f] Libanius Argumento Orat. Demost. in Leocharem.

turn into his natural. One of Solon's laws [g]. See book iv. chap. 15.

Parents may give their children what names they will, or change those they have for others [h]. See book iv. chap. 14.

Whenever parents come to enrol their children, whether genuine or adopted, in the public register of the φϱάτοϱες, they are obliged to profess by oath, that they were lawfully begotten of a free woman [i]. See book i. chap. 9.

Beasts designed at this time for the altar, are to be of a certain weight; a goat to weigh fifty μναῖ, and two sheep forty-eight.

The Oath to be taken by the Ephebi.

I WILL never do any thing to disgrace this armour; I will never fly from my post, or revolt from my general, but I will fight for my country and religion, in an army or single combat. I will never be the cause of weakening or endamaging my country; and if it be my fortune to sail on the seas, my country thinking fit to send me in a colony, I will willingly acquiesce and enjoy that land which is allotted me. I will firmly adhere to the present constitution of affairs; and whatsoever enactions the people shall please to pass, I will see nobody violate or pervert them, but I will either singly by myself, or by joining with others, endeavour to revenge them. I will conform to my country's religion. I swear by these following deities, viz. the Agrauli, Enyalius, Mars, Jupiter, the Earth, and Diana.

If occasion require, I will lay down my life for my native country.

My endeavours to extend the dominions of Athens shall never cease while there are wheat, barley, vineyards, and olive-trees without its limits [j].

Parents shall have full right to disinherit their children [k]. See book iv. chap. 15.

No one shall sell his daughter, or sister, unless he can prove her a whore [l]. One of Solon's laws. See book i. chap. 10.

The first institution of youth is to be in swimming, and the rudiments of literature: as for those whose abilities in the world are but mean, let them learn husbandry, manufactures, and trades;

[g] Isæus de hæred. Philoctemonis, Harpocration.

[h] Demosth. Orat. in Bœotum de nomine.

[i] Isæus de hæred. Apollodori.

[j] Stobæus, Pollux, Plutarchus Alcibiade, Ulpianus in Demosthenis Orat. de falsa legat.

[k] Demosth. Orat. in Bœotum.

[l] Plutarchus Solone.

but they who can afford a genteel education, shall learn to play on musical instruments, to ride, shall study philosophy, learn to hunt, and be instructed in the gymnical exercises. One of Solon's laws.

Let him be (ἄτιμος) *infamous*, who beats his parents, or does not provide for them[m]. One of Solon's laws. See book iv. chap. 15.

If any man, being found guilty of abusing his parents, frequent prohibited places, the eleven shall fetter him, and bring him to trial at the Heliæan court, where any one, who is empowered thereto, may accuse him. If he is here cast, the Heliæan judges shall inflict upon him what punishment they please; and, if they fine him, let him be clapt up in jail till he pays the whole[n]. Another of Solon's laws. See as before.

No bastards, or such as have been brought up to no employ, shall be obliged to keep their parents[o]. Another of Solon's laws. See as before.

If any one's estate, after his decease, shall be called in question, the enjoyer of it is obliged to prove the lawfulness of his parents getting it, according to that golden precept, *honour your parents*[p].

He that is undutiful to his parents shall be incapable of bearing any office; and farther, be impeached before the magistrate[q]. See book iv. chap. 15.

If, through the infirmity of old age, or torture of a disease, any father be found crazed and distempered in his mind, a son may forthwith have an action against him, wherein, if he be cast, he may keep him in bonds.

Laws belonging to Sojourners.

Every sojourner is to choose his patron out of the citizens, who is to pay his tribute to the collectors, and take care of all his other concerns. See book i. chap. 10; as also in the following laws.

Let there be an action against them who do not choose a patron, or pay tribute.

In this action no foreigner shall appear as a witness.

Let them be cast into prison before sentence is passed, without any grant of bailment, on whom the action of ξενίας is laid; but if condemned, they shall be sold. Whoever is acquitted of this imputation may accuse his adversary of bribery[r]. See book i. chap. 11.

[m] Diogenes Laertius, Æschines in Timarchum.

[n] Demosth. Orat. in Timocratem.

[o] Plutarchus Solone.

[p] Demosth. in Callippum.

[q] Xenophon. Απομνημ. lib. i.

[r] Hyperides in Aristagoram.

Laws relating to Slaves and freed Servants.

HE that beats another man's servant, may have an action of battery brought against him[s]. See book i. chap. 10. and in several of the following laws.

No one may sell a captive for a slave, without the consent of his former master. If any captive hath been sold, he shall be rescued, and let his rescuer put in sureties for his appearance before the polemarchus[t].

If any slave's freedom hath been unjustly asserted by another, the assertor shall be liable to pay half the price of the slave[u].

Any slave unable to drudge under the imperiousness of his master, may compel him to let him quit his service for one more mild and gentle[v].

Slaves may buy themselves out of bondage[w].

No slaves are to have their liberty given them in the theatre; the crier that proclaims it shall be (ἄτιμος) *infamous*[x].

All emancipated slaves shall pay certain services, and due homage to the masters who gave them liberty, choosing them only for their patrons, and not be wanting in the performance of those duties to which they are obliged by law[y].

Patrons are permitted to bring an action of Ἀποστάσιον against such freed slaves as are remiss in the fore-mentioned duties, and reduce them to their pristine state of bondage, if the charge be proved against them; but if the accusation be groundless, they shall entirely possess their freedom[z].

Any who have a mind, whether citizens or strangers, may appear as evidence in the above-mentioned cause[a].

He that redeems a prisoner of war, may claim him as his own, unless the prisoner himself be able to pay his own ransom[b].

Maintenance is by no means to be given to a slave careless in his duty[c].

Laws concerning the Senate of Five Hundred, and the Popular Assembly.

No one is to be twice an epistata. See book i. chap. 18.

The oath of the senate I pass by, as before treated of, book i. chap. 18.

[s] Xenophon de Athen. Repub.
[t] Plutarchus Lycurgo rhetore, Æschines in Timarchum.
[u] Argument. Demosth. Orat. in Theocrinem.
[v] Plutarchus de Superstitione.
[w] Dion Chrysostomus, Orat. xv.
[x] Æschines in Ctesiphontem.
[y] Conf. Lexicographos, v. ἀπελεύθερος.
[z] Conf. eosdem, v. ἀποστάσιον.
[a] Harpocration ex Hyperide.
[b] Demosthenes in Nicostratum.
[c] Ulpianus in Medianam.
[d] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9.

The establishment of Phocus runs, that senators, with the rest of the Athenians shall keep the feast called Απατȣ́ρια, as is usual by the custom of the country, and that there shall be an adjournment of the senate, and vacation of lesser courts, for five days from the time in which the protenthae begin to celebrate the solemnity [e]. See book ii. chap. 20. in Απατȣ́ρια.

The crier shall pray for the good success of affairs, and encourage all men to lay out their endeavours on that design [f]. See book i. chap. 18.

The crier shall curse him openly, with his kindred and family, who shall appear in the court, and plead, or give his voice for lucre [g].

Let the most ancient of the Athenians, having decently composed their bodies, deliver their most prudent and wise thoughts to the people; and after them, let such of the rest as will, do the like, one by one, according to seniority [h]. One of Solon's laws. See book i. chap. 17. and in the two next laws.

In every assembly let there be one tribe elected to preside, and to look after the laws.

The prytanes are not to authorise the people to vote twice for the same thing [j].

The senate of five hundred may fine as far as five hundred drachms [k]. See book i. chap. 18. and in the two following laws.

Let the senate of five hundred build new ships [l].

Such as have not built any shall be refused the donation of crowns [m].

This senate shall give an account of their administration; and they who have executed their offices well shall be rewarded with crowns [n].

Laws which concern Magistrates.

NONE shall be magistrates but they who have competent estates [o]. One of Solon's laws. See book i. chap. 11. and in the following.

The election of magistrates shall be by beans [p].

It shall be punishable with death to pass two suffrages for the same candidate [q].

The archons shall be created by the people.

[e] Ex Athenæo.
[f] Dinarchus in Aristogitonem.
[g] Ibidem.
[h] Æschines in Ctesiphontem.
[i] Æschines in Timarchum.
[j] Niciæ Orat. apud. Thucyd. lib. vi.
[k] Demosth. in Euerg. et Mnesibul.
[l] Demosthenes et Ulpianus in Androtiana, itemque in ejusdem argumento Libanius.
[m] Ibidem.
[n] Æschines in Ctesiphontem, Demosthenes et Ulpianus Androtiana.
[o] Plutarchus Solone.
[p] Lucianus.
[q] Demosth. in Bœotum.

No one shall bear the same office twice, or enter on two several the same year [r].

All magistrates that are elected by suffrages, surveyors of public works, and they who have any authority in the city upward of thirty days, with those who preside over the courts of judicature, shall not enter on their respective offices till they have undergone the accustomed examination; and after the expiration of those offices, they shall give an account of the discharge of their trust before the scribe and logistæ, as other magistrates are obliged to do [s].

This shall be the manner: So much I receive from the public, so much I laid out, or in the reverse [t].

Such as have not made up their accounts, shall expend none of their money in divine uses, nor make wills; nor shall they have licence to travel, bear another office, or have the honour of a crown conferred on them [u].

It is death for any one indebted to the public exchequer to be invested with a public trust [v].

It is also death to usurp the government [w].

Let him be outlawed who shall continue in his magistracy after the dissolution of democratical government; whereupon it shall be lawful for any one to kill such a person, and make seizure of his goods [x].

A Psephism.

This decree was made by the senate and Athenian state, the tribe Æantis being prytanes, Cleogenes clerk, Boëthus chief president, and Demophantus its ingrosser; the date of this psephism is from the election of the senate of five hundred, and thus it runs. —If any one levels at the ruin of the commonwealth, or after its subversion bears any office let that man be censured as an enemy to the state, and dispatched out of the way; let all his goods, saving the tenth part to be confiscated to Minerva, be exposed to sale; he that kills him, with all his assistants, shall be blameless herein, and free from the guilt of his death. All Athenians likewise, in their several tribes, are obliged by oath to attempt the killing of that man, who shall in the least seem to affect the crimes here set down [y].

The Oath.

I will endeavour, with my own hands, to kill that man who shall dissolve the Athenian republic, or after its subversion shall

r Ulpian. in Timocrat.
s Æschines in Ctesiph.
t Ibid. u Ibid.
v Demosth. Leptinea.
w Plut. Solone.
x Andocides de Mysteriis. y Ibid.

bear any office; and he shall be reputed by me wholly free from guilt, in respect of the gods or dæmons, who will take away his life, or encourage another to do it: farther, in the distribution of his goods, I will pass my vote that the slayer shall have half; and he that in the attempt shall have the misfortune to lose his own life, shall, with his heirs, have due respect and honour from me, as Harmodius and Aristogiton, with their posterity[z].

All oaths that shall be taken in time of war, or any other juncture, if inconsistent with the Athenian constitution, shall be null and void.

No office imposed by the people shall be refused by oath before the senate[a].

Whoever casts scurrilous abuses on a magistrate while officiating, shall be fined[b].

The Examination, and interrogatory Disquisition of the Archons.

Whether they are citizens by a lawful lineage of progenitors for three generations, and from what family they assume their pedigree; whether they derive their progeny from Paternal Apollo, and Jupiter Herceus[c]. See book i. chap. 12. and in the following.

Quest. Hark you, friend, who is your father?

Answ. What, sir, do you mean my father? *N.* or *N.*

Quest. What kindred can you produce to make evidence?

Answ. Sufficient, sir; first of all, these cousins; then these persons who have right to the same burying-place with us; these here of the same phratria; and these related to Apollo Patrius, and Jupiter Herceus; lastly, these gentlemen of the same borough, who have reposed the trust and management of offices in me, and honoured me with their suffrages.

Quest. Do you hear, friend? Who is your mother?

Answ. What, mine, do you mean? *N.* or *N.*

Quest. What kindred have you to shew?

Answ. These first, these second cousins, and those of the same phratria and borough.

Then the case is to be put, Whether they have—honoured their parents?—fought for their country?—possession of an estate, and all their limbs sound?

The Archon's Oath.

I will be punctual in the observance of the laws, and for every default herein I will forfeit a statue of gold, of equal proportion

[z] Lycurg. in Leocrat.
[a] Æschines, de falsa legat.
[b] Lysias pro milite.
[c] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9.

with myself, to the Delphian Apollo [d]. See as before, and in the following.

An archon that shall be seen overcharged with wine shall suffer death [e].

If any one is contumeliously piquant, beats any thesmotheta, or blasts his reputation, a crowned archon's, or any other's whom the city privileges with an office, or confers any dignity upon, let him be (ἄτιμος) *infamous* [f].

The areopagite senate, when vacancies fall, shall yearly be recruited out of the archons [g]. See book i. chap. 19. and in the following.

The areopagites shall have inspection into the deportment and behaviour of the Athenians [h].

Let no areopagite make a comedy [i].

The senate of areopagus shall give an account of their management before the logistæ [j].

Let a Στρατηγὸς have children lawfully begotten, and enjoy an estate within the confines of Attica [k]. See book iii. chap. 5.

The Oath of the Στρατηγὸς.

I WILL twice a-year make an incursion into the Megarensian territories [l].

Let such of the Στρατηγοὶ be arraigned as shall endamage the fleet of their allies [m].

No one shall be created syndic or astynomus above once [n]. See book i. chap. 15.

The questors shall be chosen by suffrages of the people [o].

A quaestorship must not be kept above five years [p].

It is death to go on an embassy without commission from the senate or people [q]. See book i. chap. 15.

No one shall be secretary above once under the same magistrate [r]. See book i. chap. 15.

Laws respecting Orators.

No one under the age of thirty years shall speak an oration in the senate or popular assembly. See book i. chap. 15.

d Plut. Solone, Pollux, lib. viii. &c.
e Laertius Solone.
f Demosthenes in Midiam.
g Plutarchus Solone. h Ibidem.
i Plutarchus de gloria Atheniensium.
j Æschines in Ctesiphontem.
k Dinarchus in Demosthenes.
l Plutarchus in Pericle.
m Demosthenes, περὶ τῶν ἐν Χεῤῥονήσῳ.
n Demosth. in Leptinem, et proœm. 64.
o Ulpianus ad Androtianam.
p Plutarchus Lycurgo rhetore.
p Demosthenes de falsa legat.
r Lysias in Nicomachum.

An Inspection into the Orators' Lives.

Let no one be a public orator who hath struck his parents, denied them maintenance, or shut them out of doors; who hath refused going into the army in case of public necessity, or thrown away his shield; who hath committed whoredom, or given way to effeminacy; who hath run out his father's estate, or any inheritance left him by a friend: if, notwithstanding any of these crimes, any one shall dare to deliver a public oration, let those who are commissioned bring him to the test in open court[s].

Let an orator have children lawfully begotten, and let him be master of an estate within Attica's borders[t].

If an orator, either before the senate or people, hath not pertinently and distinctly handled the thing propounded, or hath descanted twice on the same subject; hath been piquantly censorious, and hath abusively animadverted upon any one's behaviour; hath spoken of other things beside those propounded by the proedri, or hath encouraged any one so to do; or if he hath abused the epistata after the rising of the assembly or senate; such an one's insolence shall be punished by the proedri with a mulct of fifty drachms; the πράκτορες shall have intelligence of his misdemeanours; and if his penalty shall seem too light for his crimes, besides his fine, let him be hauled to the next convention of the senate or assembly, where, if condemned by private votes, the proedri shall exact a fine from him, to be paid to the πράκτορες for his παρανομία, or breach of the laws[u].

Laws treating of Duties and Offices.

The archons shall appoint in the assembly, by lots, a certain number of flute-players, to be at the χόροι, or public dancings[v].

No stranger shall join in a dance with a chorus; if he do, the choragus shall be fined a thousand drachms[w].

Let it be lawful to inform against a stranger to the archon, before his entrance into the theatre to dance[x].

A stranger, if indicted by a Χορηγὸς, for dancing before the archon, shall be fined fifty drachms; and a thousand, if he persist after prohibition[y].

Those dancers, who are (ἄτιμοι) *infamous*, are to be drove off the stage[z].

[s] Conf. Æschines in Timarchum.
[t] Dinarchus in Demosthenem.
[u] Æschines in Timarchum.
[v] Demosthenes in Midiam.
[w] Ibidem, ibique Ulpianus.
[x] Ibidem. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid.

Sixteen men are to be chosen out of all the public companies, to contribute equally towards the building a man of war, which service they are to engage in from twenty-five years of age to forty[a].

The qualification for a trierarch is, that he be worth ten talents, according to which estimation he is to be chosen: but if his estate is rated more, let him build ships equivalent; yet at most but three, with a skiff: they who are not worth so much shall be joined together, so many of them, till their estates make up the sum[b].

The trierarchs, and overseers of the navy, shall be commissioned to register their names, who, being of the same Συμμαρία, are indebted to the commonwealth for ship-rigging, for which they shall sue them[c]. See book i. chap. 15. and in the following.

He that owes rigging, shall either give it, or give security[d].

All trierarchs elect shall betake themselves to the ships they are constituted over[e].

All trierarchs are to render an account of their administration[f].

There shall be an yearly appointment for the exchange of offices, where he that shall be designed a λειτεργὸς, shall be exempted from servings if he can produce any vacant person richer than himself; and if the person produced, confess he is more wealthy than the other, he shall be put into the other's place among the three hundred; but if he denies it, let them change estates[g]. See as before, and in the following.

His house shall be sealed up who shall offer himself in the exchange.

They who do quit their own estates for those of their neighbours, shall be obliged by oath to discover them in this form.

I will fairly and honestly make known the estimate of all my possessions, except such as consist in those silver mines, which the laws exact no duties from.

Three days shall be allowed for those who are to make exchange for their estates, to produce them.

No one shall be compelled to exhibit his estate which lies in mines.

Laws about the Refusal of Offices.

No man shall be obliged to two offices at the same time[h].

[a] Demosthenes de Corona. [b] Ibid.
[c] Ibidem in Exergum et Mnesibulum.
[d] Ibidem. [e] Idem pro Polycle.
[f] Æschines in Ctesiphontem.
[g] Demosth. in Leptin. et in Phæn. et in sequentibus.
[h] Demosth. pro Polycle.

No man except the archons, shall be excused from the trierarchship[i]. See book i. chap. 14.

No one shall be exempted from contributing to the assessment for the levying of soldiers[j].

Laws concerning Honours to be conferred on those who have deserved well of the Commonwealth.

No person shall be entertained in the Prytaneum oftener than once[k]. See book i. chap. 25.

He who shall be invited and refuse to come, shall be fined[l].

They who are entertained in the Prytaneum, shall have maza, and on festivals, bread[m]. See as before, and in the following laws.

All crowns, if presented by the people, shall be given in the popular assembly; if by the senators, in the senate, and in no other place shall they present[n].

None except the whole body of the senate, and popular assembly, with particular tribes, or boroughs, shall be privileged to confer crowns.

No tribe or borough may presume on the authority of bestowing crowns in the theatre upon any of their own members: if they do, the crier that proclaims them shall be (ἄτιμος) *infamous.*

No citizen shall have a (ξενικὸς ϛέφανος) hospital crown given him in the theatre without the people's consent; when given, it shall be consecrated to Minerva.

Every one who is honoured with an hospital crown, shall bring certificates of a regular and sober life.

No one of the wealthy citizens, except he be of the kindred of Harmodius and Aristogiton, or an archon, shall claim immunity from serving in public offices: from this time hereafter the people shall gratify no one with such an exemption; but he who supplicates for it, shall be (ἄτιμος), *infamous* together with all his house and family, and shall be liable to the action of Γραφὴ and Ενδειξις; by which, if convicted, he shall suffer the same fate with those, who, though indebted to the public, officiate as judges[o]. This Law was enacted by Leptines in the first year of the 106th olympiad, and abrogated in the year following, at the instance of Demosthenes.

Honours conferred by the people shall stand good; but with

i Demosth. in Leptin.

j Ibidem, ibique Ulpianus.

k Plutarchus Solone.

l Ibid.

m Athen. lib. iv.

n Conf. Æschines in Ctesiphont. et in sequent.

o Demosth. in Leptin.

this proviso that if the persons so dignified prove, after examination, to be unworthy of them, they shall be void [p].

Laws relating to Gymnasia.

No school shall be opened before sun-rising, or kept open after sun-set.

None except the school-master's sons, and nephews, and daughter's husbands, shall be permitted entrance into school, if beyond the customary age for sending youth thither, whilst the lads are in it; to the breach of this law the penalty of death is annexed.

No schoolmaster shall give any adult person leave to go to Mercury's festival: if he transgress herein, and do not thrust him out of the school, the master shall suffer according to the law enacted against the corrupters of free-born children.

Let all choragi, elected by the people, be above forty years of age [q]. All these laws were designed as a guard to the boys' chastity. See book ii. chap. 20. in Ερμαια.

No slave shall presume to anoint, or perform exercises in the Palæstra [r]. See book i. chap. 10.

Laws relating to Physicians and Philosophers.

No slave, or woman, shall study or practice physic [s]. See concerning this and the next law, book iv. chap. 14.

All free-born women have liberty to learn and practise physic.

Let no one teach philosophy [t]. This law was made when the thirty tyrants had the dominion of Athens, and abrogated upon their expulsion.

No one is to keep a philosophy school, unless by the senate and people's approbation: he that doth otherwise shall be put to death [u]. This was enacted by Sophocles the son of Amphiclides the Sunian, about the third year of the 118th olympiad, but in a short time abrogated, and a fine of five talents was imposed upon Sophocles, at the instance of Philo.

Laws concerning Judges.

After a magistrate's determination, appeal may be made to the courts of justice [v]. One of Solon's laws. See book i. chap. 20.

They who are degraded from the senate may sit as judges in the courts. Another of Solon's laws. See as before.

p Demosth. et istius Orat. Argumentum.
q Æschines in Timarchum.
r Ibidem.
s Hyginus Fab. 274.
t Xenophon. Απομνημ. lib. i.
u Diogenes Laertius Theophrasto.
v Plutarchus Solone.

All the Athenians shall be capable of being appointed by lots to judge in the several courts of justice [w]. Another of Solon's laws. See as before.

The protestation of the heliastæ I omit, as before treated of, book i. chap. 21.

Of Laws relating to Law-suits.

Let the bailiff, or person that arrests, be registered [x]. See book i. chap. 21.

Whoever doth not apppear on the day appointed for the trial of his cause, shall suffer for his remissness by an action called Δίκη ἐρήμη, and be fined a thousand drachms; but if a just excuse be brought for his staying away, his punishment shall be redressed by another action called Μὴ οὖσα, or the annulling of the former [y]. See book i. chap. 21.

Laws respecting Preparatories to Judgments.

The archons shall propose questions to both parties, to which they shall answer [z]. See as before, and in the following laws.

The plaintiff shall promise upon oath, that he will prosecute the action, if he has his evidences and all things in order; but if not, he shall demand time for providing and preparing them [a].

The archons shall summon the contesting parties to make their appearance, and introduce them into the court [b].

Let the judges be elected by lots [c].

No judge shall give sentence the same day in two different courts [d].

A Form of the Oath taken by Judges after Election.

I will shew equity in all causes, and my judgment shall be agreeable to those laws, in those things which are determined by them; in the rest, my sentence shall, as near as may be, agree with justice [e].

Laws refering to Judgment.

Every judge shall put down the heads of those suits he is to determine in his table book [f]. See as before, and in the following laws.

His cause shall be overthrown who runs away for fear [g].

[w] Demosthenis Orat. i. in Aristogit. Aristophanis Scholiastes in Plutum.
[x] Demosthenes in Midiam.
[y] Ibidem.
[z] Isæus de hæred. Philoctemonis.
[a] Demosthenes in Midiam.
[b] Demosthenes in Olympiodorum.
[c] Idem, Orat. i. in Aristogit.
[d] Demosth. et Ulpianus in Timocrat.
[e] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 10.
[f] Hesychius, v. Διὰ παντὸς κριτής.
[g] Demosthenes in Olympiodorum.

Criminals have liberty of making their own defence [h].

No slave shall plead in any cause [i].

The crier shall pronounce verdict against the party into whose urn the greater number of pebbles bored with holes are cast; and on his side to whom the whole ones belong [j].

When on both sides there shall be an equal share of votes the prisoner shall be acquitted [k].

Let there be a number of urns, or vote-boxes equal to the number of those who hold the contest [l].

The judges shall propose such and such penalties, the defendant also shall offer to their consideration such a punishment as himself shall think reasonable; after which, the whole matter shall be committed to the judges' determination [m].

The court shall not sit after sun-set [n].

If any one hath bribed the heliæan court, or any other court of judicature among the Athenians, or hath called a senate, or entered into conspiracy in order to overturn the popular government; if any lawyer hath been greased in the fist to carry on any public or private cause, he shall be liable to be indicted before the thesmothetæ by the action called Γραφή [o].

All private bargains that are struck up between parties before witnesses shall stand good in law [p].

Do not make any covenant or bargain contrary to the laws [q].

There shall be no after-wranglings raised concerning those things which have been once agreed [r].

Any man shall be permitted to non-suit his adversary if the action laid against him be not entered [s].

They who receive damages may prosecute within five years [t].

There may be actions entered about contracts made out of Attica, or wares exported out of it to any other place [u].

Laws concerning Arbitrators.

PEOPLE that have any law-suit about private matters may choose any arbitrator, but so as to stand to his definitive sentence whatsoever it is [v].

h Plato Socratis Apologia.
i Terentius Phorm. act. i. scen. 2.
j Æschines in Timarchum.
k Euripidis Electra, v. 1265.
l Demosthenes in Macart.
m Ulpianus in Timocrat. Cicero, lib. i. de Oratore.
n Stobæus, Ser. i.
o Demosthenes, Orat. i. in Steph. de fals. test.
p Idem in Phænip.
q Aristoteles Rhet. lib. i. cap. 25.
r Demosthenes, in Pantænetum.
s Demosthenes, Orat. i. in Steph. de fals. test.
t Idem pro Phormione.
u Ibidem.
v Demosth. Midiana.

Such arbitrators are to swear before verdict is given [w].

The arbitrators are to wait for the plaintiff's appearance till sunset; and then, in case he does not appear, shall inflict such a penalty as shall be convenient [x].

It is lawful to make appeal from arbitrators chosen by lots to other courts of justice [y]. See book i. chap. 22.

A Law about Oaths.

Oaths shall be attested by three gods, Ικέσιος, or *the supplicant's president*, Καθάρσιος, *the purifier*, Εξακεστήριος, *the dispeller of danger or evil* [z]. See book ii. chap. 6.

Laws treating of Witnesses.

Their evidence shall not be taken, who are ἄτιμοι [a].

No slaves shall appear as evidences [b]. See book i. chap. 10.

No one shall be evidence for himself, either in judicial actions, or in rendering up accounts [c]. See book i. chap. 21. and in some of the following laws.

Both plaintiff and defendant are obliged to answer each other's questions, but their answers shall not pass for evidence [d].

There shall be no constraint for friends and acqnaintance, if contrary to their wills, to bear witness one against another [d].

Let the penalty of the action called ψευδομαρτυρία be in force against those who bear, or suborn, false witness [d].

Evidence shall be declared in writing [d].

Witnesses being once sworn, shall by no means draw back from what they are to attest. See as before, and in the following.

Eye witnesses shall write down what they know, and read it [e].

His evidence shall suffice, that can give his ἀκοή, or what he heard from a person deceased; or ἐκμαρτυρία, *i. e.* an attestation received from one going to travel, supposing the traveller hath no possibility of returning [f].

That witness who declines his evidence shall be fined a drachm [g].

One cited for a witness, shall either give in his evidence, swear he knows nothing of it, or incur a mulct of a thousand drachms, to be paid to the public exchequer [h].

[w] Demosthenes in Callippum.
[x] Ulpian. in Medianam.
[y] Lucianus Abdicato.
[z] Pollux, lib. viii, cap. 12. Hesych. V. Τρεῖς θεοί.
[a] Demosthen. in Neæram.
[b] Terent. Phorm. act. i. scen. 2.
[c] Demosth. in Steph. de fals. test. Orat. ii.
[d] Ibid. Orat. ii.
[e] Demosth. in Stephan. Orat. ii.
[f] Ibid.
[g] Idem in Timotheum.
[h] Ibidem, Suid. Harpocration.

Let contesting parties, if they will, make use of the διαμαρτυρία [i]. See as before.

False witnesses shall be prosecuted with the action called Δίκη ψευδομαρτυριῶν; he that suborned them with Δίκη κακοτεχνιῶν [j]. See book i. chap. 24.

Laws touching Judgments already past.

THERE shall be no renewing of any thing dispatched by judges, either in public or private matters, or by the people, according to the enactions of their decrees: there shall be likewise no suffraging and impeaching any one contrary to the prescription of the laws [k].

All judgments or verdicts whatsoever, delivered by the judges in the popular state, shall stand good; but all acts and decrees that are made under the thirty tyrants shall be void [l].

Laws relating to Punishments.

THE judges are not to proceed so strictly, as that corporal and pecuniary punishments shall be inflicted at one and the same time [m]. They who run into errors unwittingly, shall not be arraigned in the public court, but some adhortatory lessons of their duty are to be privately inculcated [n].

The most sufficient and wealthiest of the Athenians shall be exiled by ostracism for ten years, lest they should rise up and rebel [o]. See book i. chap. 25.

No one is to harbour an exile: he that doth, is to participate the same fate with him [p].

Let both delinquent and abettor receive punishments alike [q].

He that professeth himself guilty before arraignment, shall be condemned [r].

Criminals who have been fined, shall be obliged to pay from the very day the fine was due, whether they are registered in the debt-book, or not: and he that doth not make payment within the ninth prytany, shall be obliged to pay double [s].

No one indebted to the city shall enter on any office [t].

That man, who, being indebted to the city, hath been convicted of making an oration to the people, shall be one of the eleven [u].

Debtors to the city, till they have cleared off all, shall be (ἄτιμοι)

i Demosth. in Leocharem.
j Idem. in Euerg. et Mnesibulum.
k Idem. in Timocratem.
l Ibid. m Idem.
n Plato, Apologia Socratis.
o Plutarchus Pericle.
p Demosth. in Polyclem.
q Andocides de Mysteriis.
r Demosth. in Timocratem.
s Liban. Argumento Orat. in Aristogit. et in Androt.
t Idem. Argum. Androtianæ.
u Dinarch. in Aristogit.

infamous; but if they die, not having fully discharged their debts, their heirs shall be infamous, till they make satisfaction [w].

After payment is made, the debtor's name shall be erazed out of the debt-book [x].

Three parts of the debtor's goods, which are forfeited to the exchequer, shall fall to any private person that informs against him [y].

Let those who are debtors to the public, and have not their names enrolled, be sued by the action called Ενδειξις [z].

They who have been unjustly registered as debtors shall be struck out, and their names who registered them be put in their place [a].

If any debtor shall be blotted out of the albe, or register, before he hath discharged his debt, let the action called Αγάφιον be brought against him in the court of the thesmothetæ [b]. See book i. chap. 23.

Whosoever hath been branded with infamy before Solon's archonship, shall be privileged, except those whom the areopagites, ephetae, or prytanes have banished, by the appeal of the Βασιλεὺς, for murder, burglary, or treason, when this law was promulged [c]. One of Solon's laws.

No intercession shall be made for any disfranchised person, nor for any one indebted to the public exchequer, or the gods, towards the investing the former with his privileges, and erasing the latter's name out of the debt-book, unless the Athenian people, by six thousand private votes, permit it. If any one puts up an address to the senate or people, for them whom the judges, senate, or people have already cast, or the debtor supplicate for himself before payment be made, let the writ called Ενδειξις be issued out against him, after the same manner as against those, who, though indebted, presume to act as judges; if any other body, before restitution of the debt be made, intercede for the debtor, let all his goods be exposed to sale; and if a proedrus give a debtor, or any other person on his account, leave to propose the petition to be voted before accounts be made up, he shall be ἄτιμος [d].

Laws referring to receivers of public Revenues, the Exchequer, and Money for Shows.

The senate of five hundred shall put such as farm the public revenues, and are negligent to pay their rent, in the stocks [e].

[w] Liban. Argumento Orat. in Aristogit. Ulpian. in Timocrate.
[x] Demosth. in Theocrinem.
[y] Idem in Nicostatum.
[z] Idem in Theocrinem.
[a] Demosth. Orat. i. in Aristogit.
[b] Idem in Theocrinem.
[c] Plutarchus Solone.
[d] Demosthenes Timocratea.
[e] Andocides de Mysteriis.

If the above-mentioned officers do not bring in their rents before the ninth prytany, they shall pay double [f].

If they do not give security to the public, let their goods be confiscated [g].

They who are entrusted with money for the carrying on of religious affairs, shall render it up in the senate ; which if they neglect, they shall be proceeded against in the same manner as they who farm the public revenues [h].

They who employ the public stock a whole year for their own use, shall be obliged to restore double ; and they who continue thus squandering another year, shall be clapped into jail until payment be made [i].

A thousand talents are yearly to be laid by for the defending of Attica against foreign invasions ; which money if any person propose to lay out on any other design, he shall suffer death [k].

At the eruption of a sudden war, soldiers shall be paid out of the remainder of the money designed for civil uses [l].

If any one proposes that the soldiers pay should be taken out of the money designed for the exhibitiion of shows, he shall be put to death [m]. This law was enacted by Eubulus, to ingratiate himself with the commonalty. See book i. chap. 14.

Laws about Limits and Land-marks.

If there be a public well within the space of an hippicum, any one may make use of that ; but otherwise, every person shall dig one of his own [n]. One of Solon's laws, to prevent contentions about water, which was very scarce in Attica.

If any one digs a well near another man's ground, he must leave the space of an Ὀργυιὰ betwixt it and his neighbour's inclosure [o]. Another of Solon's laws.

He that digs a well ten Ὀργυιαὶ deep, and finds no spring, may draw twice a day, out of his neighbour's, six vessels of water called Χόες [p]. Another of Solon's laws.

Let him who digs a ditch, or makes a trench nigh another's land, leave so much distance from his neighbour, as the ditch or trench is deep [q]. Another of Solon's laws.

If any one makes a hedge near his neighbour's ground, let him

f Demosthenes in Timocratem.
g Demosthenes Nicostrat.
h Idem in Timocratem.
i Anonymus argumento Timocrateæ.
k Andocides de pace Laced.
l Demosthenes in Neæram.
m Ulpianus in Olynthiac. i.
n Plutarch. Solone.
o Gajus, lib. iv. ad leg. xii. Tab.
p Plutarchus Solone.
q Plut. et Gajus, locis cit.

not pass his neighbour's land-mark; if he builds a wall, he is to leave one foot betwixt him and his neighbour; if an house, two[r]. This was also enacted by Solon.

He that builds a house in a field, shall place it a bow-shot from his neighbour's[s]. This was also enacted by Solon.

He who keeps a hive of bees, must place them three hundred feet from his neighbour's[t]. Another of Solon's laws.

Olive and fig-trees must be planted nine feet from another's ground, but other trees, five[u]. This was likewise one of Solon's laws. The trees here mentioned are said to spread their roots wider than others.

If any one plucks up the sacred olive-trees at Athens, besides the two yearly allowed to be used at the public festivals or funerals, he shall pay an hundred drachms for every one unlawfully pulled up, the tenth part of which fine shall be due to Minerva. The same offender shall also pay an hundred to any private person who shall prosecute him: the action shall be brought before the archons, where the prosecutor shall deposit Πρυτανεῖα. The fine laid on the convicted criminal, the archons, before whom the action is brought, shall give an account of to the Πράκτορες, and of that part which is to be deposited in Minerva's treasury, to her questors; which if they do not, themselves shall be liable to pay it[w].

Laws respecting Lands, Herds, and Flocks.

Men shall not be permitted to purchase as much land as they desire[x]. One of Solon's laws, designed to prevent men from growing too great and powerful.

All wild extravagants, and spendthrifts, who lavishly run out the estates left them by their fathers, or others, shall be ἄτιμοι. Another of Solon's laws[y].

Any one who brings an he-wolf, shall have five drachms, and for a she-wolf one[z]. One of Solon's laws, in whose time Attica was infested with wolves.

No one shall kill an ox which labours at the plough. An old law[a]. See book ii. chap. 4.

No man shall kill a lamb of a year old. No man shall kill an ox. These laws were enacted when those animals were scarce in Attica[b].

[r] Gajus, loc. cit.
[s] Eclog. βασιλικῶν.
[t] Plut. Solone.
[u] Plut. et Gajus. locis cit.
[w] Demosth. in Macart.
[x] Aristoteles Polit. lib. ii cap. 8.
[y] Diog. Laert. Æschines in Timarch.
[z] Plutarchus Solone.
[a] Ælianus Var. Hist. lib. v. cap. 14.
[b] Athenæus, lib. i. et ix. Eustathius in Iliad. α.

Hurt no living creatures. One of Triptolemus's laws [c].

Laws relating to Buying and Selling.

If any person sues for the title of land, he shall prosecute the possessors with the action called Δίκη καρπȣ̃; if of an house, with a Δίκη ἐνοικίȣ [d]. See book i. chap. 24.

There shall be no cheating among the market-folks [e].

That fishmonger shall incur imprisonment, who shall over-rate his fish, and take less than he first proffered them for [f].

Fishmongers shall not lay their stinking fish in water, thereby to make it more vendible [g].

Laws appertaining to Usury and Money.

A banker shall demand no more interest-money than what he agreed for at first [h].

Let usurer's interest-money be moderate [i].

Nobody, who had put in surety for any thing, may sue for it, he or his heirs [k].

Pledges and sureties shall stand but for one year [l].

No one to clear his debt shall make himself a slave [m]. One of Solon's laws.

He who does not pay what has been adjudged in due time, shall have his house rifled [n].

The fine ensuing the action called Εξȣ́λη, shall go to the public [o].

A hundred drachms shall go to a μνᾶ [p]. One of Solon's laws, who regulated the Athenian weights and measures.

All counterfeiters, debasers, and diminishers of the current coin, shall lose their lives [q]. This law obtained in most cities.

Let no Athenian, or sojourner, lend money to be exported, unless for corn, or some such commodity allowable by law.

He who sends out money for other uses, shall be brought before the masters of the custom-house, and prosecuted by an action called Φάσις, after the manner of them who are caught transporting corn unlawfully: let such an one have no writ or warrant permitted him against the person to whom he lent money, neither shall the archons let him enter any trial in the judicial courts [r].

[c] Porphyrius περὶ ἀποχ. Hieronymus in Jovin. lib. ii.
[d] Lysias in Demosth. Curet.
[e] Demosth. Leptinea.
[f] Alexis Comicus Lebete.
[g] Zenarchus πορφύρα.
[h] Lysias, Orat. i. in Theomnestum.
[i] Ulpianus in Timocrateam extrem.
[k] Demosth. in Spudiam.
[l] Demosth. in Aparturium.
[m] Plutarchus Solone.
[n] Ulpianus in Medianam.
[o] Demosth. Mediana.
[p] Plutarchus Solone.
[q] Demosth. Leptinea et Timocrates.
[r] Demosth. in Lacritum.

Laws about Wares to be imported to, or exported from Athens.

All olives are exportable, but other fruits are not; so that the archon shall openly curse the persons that exported them, or else be amerced an hundred drachms. This law was enacted by Solon, by reason of the barrenness of Attica [s]. The conquerors in the games on the Panathenaean festival were excepted [t].

Figs are restrained by law from exportation [u]. See book i. chap. 21.

If any Athenian factor or merchant, convey corn any where else than to Athens, the action called Φάσις is to be brought against him, and the informer shall claim half the corn [v].

He who impleads a merchant on slight grounds, shall have both the actions of Ἐνδειξις and Ἀπαγωγὴ brought against him [w].

He shall be fined a thousand drachms, and wholly debarred from issuing out the action of Γραφὴ, Φάσις, Ἀπαγωγὴ, and Ἐφήγησις, who shall desist from the prosecution of any merchant accused by him, or doth not acquire the fifth part of the suffrages [x].

Let no inhabitant of Athens buy more corn than fifty phormi will contain [y].

No one shall export wood, or pitch [z]. These were necessary towards the building of ships.

All controversies and compacts made by bonds between mariners, either sailing for Athens, or bound elsewhere, shall be brought under the cognizance of the thesmothetae: if any mariners, in any of the marts bound to Athens, or for any other place, are found guilty of injustice, they shall be clapped into custody till the fine which shall be imposed on them is paid; any of them may nonsuit his adversary, if he be illegally prosecuted [a].

No watermen and masters of ships shall carry passengers any-where else than they agreed at first.

Laws respecting Arts.

Any one may acuse another of idleness [b]. This law is ascribed to Draco, Solon, and Pisistratus.

No man shall have two trades [c].

No man shall sell perfumes. One of Solon's laws [d].

s Plutarchus Solone.
t Pindari Scholiastes, Nem. Od. x.
u Aristophanis Scholiastes in Plutum.
v Demosth. Timocratea.
w Idem in Theocrinem.
x Ibidem.
y Lysias in frumenti emptores.
z Aristoph. Schol. in Equites.
a Argument. Orat. Demosth. in Xenothemin.
b Plutarchus.
c Demosth. et Ulpianus Timocratea.
d Athenæus lib. xiii. et xv.

Foreigners shall not be privileged to sell wares in the market, or profess any calling [e].

Any one may bring an action of slander against him who disparages or ridicules any man or woman for being of a trade [f]. See book i. chap. 8.

He who by his profession gets best repute, and is reckoned the most ingenious in his way, shall have his diet in the Prytaneum, and be honoured with the highest seat [g].

That ferryman shall be prohibited the exercise of his employ, who overturns his boat, through unwillingly, in wafting over to Salamis [h].

Laws concerning Societies, with their Agreements.

If fellow-burgesses, those of the same Φρατρία, those who are occupied in the same sacerdotal function, viz. the Οργεῶνες, Θιασῶται, or they who diet together, have equal claim to the same burying-place, travel together for the burying corn and other traffic, if any of these persons make any bargains not inconsistent with the laws, they shall stand good [i].

If any one recede from a promise made to the commons, senate, or judges, he shall be proceeded against with the action, called Εἰσαγγελία, and, if found guilty, be punished with death [j].

He that doth not stand to an engagement made publicly, shall be (ἄτιμος) *infamous* [k].

He, his heirs, and all who belong to him, shall be ἄτιμοι, who hath received bribes himself, tampered others with them, or used any other insinuating artifice to the prejudice of the state [l].

He who, being in a public office, receives bribes, shall either lose his life, or make retribution of the bribes tenfold [m].

Laws belonging to Marriages.

No man shall have above one wife [n]. One of Cecrops's laws. See book i. chap. 2. and book iv. chap. 11.

No Athenian is to marry any other than a citizen. See book iv. chap. 11. as before.

If an heiress is contracted lawfully in full marriage by a father, brother by father's side, or grandsire, it is lawful to procreate with her free-born children; but if she be not betrothed, these relations

[e] Demosthenes in Eubulidem.
[f] Ibidem.
[g] Aristophanes Ranis.
[h] Æschines in Ctesiph.
[i] Gajus, lib. iv. ad leg. xii. Tab.
[j] Demosthenes Leptinea.
[k] Dinarcus in Philoclem.
[l] Demosthenes Midiana.
[m] Dinarch. in Demosthenem.
[n] Athenæus, lib. xiii.

being dead, and she consequently an orphan, let her marry whom the law shall appoint; but supposing she is no heiress, and but low in the world, let her choose whom she pleases [o].

If any one marry a stranger, as his kinswoman, to an Athenian citizen, he shall be ἄτιμος, his goods published to sale, the third of which shall fall to the impeacher, who shall make him appear before the thesmothetæ, after the manner of those who are prosecuted with the action of Ξενία [p].

A stranger that settles with a citizen woman, may be sued by any one empowered thereto, in the court of the thesmothetæ, where, if the law goes against him, he shall be sold, and the third part of what he is sold for, and of his estate, be given to the accuser; in the same manner foreign women shall be dealt with who marry freed men, and beside that, the man shall forfeit a thousand drachms [q].

No Athenian woman shall marry herself into an exotic family [r].

Any one may make a sister by father's side his wife [s]. See book iv. chap. 11.

No heiress must marry out of her kindred, but shall resign up herself and fortune to her nearest relation [t].

Every month, except in that called Σκιῤῥοφοριών, the judges shall meet to inspect into those who are designed for heiress's husbands, and shall put them by as incapacitated who cannot give sufficient credentials of their alliance by blood [u]. See book iv. chap. 15.

If any one sues another by a claim to the heiress, he must deposit παρακαταβολὴ, or the tenth part of her portion; and he who enjoys her shall lay his case open to the archon; but in case he makes no appeal, his right of inheritance shall be cut off; if the heiress's husband, against whom the action is brought, be dead, the other within such a time as the nature of the thing doth require, shall make an appeal to the archon, whose business it is to take cognizance of the action [v].

If a father bury all his sons, he may entail his estate on his married daughters [w].

If an heiress cannot conceive children by her husband, she may seek aid amongst the nearest of her husband's relations [x]. One of Solon's laws. See book iv. chap. 11.

[o] Demosthenes in Stephanum Test.
[p] Idem in Neæram. [q] Ibidem.
[r] Idem. et Ulpianus Timocratea.
[s] Cornelius Nepos Cimone.
[t] Isæus de hæred. Aristarchi.
[u] Demosthenes in Stephanum Test.
[v] Idem in Macart.
[w] Isæus de hæred. Pyrrhi.
[x] Plutarchus Solone.

All men are obliged to lie with their wives, if heiresses, three nights at least in a month [y].

He that ravishes a virgin shall be obliged to marry her [z].

A guardian shall not marry the mother of those orphans with whose estate he is intrusted [a]. One of Solon's laws. See book i. chap. 10.

Slaves are allowed the familiarity of women [b].

When a new married woman is brought to her husband's house, she must carry with her a Φρύγετρον, in token of good housewifery [c]. One of Solon's laws. See book iv. chap. 11.

Let a bride, at the first bedding with her bridegroom, eat a quince [d]. Another of Solon's laws. See as before.

Laws touching Dowries.

A BRIDE shall not carry with her to her husband above three garments, and vessels of small value [e]. One of Solon's laws. See book iv. chap. 11. and in the following.

They who are the next in blood to an orphan virgin that hath no fortune, shall marry her themselves, or settle a portion on her according as they are in quality; if of the Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, five hundred drachms; if of the Ιππῆες, three hundred; if of the Ζυγίται, one hundred and fifty: but if she hath many kindred equally allied, all of them severally shall put in a contribution, till they make up the respective sum: if there be many orphan virgins, their nearest relation shall either give in marriage, or take one of them to wife; and if he doth neither, the archon shall compel him; but if the archon does connive at the neglect, he himself shall be fined a thousand drachms, to be consecrated to Juno. Whoever breaks this law may be indicted by any person before the archon [f].

That woman who brings her husband a fortune, and lives in the same house with her children, shall not claim interest money, but live upon the common stock with her children [g].

An heiress's son, when come to man's estate, shall enjoy his mother's fortune and keep her [h].

He that promises to settle a dowry on a woman, shall not be forced to stand to it, if she dies without heirs [i].

y Plutarchus Solone.
z Ibidem, Hermogenis Scholiastes.
a Laertius Solone.
b Plutarchus Amatorio.
c Pollux, lib. 1. cap. 12.
d Plutarchus Solone.
e Plutarchus Solone.
f Demosthenes in Macart.
g Idem in Phænippum.
h Idem in Steph. testem.
i Isæus de hæred. Pyrrhi.

Laws referring to Divorces.

He who divorceth his wife, must make restitution of her portion, or pay in lieu of it nine oboli every month; her guardian otherwise may prosecute him in the odeum, with the action called σιτȣ δίκη, for her maintenance [j].

If a woman forsake her husband, or he put away his wife, he who gave her in marriage shall exact the dowry given with her, and no more [k].

That woman who hath a mind to leave her husband, must give in a separation-bill to the archon with her own hand, and not by a proxy [l]. See book iv. chap. 12.

Laws belonging to Adulteries.

He that deflowers a free woman by force, shall be fined an hundred drachms [m]. One of Solon's laws.

He who in the same manner violates a young maiden's chastity, shall be fined a thousand drachms [n].

He that catches an adulterer in the fact, may impose any arbitrary punishment [o]. This law was enacted by Draco, and afterwards confirmed by Solon. See book iv. chap. 14.

If any one is injuriously clapped up on suspicion of adultery, he shall make his complaint by appeal to the thesmothetæ, which if they find justifiable, he shall be acquitted, and his sureties discharged from their bail; but in case he be brought in guilty, the judges shall lay on him, death only excepted, what punishments they will, and he be forced to get friends to pass their word for his future chastity [p].

If any one commit a rape on a woman, he shall be amerced twice as much as is usual otherwise [q].

No husband shall have to do with his wife any more after she hath defiled his bed, and her gallant convicted; and if he does not put her away, he shall be esteemed ἄτιμος; hereupon she is prohibited coming to public temples, where if she does but enter, any man may inflict any penalty, except death [r].

No adulteress shall be permitted to adorn herself; she that doth, shall have her garments cut or torn off her back by any that meets

j Demosthenes in Neæram.
k Isæus de hæred. Pyrrhi.
l Plutarchus Alcibiade.
m Plutarch. Solone.
n Hermogenis Scholiastes.
o Lysias de cæde Eratosthenis.
p Demosthenes in Neæram.
q Lysias de cæde Eratosthenis.
r Demosthenes in Neæram.

her, and likewise be beaten, though not so as to be killed or disabled [s]. One of Solon's laws.

No woman of innocent conversation shall appear abroad undressed: she that doth shall forfeit a thousand drachms [t]. This was enacted by Philippides.

Women are forbid to travel with above three gowns, or more meat and drink than they can purchase for an obolus; neither shall they carry with them above a hand-basket, or go out any where by night but in a chariot, with a lamp or torch carried before it [u]. One of Solon's laws.

Laws relating to the love of Boys, Procurers, and Strumpets.

No slave shall caress or be enamoured with a free-born youth; he who is, shall receive publicly fifty stripes [v]. See book i. chap. 10. This was one of Solon's laws.

If any one, whether father, brother, uncle, or guardian, or any other who hath jurisdiction over a boy, take hire for him to be effeminately embraced, the catamited boy shall have no action issued out against him, but the chapman and pander only, who are both to be punished after the same manner; the child, when grown to a maturity of age, shall not be obliged to keep his father so offending; only when dead, he shall bury him with decency suitable to a parent's obsequies [w]. See book i. chap. 9.

If any one prostitute a boy, or woman, he shall be prosecuted with the action called Γραφὴ, and if convicted, punished with death [x].

Any Athenian, empowered so to do, may bring an action against him who hath vitiated a boy, woman, or man free-born, or in service, for the determination of which the thesmothetæ are to create judges to sit in the Heliaea, within thirty days after the complaint hath been brought before them, or, suppose any public concern hinders, as soon as occasion will permit: if the offender is cast, he shall immediately undergo the punishment, whether corporal or pecuniary, annexed to his offence; if he be sentenced to die, let him be delivered to the Ἕνδεκα, and suffer death the same day; if the vitiated servant, or woman, belong to the prosecutor, and he let the action fall, or doth not get the fifth part of the suffrages, he shall be fined a thousand drachms; if the criminal be only fined, let him pay within eleven days at the farthest, after sentence is pass-

[s] Æschines in Timarchum.
[t] Harpocration.
[u] Plutarchus Solone.
[v] Plut. Solone, Æschines in Timarchum.
[w] Ibidem.
[x] Ibidem.

ed; if it be a free-born person he hath vitiated, let him be kept in bonds till payment thereof [y].

He that hath prostitused himself for a catamite, shall not be elected an archon, priest, or syndic; shall execute no office, either within or out of Attica's boundaries, conferred by lot, or suffrage; he shall not be sent on an embassy, pass verdict, set footing within the public temples, be crowned on solemn days, or enter the forum's purified precincts; if any one is convicted of the above-mentioned lasciviousness by offending against this law, he shall suffer death [z].

Persons who keep company with common strumpets shall not be accounted adulterers, for such shall be in common for the satiating of lust [a]. See book iv. chap. 11. and in the following laws.

Whores shall wear, as a badge of distinction, flowered garments [b].

Laws appointed for the drawing up of Wills, and right Constitution of Heirs and Successors.

THE right of inheritance shall remain in the fame family [c]. An old law which was abrogated by Solon. See book i. chap. 10.

Boys or women are not to dispose by will above a medium of barley [d].

All genuine citizens, whose estates were impaired by litigious suits when Solon entered the prætorship, shall have permission of leaving their etsates to whom they will, admit they have no male children alive, or themselves be not crazed through the infirmities of old age, the misery of a distemper, or the enchantments of witchcraft; or if they be not henpecked, or forced to it by some unavoidable necessity [e]. See book iv. chap. 15.

The wills of such as, having children, yet dispose of their estates, shall stand good, if the children die before they arrive to maturity [f].

Any one, though he hath daughters alive, may give his estate to another body, on this proviso, that the person enjoying it shall marry the daughters [g].

Adopted persons shall make no will, but as soon as they have children lawfully begotten, they may return into the family whence they were adopted; or if they continue in it to their death, then

[y] Plut. Solone, Demosthen. in Midian.
[z] Æschines in Timarchum.
[a] Demosthenes in Neæram, Lysias in Theomnestum, Orat. i.
[b] Suidas, Artemidorus, lib. ii. cap. 13.
[c] Plutarchus Solone.
[d] Isæus de hæred. Aristarchi.
[e] Demosth. in Stephanum Testem, Orat. ii.
[f] Ibidem.
[g] Isæus de hæred. Pyrrhi.

they shall return back the estates to the relations of the person that adopted [h]. One of Solon's laws.

All legitimate sons shall have an equal portion of their father's inheritance [i]. See as before.

He that, after he hath adopted a son, begets legitimate children, shall share his estate among the legitimate and adopted [j].

The estate of him that dies intestate, and leaves daughters, shall come to those who marry them; but if there are no daughters, these shall enjoy it, viz. his brothers by the father's side, and their sons; if he hath neither brothers nor nephews, then males descended from them, though very far distant in kindred; but if none of the grand-children remain down to the second cousins by the man's side, the wife's relations shall put in for the inheritance; admit there are none living of either side, they who have the nearest pretence to kindred shall enjoy it; as for bastards, from Euclides's archonship, they shall pretend no right to kindred; if there is a lawfully begotten daughter and an illegitimate son, the daughter shall have preference in right to the inheritance, both in respect of divine and civil affairs [k].

No bastard shall have left him above five μνᾶι [l].

All the year round, except in the month Σκιῤῥοφοριῶν, legacies shall be examined by law, so that no one shall enjoy any till it has been assigned by due course of law [m].

He that issues a writ against one settled in an inheritance, shall bring him before the archon, and deposit Παρακαταβολὴ, as is usual in other actions; for unless he prosecutes the enjoyer, he shall have no title to the estate; and if the immediate successor, against whom the action is brought, be dead, the other, within such a time as the nature of the action doth require, shall make an appeal to the archon, whose business it is to take cognizance of this action, as also it was of the former action of the man in possession of the estate [n].

Five years being expired after the death of the immediate successor, the estate is to remain secure to the deceased person's heirs, without being liable to law-suits [o].

h Demosthenes in Leocharem.
i Isæus de hæred. Philoctemonis.
j Ibidem.
k Demosthenes in Macart.
l Suidas, v. ἐπίκληροι.
m Demosthenes in Stephanum Testem. Orat. ii.
n Idem in Macart.
o Isæus de hæred. Pyrrhi.

Laws appertaining to Guardianship.

No one can be another's guardian who is to enjoy the estate after his death [p]. One of Solon's laws.

Guardians shall let out their pupils houses [q]. See book i. chap. 24.

The archon shall be obliged to take care of orphans, heiresses, decayed families, women that remain in the houses of their deceased husbands, pretending to be with child; and to protect them from violence and abuses: if any one is injurious or contumelious, the archon shall fine him as far as the limits of his power extend; if the offender herein transgress beyond his commission of punishing, the archon, having first imposed on him as he thinks fit, shall compel him, at five days warning, to make appearance at the court of heliæa, where, if he be convicted, that court shall impose on him, arbitrarily, either a pecuniary or corporal penalty [r].

No pupil, after five years space, shall sue a guardian for the mismanagement of his trust [s].

Laws about Sepulchres and Funerals.

Let the dead be interred [t]. One of Cecrops' laws. See book iv. chap. 6. No tomb is to consist of more work than ten men can finish in three days; neither is it to be erected arch-wise, or adorned with statues [u]. One of Solon's laws. See book iv. chap. 6.

No grave is to have over it, or by it, more than pillars of three cubits high, a table, and *labellum* (or little vessel to contain victuals for the ghost's maintenance) [v]. This law was enacted by Demetrius the Phalerean.

He that defaceth a sepulchre, or lays one of a different family in that of another, breaks it, eraseth the inscription, or beats down the pillar, shall suffer condign punishment [w]. One of Solon's laws.

No one shall come near another's grave, unless at the celebration of obsequies [x]. One of Solon's laws.

The corpse shall be laid out at the relation's pleasure; the next day following, before day-light shall be the funeral procession; the men shall proceed first, the women after them. It is unlawful hereby for any woman, if under threescore, and no relation, to go where the mournful solemnity is kept, or after the burial is solemnized [y]. See book iv. chap. 4.

[p] Laertius Solone.
[q] Demosthenes, in Aphobum.
[r] Idem in Macart.
[s] Idem in Nausimachum.
[t] Cicero, lib. ii. de Legibus.
[u] Cicero, lib. ii. de Legibus.
[v] Ibidem.
[w] Ibidem.
[x] Plutarchus Solone.
[y] Demosth. in Macart.

Too great a concourse of people is prohibited at funerals [z].

Let not the corpse be buried with above three garments [a]. One of Solon's laws.

Let no women tear their faces, or make lamentations or dirges at funerals [b]. Another of Solon's laws. See book iv. chap. 5.

At every one's death there shall be paid to the priestess of Minerva, who is placed in the citadel, a chœnix of barley, the like of wheat, and an obolus [c]. This law was enacted by Hippias.

No ox shall be offered to atone for, or appease the ghost of the deceased [d]. One of Solon's laws. See book iv. chap. 8.

Children and heirs shall perform the accustomed rites of parentation [e].

Slaves, when dead, shall not be embalmed, or honoured with a funeral banquet [f]. See as before.

Let there be no panegyrics, unless at funerals publicly solemnized, and then not spoken by kindred, but one appointed by the public for that purpose [g]. See as before.

They who fall in the field are to have their obsequies celebrated at the public charge [h]. See book iii. chap. 11.

Let the father have the privilege of giving that son a funeral encomium who died valiantly in the fight [i].

He shall have an annual harangue spoken in his honour on the day he fell, who receives his death with undaunted prowess in the battle's front [j].

Let him who accidentally lights on an unburied carcase cast earth upon it, and let all bodies be buried westward [k]. See book iv. chap. 1. and 6.

Do not speak evil of the dead, no not though their children provoke you [l]. One of Solon's laws. See book iv. chap. 1.

Laws against Ruffians and Assassins.

The areopagite senate shall sit in judgment upon cases of wilful murder, of wounds given wilfully, setting houses on fire, or killing by poison [m]. See book i. chap. 19.

The assassin's council shall not make any preliminary apology,

[z] Cicero de Legibus.
[a] Plutarchus Solone.
[b] Idem et Cicero.
[c] Aristoteles Oecumen. lib. ii.
[d] Plutarchus Solone.
[e] Demosthenes in Timocratem, Isæus de hæred. Cleonymi.
[f] Cic. loco citato. [g] Ibidem.
[h] Thucydides, lib. ii.
[i] Polemo argument. τῶν ἐπιταφίων λόγων.
[j] Cicero de Oratore.
[k] Ælianus Var. Hist. lib. v. cap. 14.
[l] Plut. Solone.
[m] Demosth. in Aristocratem.

use any motives for the gaining of compassion, or speak any thing foreign to the cause[n]. See as before.

The thesmothetæ shall punish murderers with death[o].

The assassin shall suffer death in the murdered person's country; and being hauled away to the thesmothetæ, according to the appointment of the law, he shall be liable to no other violence or ill-usage, besides what his capital punishment includes. Nobody shall take money for his pardon: he that doth, shall pay double the money he received of the criminal; his name likewise by any body shall be carried in to the archons. But the heliastic court alone shall pass judgment upon him[p]. One of Solon's laws.

If any one kills, or assists in killing a murderer, that abstains from the forum, consecrated places, public sports, and the amphictyonic festivals, he shall undergo the severity of the law as much as if he had killed a citizen of Athens. The ephetæ are to take cognizance of this matter[q]. This relates to a murderer uncondemned.

One accused of murder shall have nothing to do with city privileges[r].

He that puts him in trouble, who was forced to make flight out of Attica for chance-medley, shall undergo the same penalty with him who doth the like to any citizen of Athens[s].

He who commits chance-medley, shall fly his country for a year, till satisfaction be made to the dead person's kindred; then he shall return, sacrifice, and be purified[t]. An ancient and celebrated law.

He shall not have an action of murder brought against him, who binds him over to his appearance before the magistrate, that returned from banishment before his limited time is completed[u]. One of Draco's laws.

If any one hath unadvisedly given his antagonist in the exercises his death, or killed by chance a man lying in ambuscade, or being in the brunt of an engagement in war, or one debauching his wife, mother, sister, daughter, miss, or the nurse of his legitimate children, let not such a one be banished[v]. See book iv. chap. 12.

It shall be lawful to kill that person who shall make an assault on the innocent[w].

[n] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 10.
[o] Demosthenes in Aristocratem.
[p] Ibidem. [q] Ibidem.
[r] Antipho de Choreuta.
[s] Demosth. in Aristocrat.
[t] Ibid. Eurip. Schol. aliique plures.
[u] Demosth. in Aristocrat.
[v] Ibid. [w] Ibid.

If any one, being banished for chance-medley, shall have an indictment of wilful murder laid to his charge, before he hath made up the difference with those who banished him, he shall make his defence before the court ἐν Φρεαττοῖ, in a little vessel, which shall not be permitted to come to shore, but his judges shall give sentence on the land. If he is cast, he shall answer justice for wilful murder; but if absolved, shall only undergo the former sentence of banishment for chance-medley [x]. See book i. Chap. 20.

If any archon, or man in private capacity, is instrumental in the depravation or repeal of these statutes, let him and his children be ἄτιμοι, and his goods be sold [y].

It shall be lawful to haul a murderer, if found in any religious place, or the forum, to jail, and if he prove guilty, to put him to death; but if the committer of him to jail do not procure the fifth part of the votes, he shall be fined a thousand drachms [z].

If any one comes to an untimely end, his nearest relations may bring the action of Ανδροληψία against those people they suspect, either to be abettors of the murder, or protectors of the felon; and till such time as these either make satisfaction, or surrender the delinquent, the murdered man's relations are privileged to seize three men of their body [a].

The right of the prosecution of the murderers belongs to the kindred of the murdered kinsfolks' children, their sons-in-law, fathers-in-law, sisters' children, and those of the same Φρατρία; the murderers have liberty granted of imploring the father of the murdered to be mild and favourable; but if he is not alive, then his brother or sons altogether shall be entreated; for without the joint consent of them all, nothing shall prevail. If these fore-mentioned persons are all dead, and the death of the person came by chance-medley, according to the determination of the fifty ephetæ, ten of the same Φρατρία may, if they think fit, convene, and delegate one-and-fifty out of the nobility to the ephetæ. All they who were murderers, before the making of this law, shall be subject to its obligation. If any one hath been murdered in any of the boroughs, and nobody removes him, the demarchus shall give orders to his friends to take him away, bury him, and perform the duty of lustration towards the borough that very day on which he was killed. When a slave is murdered, he shall inform the master; when a freeman, the succeeding heirs; but if the person murdered was not a moneyed man, or had no possessions, the demarchus shall acquaint

[x] Demosth. in Aristocrat. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. [a] Ibid.

the relations; and supposing they give no heed, and neglect to take him away, the demarchus himself shall see him taken away and buried, and take care the borough be lustrated; but all this with as little charges as may be; which, if he neglect, he shall be fined a thousand drachms, to be paid to the public exchequer. He shall take of the murdered person's debtors double the money he expended for the funeral, which, if he neglect, he shall pay it himself to those of his borough [a].

He who is *felo de se*, shall have the hand cut off that did the murder, which shall be buried in a place separate from the body [b].

No murderer shall be permitted to be within the city [c].

Inanimate things, which have been instrumental to people's deaths, shall be cast out of Attica [d]. One of Draco's laws. See book i. chap. 20.

He who strikes the first blow in a quarrel, shall be liable to the action termed *αἰκίας δίκη* [e].

He who hath maliciously hurt another's body, head, face, hands, or feet, shall be proscribed the city of that man to whom he offered the detriment, and his goods be confiscated; if he return, he shall suffer death [f].

A Law relating to Accusations.

Any one is permitted to inform against another that hath done an injury to a third person [g]. One of Solon's laws.

Laws concerning Damages.

He who wilfully infers damage, shall refund twice as much: he who does it involuntarily, an equivalent [h].

His eyes shall be both plucked out, who hath blinded any one-eyed person [i]. One of Solon's laws.

That dog shall be tied up with a chain four cubits long, which hath bit any body [j]. Another of Solon's laws.

Laws belonging to Theft.

He who steals shall pay double the value of the thing he stole to the owner, and as much to the public exchequer.

If any body hath had any thing stolen from him, and has it restored, the thief, with the abettor, shall pay double the value; but in case the thief doth not make restitution tenfold, and be set

[a] Demosth. in Macart.
[b] Æschin. in Ctesiph.
[c] Suidas, v. Ιωρος.
[d] Æschin. in Ctesiph.
[e] Demosth. Aristocrat.
[f] Lysias pro Callia, in Cimonem.
[g] Plutarchus Solone.
[h] Demosthenes Mediana.
[i] Laert. Solone.
[j] Plutarchus Solone.

in the stocks five days and as many nights, if the heliasts so order it, this order shall then be made, when they consider what punishment to inflict upon him[k]. These two laws were enacted by Solon.

If any one hath filched away any thing by day, worth above fifty drachms, let the action called Απαγωγὴ be put in execution against him before the eleven; but if in the night, any one hath liberty to kill him, or, upon his making away, to wound him, and to issue the same action out against him; by which, if he be cast, he shall die, without any concession for sureties, to put in bail for the restitution of the stolen goods. He, farther, that shall pilfer out of the Lyceum, Academia, Cynosarges, or any of the gymnasia, any thing of the least value, as a garment, oil-vial, &c. or above ten drachms out of the baths, or ports, shall suffer death[l].

He that puts a man in prison for thievery, and cannot prove it upon him, shall be fined a thousand drachms[m].

All cut-purses, burglars, and kidnappers, if convicted, shall suffer death[n].

He who makes search for thieves in another's house, must have only a thin garment hanging loose about him[o].

He that takes away any thing which is not his own, shall be liable to die for it[p]. One of Draco's laws. See book i. chap. 26.

It is a capital crime to break into a man's orchard, and steal his figs[q]. This law was abrogated by the following.

They who steal figs shall be fined[r]. See book i. chap. 21.

They who steal dung shall be punished corporally[s].

Laws restraining Reproaches.

No one shall calumniate or defame any person while alive, in the temples, judicial courts, treasuries, or places where games are celebrated. The delinquent herein shall pay three drachms to the injured man, and two to the public treasury[t]. One of Solon's laws.

He shall be fined who slanders any man[u]. Another of Solon's laws.

He shall incur a mulct of five hundred drachms, who twits any one with committing some heinous offence against the laws[v].

k A. Gellius, lib. x. cap. 18. Demosthen. Timocrat.
l Demosthen. Ibid.
m Suidas.
n Xenophon Απομνημον. lib. i.
o Aristoph. ejus Scholiast. Nubibus.
p Plut. Solone. A. Gellius, lib. xi. cap. 18.
q Festus.
r Suidas.
s Aristoph. Scholiast. Equitibus.
t Plutarchus Solone.
u Lysias, Orat. i. in Theomnestum.
v Isocrates in Lochitem.

No one shall call another cut-throat, or murderer [w].

He that upbraids another for casting away his buckler shall be fined [x]. See book iii. chap. 13.

Laws about the Management of Affairs.

They who have been negligent in carrying on any business shall answer for that neglect [y].

No woman shall have any farther to do in affairs than a medimn of barley will satisfy for performance [z].

Laws referring to Entertainments.

No entertainment is to consist of above thirty guests [a].

All cooks hired to dress up dishes for entertainments, are to carry in their names to the Gynæconomi [b].

None but mixed wines shall be drank at banquets [c].

Let pure and unmixed wines be reserved till afterwards, for a relishing taste to the honour of the good genius [d]. See book iv. chap. 20.

The areopagites shall take cognizance of all drunkards [e].

A Law relating to accusations concerning Mines.

If any one hath prohibited another from working in the mines, or hath carried fire unto them, carried away another's utensils, or tools, or if he hath dug beyond his limits, such an one may be prosecuted with the action called Δίκη μεταλλικὴ [f].

A Law appertaining to the Action Εἰσαγγελία.

Timocrates hath enacted, that whatsoever Athenian is cast by the action Εἰσαγγελία, before the senate, and shall be secured by imprisonment before, or after the indictment, his name not being inserted according to law by the scribe of that prytany in the accusation note, and carried up to the thesmothetæ, the thesmothetæ, within thirty days after the receipt of the bill, unless some great emergency of state intervene, shall appoint the eleven to sit in judgment over it, before whom any Athenian may accuse him; if he be convicted, the heliæa shall inflict upon him punishment, either corporal or pecuniary; if the latter, he shall be clapt into jail till he pay it [g]. See book i. chap. 23.

w Lysias loco citato. x Ibidem.
y Demosth. in Aphobum.
z Dio Chrysost. Orat, περὶ ἀπιστίας.
a Lynceus Samius in Apophthegmat. Athenæus, lib. vi.
b Menander Cecryphalo.
c Alexis Æsopo.
d Athenæus, lib. vi. e Idem, lib. vi.
f Demosthenes in Pantænetum.
g Demosthenes in Timocratem.

Military Laws.

THE time for military service shall be from eighteen years to forty.

Till twenty, men shall remain within Attica to be ready in arms; after that they shall serve in the army without Attica[h]. See book iii. chap. 2.

He shall be ἄτιμος, who offers to serve in the horse, before he has undergone the accustomed probation[i]. See book iii. chap. 3.

The cavalry shall be detached out of the most puissant and wealthy Athenians[j].

Soldiers shall not observe the punctilios of spruceness and foppery in their hair, &c[k]. This law was enacted by Cineas and Phrynus. See book iii. chap. 8.

None shall pawn their arms[l].

He shall suffer death who hath betrayed a garrison, ship, or army.

All revolters to the enemy shall undergo the same penalty. See book iii. chap. 13.

There shall be no marching before the seventh of the month[m]. See book iii. chap. 7.

The ceremony for proclaiming of war shall be by putting a lamb into the enemy's territories[n]. See as before.

The polemarch shall lead up the right wing of the army[o]. See book iii. chap. 4.

All public revenue keepers, and dancers at the Διονυσιακὰ, shall be exempted from serving in the army[p]. See book iii. chap. 2.

Of Military Punishments and Rewards.

THEY who have maintained their post with courage, shall be advanced, and others degraded[q]. See book iii. chap. 13.

All refusers to go into the army, cowards, and runaways, shall be expelled the forum, shall not be crowned, or go to the public temples. He who offends against this law shall be put into bonds by the eleven, and carried before the heliastæ, where any one empowered may accuse him; if he is proved guilty, the heliastæ shall pronounce sentence, and inflict upon him, as the nature of his crime requires, a mulct, or corporal penance; if the former,

h Ulpianus in Olynthiac. iii.
i Lysias in Alcibiadem.
j Xenophon Hipparchico.
k Aristophanis Scholiastes ad Equites.
l Idem ad Plutum.
m Zenobius, Cent. iii. prov. 79.
n Diogenianus, Cent. ii. prov. 96.
o Herodotus Erato.
p Demosth. in Neæram, et in Mediam.
q Xenophon Hipparchico.

he shall lie in jail till he pays it [r]. See as before, and in the laws following.

Let him be ἄτιμος, who casts away his arms [s].

He who, during the war by sea, runs away from his ship, and he who being pressed doth not go, shall be ἄτιμος [t]. See book iii. chap. 22.

All disabled and wounded soldiers shall be maintained out of the public fund [u]. This was enacted by Pisistratus.

Their parents and children shall be taken care for, that are cut off in war. If parents are killed, their children shall be put to school at the public charge; and when come to maturity of age, shall be presented with a whole suit of armour, settled every one in his respective calling, and honoured with first seats in all public places [v]. One of Solon's laws.

Miscellany Laws.

THEY shall be prosecuted for ingratitude who do not retaliate kindnesses [w].

The borough and name of every one's father shall be written down in all deeds, compacts, suits, and other concerns [x].

A discoverer, who alleges truth, shall be secure; but if falsehood, shall suffer death [y].

He shall be ἄτιμος, who stands neuter in any public sedition [z]. This law was enacted by Solon, to oblige every Athenian to promote the welfare of the commonwealth to his utmost.

He shall die, who leaves the city for residence in the Piræeus [a]. This law was enacted by Solon, to prevent discord amongst the Athenians.

He shall be fined, who is seen to walk the city streets with a sword by his side, or having about him other armour, unless in case of exigency [b]. One of Solon's laws. See book iii. chap. 4.

He shall be denied burial within Attica, and his goods exposed to sale, who hath been convicted of perfidious behaviour towards the state, or of sacrilege [c]. See book i. chap. 4.

He that hath betrayed his country shall not enter into Attica's borders; if he do, he shall expiate his crime by the same law as

[r] Demosth. in Timocrat. Æschines in Ctesiphont.
[s] Lysias, Orat. i. in Theomnestum.
[t] Plutarchus Solone.
[u] Laertius Solone.
[v] Lucianus Abdicato, Valerius Maxi- lib. v. cap. 3.
[w] Demosth. in Bœotum.
[x] Andocides de Mysteriis.
[y] Plutarchus Solone. [z] Suidas.
[a] Lucian. Anacharside.
[b] Xenophon Ἑλληνικῶν, lib. i.
[c] Dinarchus in Demosthen.

they who, though condemned by the areopagites to banishment, return [d].

Those compacts shall stand good which have been approved of by the judges [e].

Let there be an amnesty of all former dissensions, and no one be liable to be called in question, or reproached for any thing done formerly [f].

This law was made after the thirty tyrants' expulsion, ro reconcile all former quarrels, and was sworn to by the archons, senate of five hundred, and all the commonalty of Athens.

When any person is accused contrary to this oath, use may be made of the plea called παραγραφὴ. The archons shall have cognizance of this matter, and he that makes the plea, shall make his defence first. The party that is cast, shall have the fine called Επωβελία imposed upon him [g]. This law was enacted by Archinus, as a security to the former.

No stranger shall be wronged or injured [h].

Put the bewildered traveller in his way, and be hospitable to strangers [i].

No seller of rings shall keep by him the signature of a ring, when sold [j]. One of Solon's laws.

d Demosthenes Halones.
e Cicero, Philip. i.
f Lysias in Ctesiphontem.
g Andocides de Mysteriis.
h Xenophon Απομνημ. lib. ii.
i Cicero de Offic. lib. iii.
j Laertius Solone.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Authors of Religious Worship in Greece.

HERODOTUS, in the second book of his history, is of opinion that the Greeks derived their religion from the Egyptians; but Plutarch (who loves to contradict that author) peremptorily denies it [a], as being neither mentioned by Homer, nor any of the ancients. Aristophanes [b] and Euripides [c] say that Orpheus was the first that instructed the Grecians in all the rites and ceremonies of their worship. He was a Thracian, and, therefore, says Nonnus [d], devotion was called Θρησκεία q. Θρακία, because it was invented by a Thracian.

These, I think, were neither altogether in the right, nor yet wholly mistaken; for as the exact agreement betwixt some of the Grecian ceremonies, and the religious worship of Thrace, makes it probable that the one was derived from the other; so on the other side, the conformity of some other parts of the Grecian religion to that of the Egyptians, doth plainly argue that they were fetched from Egypt; but, that the whole system of the Grecian religion should be borrowed from either Thrace, or Egypt, or any one country, is improbable, if not impossible; as will evidently appear to every one that considers the great variety of religions in Greece, where almost every city had different gods, and different modes of worship. It is much more probable, that Greece, being inhabited by colonies from divers nations, did borrow from every one of these some part of their religious ceremonies. Thus the Thebans being descended from the Phœnicians, retained a great part of their worship; and the Argives are thought to have been instructed in the Egyptian religion by Danaus and his followers. Cecrops, the founder of Athens, who was the first that worshipped Jupiter by the name of ὕπατος, the *Supreme* [e], and introduced civility among the barbarous Athenians, was likewise an Egyptian: whence some think he had the title of διφυὴς, one with *two*

[a] De Herodot. malevol. [b] Ranis. [c] Rheso. [d] Συναγ. ἱστορ. in Stel. i. [e] Eusebius Chronico, Pausanias Arcadicis.

natures; ὅτι Αἰγύπτιος ὢν τὰς δύο γλώσσας ἠπίςατο, *because being an Egyptian, he spoke two* (that is, the Egyptian and Athenian) *languages.* Phoroneus, who is by some [f] reported to have brought the use of temples, altars, and sacrifices into Greece, was of the same nation. And so many of the Egyptian ceremonies and customs were received at Athens, that one of the comedians upbraids the Athenians, that,

Αἴγυπτον τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν πεποιήκασιν ἀντ᾽ Ἀθηνῶν.

They had made their city to be Egypt instead of Athens. Add to this, that the Grecians in general, and the Athenians in particular, were so excessively superstitious, that they would not be content to worship their ancient deities, but frequently consecrated new ones of their own making; and beside these, assumed into the number of their own the gods of all the nations with whom they had any commerce: insomuch that, even in Hesiod's time, they were τρὶς μύριοι, thirty thousand;

Τρὶς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσὶν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
Ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς, φύλακες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

There are thirty thousand gods inhabiting the earth, who are subjects of Jupiter, and guardians of men [g]: and though, as Isocrates informs us [h], the ancient Athenians thought their religion consisted chiefly in the observation of the rites and ceremonies delivered to them by their ancestors, yet there was a custom that obliged them to entertain a great many strange gods; whence it was that they religiously observed the Θεοξένια, or feast of all the strange gods; which was also celebrated at Delphi, as Athenæus witnesseth [i]. Nay, so fearful were the Athenians of omitting any, that, as Pausanias [k] tells us, they erected altars to unknown gods. It may be objected, that they condemned Socrates for no other crime than worshipping strange gods; for that this was his accusation, Laertius witnesseth in his life. But to this it is replied, that though they were so desirous of new deities, yet none were worshipped till they had been approved, and admitted by the areopagites, as Harpocration [l] has observed; and thence was it, that when St. Paul preached amongst them Jesus and the resurrection, he was summoned to appear before this council, to give an account of his new doctrine.

[f] Clemens Alexand. Protreptico, Arnobius, lib. vi. contra Gentes.
[g] Oper. et Dier. lib. i. v. 250.
[h] Orat. Areopag.
[i] Deip. lib. ix. cap. 5.
[k] Atticis.
[l] V. ἐπίθετους ἑορτάς.

CHAP. II.

Of their Temples, Altars, Images, Groves, Asyla, and Sacred Fields.

THE first generations of men had neither temples nor statues for their gods, but worshipped towards heaven in the open air. The Persians, even in ages when temples were common in all other countries, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς Θεοὺς, καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες· *not thinking the Gods to be of human shape, as did the Greeks*, had no temples [m] : which was the reason, as some think, why Xerxes burned and demolished the temples of Greece ; for the Persians thought it absurd to confine the gods within walls, *quorum hic mundus omnis templum esset ac domus*, whose house and temple was this whole world, to use the words of Cicero [n]. The Greeks, and most other nations, worshipped their gods upon the tops of high mountains. Hence Jupiter in Homer commends Hector for the many sacrifices which he had offered upon the top of Ida [o].

———ὅς μοι πολλὰ βοῶν ἐπὶ μηρί᾽ ἔκηεν
Ἴδης ἐν κορυφῇσι πολυπτύχου, ἄλλοτε δ᾽ αὖτε
Ἐν πόλει ἀκροτάτῃ———

My heart partakes the generous Hector's pain;
Hector whose zeal whole hecatombs has slain,
Whose grateful fumes the Gods received with joy,
From Ida's summits, and the towers of Troy. POPE.

Strabo observes, that the Persians had neither images nor altars, but only sacrificed to the gods ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ, *upon some high place* [p]. Thus Cyrus in Xenophon [q], sacrificeth to paternal Jupiter, the Sun, and the rest of the gods, upon the summits of mountains, ὡς Πέρσαι θύουσιν, *as the Persians are wont to sacrifice.* The nations which lived near Judea, sacrificed also upon the tops of mountains. Balak, king of Moab, carried Balaam to the top of Bahal, and other mountains, to sacrifice to the gods, and curse Israel from thence [r]. The same custom is attested in almost innumerable places of the sacred scriptures ; but I shall only add one testimony more, whence the antiquity of this custom will appear. Abraham was commanded by God to offer Isaac his son for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains in the land of Moriah [s]. In later ages, the temples were often built upon the summits of mountains. Thus it is observed of the Trojan temples, in which the fore-mentioned sacrifices are supposed to have been offered by Hector.

m Herodot. Euterpe.
n Lib, ii. de Legibus.
o Iliad. χ', ver. 170,
p Geograph. lib. xv.
q Cyrop. i. lib. viii. Conf. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 11.
r Numer. xxxiii.
s Gen. xxii. 2.

And both at Athens and Rome the most sacred temples stood in the most eminent part of the city. It is farther observable, that very high mountains were commonly held sacred to Saturn or Jupiter, and sometimes to other gods, particularly to Apollo, as we are informed by Homer, who thus addresseth to him;

> Πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τε φίλαι, καὶ πρώονες ἄκροι
> Ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων [t]. ———
>
> Thine all the caverns, and the topmost cliffs
> Of lofty mountains. ELTON.

Concerning this custom, I have more copiously treated in my commentary upon Lycophron [u]. What was the occasion and original of it may be disputed. However it appears to have been continued in the heathen world: because the tops of mountains approached nearest to the heavens, the seat of the gods. Hence Tacitus in his Annals speaks of certain mountains, which did *maximè cœlo appropinquare, precesque mortalium à Deo nusquam propiùs audiri*, come exceedingly near to the heavens, and that there was in no place a nearer passage for the prayers of men to the gods than from them. And Lucian expressly affirms, that the priests chiefly frequented such places, ὅτι τῶν εὐχωλέων ἀγχόθεν ἐπαΐουσιν οἱ Θεοί, because the gods did thence more easily hear their prayers. Who it was that erected the first temple, is not agreed by ancient writers. Some ascribe it to Phoronæus the Egyptian, others to Merops, others, among whom is Varro, to Æacus the son of Jupiter [v]. Some will have Jupiter to have been the first who built temples, and on that account to be reputed the first and principal god. The Egyptians refer the invention to Isis, the Phrygians to Uso. Others rather choose to derive it from Cecrops, the founder of Athens, or Dionysius, otherwise called Bacchus. Some mention the Arcadians, or Phrygians, or Thracians, or Cretans, as the first founders of temples. Others name in particular, Melisseus, king of Crete. Lastly, that I be no farther tedious, many are of opinion, that temples owe their first original to the superstitious reverence and devotion paid by the ancients to the memory of their deceased friends, relations, and benefactors [w]; and as most of the gods were men consecrated upon the account of some public benefit conferred on mankind, so most of the heathen temples are thought to have been at first only stately monuments erected in honour of the dead. Thus the temple of Pallas, in the tower of the city Larissa, was the sepulchre of Acrisius; Cecrops was interred in the Acropolis of Athens, and Erichthonius in the temple

[t] Hymn. in Apollinem, ver. 144.
[u] Ad. vers. 42.
[v] Arnob. lib. vi. contra Gentes.
[w] Eusebius, Lactant. Clemens Alexandr. protrept.

of Minerva Polias, to mention no more. A farther confirmation of this is, that those words, which in their proper acceptation signify no more than a tomb, or sepulchre, are by ancient writers applied to the temples of the gods. Thus Lycophron, a noted affecter of obsolete words, has used [x] Τύμϐος·

———————Τύμϐος δ' αὐτὸν ἰκσώσει μόρε
Ὀπλοσμίας, σφαγαῖσιν ἠυτρεπισμένον.
'Twas now, when wearied with the toil of war
With eager haste the Greek did home repair,
Whom from the treacherous fate for him design'd
Great Juno's temple sav'd.———— H. H.

Where he speaks of Diomedes, who, at his return from Troy, was laid in wait for by his wife Ægialea, and forced to take sanctuary in the temple of Juno. I will but give you one instance more, and that out of Virgil [y];

——— *tumulum antiquæ Cereris, sedemque sacratam*
Venimus————
The temple and the hallow'd seat
Of ancient Ceres we approach'd.

Nor is it any wonder that monuments should at length be converted into temples, when at every common sepulchre it was usual to offer prayers, sacrifices, and libations, of which more hereafter.

Temples were built and adorned with all possible splendour and magnificence; no pains, no charge was spared upon them, or any part of divine worship. This they did, partly out of the great respect they had for the gods, to whom they thought nothing more acceptable than costly ornaments; and partly, that they might create a reverence of the deities in those who came to pay their devotions there. The Lacedæmonians only had a law amongst them, that every one should serve the gods with as little expence as he could, herein differing from all other Grecians; and Lycurgus being asked for what reason he made this institution, so disagreeable to the sentiments of all other men, answered, *lest at any time the service of the gods should be intermitted;* for he feared, that if religion should be as expensive as in the other parts of Greece, it might some time or other happen that the divine worship, out of the covetousness of some, and poverty of others, would be neglected: and wisely considered, that magnificent edifices and costly sacrifices were not so pleasing to the gods, as the true piety and unfeigned devotion of their worshippers. This opinion of his was confirmed by the oracle of Hammon [z]; for the Athenians being worsted by the Lacedæmonians, in many encounters both at

[x] Cassandr. v. 613. [y] Æneid. ii. v. 74. [z] Plato Alcib. ii.

land and sea, sent to Jupiter Hammon to inquire what means they had best use to obtain victory over their enemies; and withal to ask him why the Athenians, who (said they) serve the gods with more pomp and splendour than all the Grecians besides, should undergo so many misfortunes, whilst the Lacedæmonians, whose worship is very mean and slovenly, are always crowned with success and victory? The oracle made them no other answer, than that the honest unaffected service of the Lacedæmonians was more acceptable to the gods, than all the splendid and costly devotions of other people. The reader will pardon this digression, since it doth so fully and clearly set forth the temper of two of the most flourishing states of Greece.

Sometimes the same temple was dedicated to several gods, who were thence termed *σύνναοι* or *συνοικέται*, as they who had the same altar in common, were called *ὁμοβώμιοι*. This we find in the medal mentioned by Saubertus [a], with the following inscription:

ΔΙΙ ΗΛΙΩ
ΜΕΓΑΛΩΙ
CΑΡΑΠΙΔΙ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙC CVΝΝΑ
ΟΙC ΘΕΟΙC.

To Jupiter, the Sun, great Serapis, and the gods who cohabit in the same temple. Thus also were joined in one temple, Isis and Apis; in another, Ceres, Bacchus, and Phœbus; in another at Rome, Jupiter Capitolinus, Juno, and Minerva; in another, Apollo Palatinus, Latona, and Diana; in another, Hercules and the Muses; in another, Venus and Cupid; in another, Castor and Pollux; in another, Æsculapius and Apollo; in another, the Sun and Moon; in another, Mars and Venus; in another, Pan and Ceres; to mention no more examples.

Temples were built after that manner which they thought most agreeable to the gods, to whom they designed they should be dedicated; for as trees, birds, and other animals, were thought sacred to particular deities, so almost every god had a form of building peculiar to himself, and which they thought more acceptable to him than any other. For instance, the Doric pillars were sacred to Jupiter, Mars, and Hercules; the Ionic to Bacchus, Apollo, and Diana; the Corinthian to Vesta the Virgin. I deny not but that sometimes all these were made use of in the same temple; but this was either in those temples which were sacred to more gods than one, or to some of those gods who were thought to preside

[a] Libro de Sacrificiis veter.

over several things; for the ancients, believing that the world was governed by divine providence, ascribed the management of every particular affair to this or that deity: thus Mars was thought to preside over war, Venus over love: and to some of their gods they assigned the care over divers things; so Mercury was the god of merchants, orators, and thieves: Minerva was the goddess of warriors, scholars, and artificers, &c.; and therefore, it is no wonder that, in some of the temples dedicated to her there were three rows of pillars, the first of the Doric, the second of the Corinthian, the third of the Ionic order.

As to the places of temples, it being the common opinion that some of the gods delight in woods, others in mountains, others in valleys, others in fields, others in rivers or fountains; it was customary to dedicate the temples in places most agreeable to the temper of the deities who should inhabit them. Hence the people hoped for fruitful seasons, and all sort of prosperity, wherever the temples stood. Hence Libanius makes heavy complaints against the Christians, who demolished the pagan temples, whereby, as he imagined, the fields became unfruitful, the temples being the very life of the fields; and the husbandmen, whose only confidence for themselves, their wives, their children, their corn, their cattle, their plantations was placed in temples, were miserably disappointed of their expectations [d]. The temples in the country were generally surrounded with groves sacred to the tutelar deity of the place, where, before the invention of temples, the gods were worshipped; but when these could not be had, as in cities and large towns, they were built amongst, and even adjoining to, the common houses; only the Tanagræans thought this inconsistent with the reverence due to those holy mansions of the gods, and therefore took care to have their temples founded in places free from the noise and hurry of business; for which [e] Pausanias commends them. Wherever they stood, if the situation of the place would permit, it was contrived, that the windows being open, they might receive the rays of the rising sun [f]. The frontispiece was placed towards the west, and the altars and statues towards the other end, that so they who came to worship, might have their faces towards them; because it was an ancient custom among the heathens, to worship with their faces towards the east, of which hereafter. This is affirmed by Clemens of Alexandria [g], and Hy-

[d] Libanii Orat. pro Templis.
[e] Bœoticis.
[f] Vitruv. lib. iv. cap. 5.
[g] Strom. viii.

ginus the freed man of Augustus Cæsar[h], to have been the most ancient situation of temples, and that the placing the front of temples towards the east, was only a device of later ages. Nevertheless, the way of building temples towards the east, so as the doors being opened, should receive the rising sun, was very ancient[i], and in later ages almost universal: "almost all the temples were then so contrived, that the entrance and statues should look towards the east, and they who paid their devotion towards the west;" as we are expressly told by Porphyry[k]. Thus the eastern nations commonly build their temples, as appears from the temple of the Syrian goddess in Lucian, the temple at Memphis, built by Psammenichus king of Egypt, in Diodorus the Sicilian, that of Vulcan, erected by another Egyptian king, in the second book of Herodotus, and, to mention no more, the temple at Jerusalem[l]. If the temples were built by the side of a river, they were to look towards the banks of it[m]; if near the highway, they were to be so ordered, that travellers might have a fair prospect of them, and pay their devotions to the god as they passed by.

Temples were divided into two parts, the sacred and profane; the latter they called τὸ ἔξω περιῤῥαντηρίων, the other τὸ ἔσω. Now this περιῤῥαντήριον was a vessel (usually of stone or brass) filled with holy water[n], with which all those that were admitted to the sacrifices were besprinkled, and beyond which it was not lawful for any one that was βέβηλος, or *profane* to pass. Some say it was placed in the entrance of the Ἄδυτον, which was the inmost recess of the temple, into which none entered but the priests, called also Ανάκτορον, saith Pollux; whence βέβηλος τόπος, is by Phavorinus said to be so called in opposition to this *adytum*. Bat Casaubon[o] tells us, that the περιῤῥαντήριον was placed at the door of the temple; and this opinion seems the most probable, because all persons that were ἀβέβηλοι, or *unpolluted*, were permitted to pass beyond it, which they could not have done, had it been placed at the entrance of the adytum.

The word Σηκὸς is variously used. Ammonius[p] and Pollux[q] say, that it properly signifies a temple dedicated to an hero, or demigod. By Hesychius and Suidas it is expounded, ὁ ἐνδότερος τόπος τοῦ

h De agrorum limit cons. lib. i.

i Dionysius Thrax.

k Libro de antro Nympharum.

l Conf. hujus Archæologiæ edit. Lat. p. 199, 200.

m Ibidem.

n Suidas, Phavorin.

o In Theoph. Charact.

p De verborum Diff. et Simil.

q Onom. lib. i.

i. e. the inner part of the temple; so that it should seem to have been the same with Ἄδυτον. The word in its most proper acceptation, is used for a sheep-fold; and because the images of the gods were, according to most ancient custom, placed in the middle of the temple, and close railed in on every side, this place, as some are of opinion, from the likeness it has to a sheep-fold, was called Σηκὸς, which in time came to signify the whole temple, the part being put for the whole. In the same manner was Ἑςία, i. e. the *fire-place*, or hearth, used for the whole house.

Furthermore, belonging to temples, there was a place termed in Greek Αρχεῖον, by some translated *summum templum*, which was a repository or treasury, both for the service of the church, and others who desired to secure money or other things there, as was done by Xenophon, who committed his treasure to the custody of the priest of Diana at Ephesus. Hence those epithets are given it by Pollux [r], μεγαλόπλουτον, πολύχρυσον, ἀρχαιόπλουτον, &c.

The old Scholia upon Sophocles [s], and out of them Phavorinus, thus describe the temples; Ναὸς, and Ἱερὸν, or *the whole edifice*, in which are contained, Βωμὸς, *the altar*, on which they offered their oblations; Πρόναον, *the porch*, in which usually stood an altar, or image; and Τέμενος, the place upon which the image of the chief god was erected.

As among the most ancient Egyptians, ἀξόανοι νηοὶ ἦσαν, *the temples were without statues*, if Lucian [t] may be credited, so also the Greeks worshipped their gods without any visible representation, till the time of Cecrops, the founder of Athens, who, according to Eusebius's account, lived about the age of Moses. The most ancient representations of the gods were exceedingly rude, and agreeable to the ignorance of those ages. The Scythians worshipped a sort of a sword called ἀκινάκης· the Arabians a stone; the Persians a river [u].

The idol was at first commonly a rude stock, whence it is called Σανὶς, by St. Clemens of Alexandria [w]. Such an one was that of Juno Samia, which was afterwards, in the magistracy of Procles, turned into a statue. Sometimes it was a stone. Pausanias [x] tells us, that in Achaia there were kept, very religiously, thirty square stones, on which were engraven the names of so many gods, but without any picture or effigies. In another place, he speaks of a

r Onom. lib. i.

s Oedip. Tyr. v. 15.

t Libro de Dea Syria.

u Conf. Clemens Alexandrin. Protrept. p. 29, et 30. Strom. i. p. 348, 349.

w Protrept.

x Achaicis.

very ancient statue of Venus at Delos, which instead of feet had only a square stone. No sort of idol was more common than that of oblong stones erected, and thence termed κίονες, *pillars*. Several examples are mentioned by the fore-mentioned Clemens, as also by Eusebius [y]. In the eastern countries these sorts of representations seem to have been exceedingly frequent. In some parts of Egypt, they were to be seen on each side of the highways [z]. In the temple of Heliogabalus, *i. e.* the sun, in Syria, there was one pretended to have fallen down from heaven [a]. Such a stone is feigned by the poets to have been swallowed by Saturn, instead of his son Jupiter: hence came the worship paid to them. Others rather derive it from the appointment of Uranus, the first god, and father of Saturn [b]. One thing is remarkable, both in these stones, and others of different figures, as particularly in the square stone which represented the god Mars at Petra in Arabia, that their colours were most commonly black [c], which seems to have been thought in those times most solemn and becoming things dedicated to religious uses. They were called βαιτύλια or βαιτύλοι [d], which name seems to be derived from the Phœnician language, wherein *bethel* signifies *the house of God*. And some are of opinion, that their true original is to be derived from the pillar of stone which the patriarch Jacob erected at Bethel [e]. Most of the barbarous nations worshipped mountains, or rude stocks of trees, or unformed stones [f]. Thus Tacitus affirms, that in Germany, the images of the gods consisted *è stipitibus rudibus et impolito robore*, of rude trunks, and unpolished oak [g]. Thus Lucan also describes the gods of Massilia;

——————Simulacraque mista deorum
Arte carent, cæsisque extant informia truncis.

And Themistius [h] hath told us, that all the Grecian images till Dædalus's time were unformed: he it was that first made two separate feet; whereas before they were but one piece; whence it was reported (says Palæphatus) that Dædalus formed moving and walking statues. At the first, therefore, they were only called Ξόανα, διὰ τὸ ἀποξεῖσθαι [i] because they were shaven; and this word properly denotes an idol, that is, ἐξεσμένον, or *shaved* out of wood or

y Præp. Evangel. lib. i.
z Strabo Geograph. lib. xvii.
a Herodian. lib, v. cap. 5.
b Sanchon. apud Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.
c Strabo, loc. cit. Suid. voce Θεὸς Ἄρης.
d Euseb. loc. cit. Hesych.
e Genes. xxviii. 18, 19.
f S. Chrysost. Serm. xii.
g Libro de Moribus German.
h Orat. xv.
i Clemens Protrept.

stone, says Hesychius[k]. In after ages, when the art of graving and carving was invented, they changed the rude lumps into figures resembling living creatures, generally men; and then an image was called Βρέτας, διὰ τὸ βροτῷ ἐοικέναι, because it was like a man[l]. Nevertheless, in more refined ages, such of the unformed images as were preserved, were reverenced for their antiquity, and preferred to the most curious pieces of modern art[m].

The matter of which statues were made, was, among the ancient Greeks, generally wood, as Plutarch and Pausanias inform us; the latter of which reports, that he observed these trees for the most part to be made use of for this purpose, viz. the ebon, cypress, cedar, oak, yew, and box trees. To these Theophrastus[n] adds the root of the olive tree, of which he says the lesser images were usually composed. It is also observed, that those trees which were sacred to any god, were generally thought most acceptable to him, and therefore Jupiter's statue was made of oak, Venus's of myrtle, Hercules's of poplar, Minerva's of the olive tree, &c. These observations are, I think, for the most part true, but not so universally as that they should never fail. Sometimes they were made of stone, and not only of common, but also of precious stones; sometimes of black stone, whereby was signified the invisibility of the gods. Marble and ivory were frequently made use of, and sometimes also clay and chalk, and, last of all, gold, silver, brass, and all other metals were put to this use. The forms and postures of the statues are uncertain, being commonly made in imitation of the poetical descriptions of the gods, especially those in Homer, whose authority was most sacred.

The place of the images was in the middle of the temple, where they stood on pedestals raised above the height of the altar, and were inclosed with rails; whence this place was called Σηκὸς. And that the images were placed thus, Virgil bears me witness, when he saith,

> *Tum foribus divæ, mediâ testudine templi.*
> Then at the chancel door, where Juno stands.

Where, by the *fores divæ*, is to be understood the entrance of the Σηκὸς. And another of the poets, where he talks of erecting a temple, saith,

> *In medio mihi Cæsar erit*———
> I'll Cæsar's statue in the midst erect.

k Voce ξόανον.
l Clemens loc. cit.
m Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. ii. sect. 18
n Lib. de Plant.

More instances might be produced, were not this custom too well known to stand in need of any farther confirmation.

Βωμὸς, among the Greeks, is a word of larger extent than *altare* among the Latins; for this, in its proper signification, only denotes the place on which they sacrificed to the celestial gods, being raised up high from the ground, and therefore called *Altare ab altitudine*, from its height; but Βωμὸς is used not only to signify this *high* altar, but those *lower* ones, called in Latin *aræ*. These altars differed according to the diversity of the gods to whom they were consecrated; for the Θεοὶ ὐράνιοι, or *celestial gods*, had their altars raised up a great height from the ground, insomuch that Pausanias [o] tells us, the altar of Olympian Jupiter was almost twenty-two feet high. Porphyry makes no distinction betwixt these and the altars of the Θεοὶ χθόνιοι, or *terrestrial gods*. But though they are both signified by the same word, yet they seem not to have been of equal height. To the heroes they sacrificed upon altars close to the ground, which the Greeks called Εσχάραι, being only one step high [p]. The subterranean, or infernal gods, called Ὑποχθόνιοι had, instead of altars, little ditches or trenches digged or ploughed up for that purpose; these the Greeks called Λάκκοι and Βόθροι. Porphyry adds a fifth, telling us that the nymphs, and such like deities, instead of altars, had Ἄντρα, or *caves*, where religious worship was paid to them: διὰ τὰ ἐν ἄντροις καταλειϐόμενα ὕδατα, ὧν αἱ Ναΐαδες προσήκασι Νύμφαι, *by reason of the waters which are distilled into the caverns, and whereof the nymphs called Naiades are presidents.*

The altars were always lower than the statues of the gods. They were made commonly of earth heaped together; sometimes of ashes, as was that of Olympian Jupiter, before mentioned, which Pausanias [q] saith was made of the ashes of burnt sacrifices. Another of ashes was dedicated at Thebes to Apollo, who had hence the name of Σπόδιος, as we learn from the same author. Lastly, any other durable materials; as horn in the famous altar at Delos; brick in one mentioned by Pausanias [r]; but chiefly and most commonly stones. Before temples were in use, altars were sometimes erected in groves, sometimes in other places; and Eustathius [s] upon the second Iliad tells us, that they were often erected in the highways, for the convenience of travellers. The terrestrial gods had their altars in low places, but the celestial were worshipped on the tops of mountains. And as for want of temples, they built

[o] Eliac. α.
[p] Eurip. Schol. in Phœniss.
[q] Eliac. α.
[r] Lib. vi.
[s] Pag. 171. edit. Basil.

their altars in the open air; so for want of altars, they anciently used to sacrifice upon the bare ground [t], and sometimes upon a turf of green earth; which is called *cespes vivus*, a living turf, by Horace. And the sacrifices offered without altars, were termed ἀποδώμιοι θυσίαι, as we are informed by Hesychius and Phavorinus.

The form of altars was not always the same. Pausanias [u] in one place mentions an oblong (ἐπιμήκης) altar dedicated to the Parcæ: in another [v], a square altar upon the top of mount Cithæron. And from ancient medals, it appears that other altars were of a round figure. The most ancient altars were adorned with horns. Nonnus [w] introduces Agave offering a sheep by the direction of Cadmus εὐκεράῳ παρὰ βωμῷ, *upon an altar beautified with horns.* The figures of Roman altars upon medals are never without horns [x]; and the altars which remain in the ruins of old Rome have the same ornament [y]. And Moses was commanded to erect an altar with four horns [z]. These horns served for various uses. The victims were fastened to them. Suppliants, who fled to the altar for refuge, caught hold of the horns. Yet it is not certain they were chiefly and originally intended for these purposes. Some derive them from a practice of the first age, wherein horns were an ensign or mark of power and dignity. Hence the pictures of the most ancient gods and heroes, as also those of rivers, were commonly adorned with horns. The same are often found upon the medals of Serapis, Isis, Jupiter Ammon, and Bacchus; as also upon the coins of the Persian kings, and of Alexander and his successors. We are informed by Clemens of Alexandria [a], that Alexander sometimes wore horns, as a token of his divine extraction. And the Phœnician accounts relate, that Astarte, one of the most ancient Phœnician queens, used to wear upon her head bulls horns, ὡς βασιλείας παράσημον, *as an ensign of royalty* [b].

It was customary to engrave upon altars the name, or proper ensign or character of the deity, to whom they belonged. This we find done to the Athenian altar upon which St Paul observed this inscription, Αγνώστῳ Θεῷ, *to the unknown god.* Sometimes the occasion of the dedication, with other circumstances, was ex-

[t] Lil. Gyrald. de Diis Syntagma xvii.
[u] Eliacis.
[v] Bœoticis.
[w] Dionysiac. lib. xliv. ver. 96.
[x] Sanctius Comment. in Reg.
[y] Fortunatus Scacchius Myrothec. lib. ii. cap, 65.
[z] Exod. ii. 27.
[a] Protreptico.
[b] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. ult.

pressed. Thus in the Roman altar, upon which was found this inscription:

C. JULIUS ANICETUS
SOLI DIVINO SUSCEPTO VOTO
ANIMO LUBENS DD.

"Cajus Julius Anicetus willingly dedicates this altar to the divine Sun, in performance of a vow."

Some altars were ἔμπυροι, designed for sacrifices made by fire. Others, ἄπυροι, *without fire*, and ἀναίμακτοι, *without blood:* upon which neither fire nor blood could lawfully be placed, but only cakes, fruits of the earth, and inanimate things. An example of these altars we find in the following verse of Orpheus[c];

Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν σπεύδοντας ἀναιμάκτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν.

Another near the altar of horn at Delos, sacred to Apollo Genitor, upon which Pythagoras, who thought it unlawful to put animals to death, used to sacrifice, is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius[d]. Another dedicated to Jupiter ὕπατος, the *supreme*, in the time and by the order of Cecrops king of Athens, we find in Pausanias[e]. Lastly, to forbear the mention of any more examples, Paphian Venus had an altar which was ἀναίμακτος, *free from blood*, it being unlawful to offer animals upon it: but not ἄπυρος, *void of fire*; for the goddess was worshipped *solis precibus et igne puro*, only with prayers, and pure fire, as Tacitus affirms[f].

The manner of consecrating altars and images was the same, and is thus described by the scholiast upon Aristophanes[g]: a woman dressed in a garment of divers colours, brought upon her head a pot of sodden pulse, as beans, pease, or the like, which they gratefully offered to the gods, in remembrance of their ancient diet. But this custom seems to have been more especially practised at the consecration of the Ἑρμαῖ, or statues of Mercury, and then only by the poorer sort, as the comedian intimates, when he speaks of the consecration of another image in his play entitled Peace[h];

Χο. Αγε δὴ τί νῶϊν ἐντευθενὶ ποιητέον;
Τρ. Τί δ' ἄλλο γ', ἢ ταύτην χύτραις ἱδρυτέον;
Χο. Χύτραισιν, ὥσπερ μεμφόμενον Ἑρμίδιον;
Τρ. Τί δαὶ δοκεῖ; βούλεσθε λαρινῷ βοΐ;

CH. What other expedient still requires dispatch?
TR. Nought, but that you consecrate with these pots
The goddess Peace:
CH. How, with these pots? What like
Those pigmy statues of god Mercury?

c De Lapidibus.
d Pythagora.
e Arcadicis, p. 456, 457. edit. Hanov.
f Hist. lib. ii.
g Pluto, act. v. scen. 5.
h Pag. 660. edit. Amstelod.

TR. What if this goddess we should consecrate
With a fat ox? — II. II.

Where the scholiast observes, that sometimes their consecrations were more expensive, being performed with more sumptuous offerings and ceremonies. But these, like the other parts of divine worship, were varied according to the condition of the worshippers, and the nature or humour of the deities. To give one instance; Athenæus in the 9th book of his Deipnosophists tells us, that Jupiter Ctesias's statue was consecrated in this manner: they took a new vessel with two ears, upon each of which they bound a chaplet of white wool, and another of yellow upon the fore part of it, and covered the vessel; then they poured out before it a libation called ambrosia, which was a mixture of water, honey, and all sorts of fruit. The truth of the matter is this: the primitive Greeks, according to their usual frugality, consecrated the statues of the gods with very little expence. Afterwards, when they increased in wealth, and fell into a more sumptuous way of living, more pompous and costly ceremonies were by degrees introduced in their religious worship. Only the poorer sort, out of necessity, still adhered to the ancient customs; especially when the meaner sort of statues, such as were those of Mercury, which stood in the public streets, were to be dedicated. In former ages, even the images and altars of Jupiter were consecrated in the same manner with those of Mercury. This is plain from the verses cited by the scholiast of Aristophanes[i], out of the Danaides of that poet:

Μαρτύρομαι δὲ Ζηνὸς Ερκίυ χύτρας,
Παρ' αἷς ὁ βωμὸς ὗτος ἱδρύθη ποτέ·
Πορφυροῖς δὲ καὶ ποικίλοις ἱματίοις
Επόμπευον.————

But the most usual manner of consecration was performed by putting a crown upon them, anointing them with oil, and then offering prayers and oblations to them. Sometimes they added an execration against all that should presume to profane them, and inscribed upon them the name of the deity, and the cause of their dedication. In this manner the Spartan virgins, in Theocritus's eighteenth Idyllium, promise to consecrate a tree to Helena; for it was customary to dedicate trees, or plants after the same manner with altars and statues:

Πρᾶταί τοι ςέφανον λωτῶ χαμαὶ αὐξομένοιο
Πλέξασαι, σκιερὰν καταθήσομεν ἐς πλατάνιςον·
Πρᾶται δ' ἀργυρέας ἐξ ὄλπιδος ὑγρὸν ἄλειφαρ
Λασδόμεναι, ςαξεῦμες ὑπὸ σκιερὰν πλατάνιςον·
Γράμματα δ' ἐν φλοιῷ γεγράψεται (ὡς παριὼν τις
Αγνοίη) Δωριςὶ, Σέβευ μ'· Ἑλενας φυτὸν εἰμί.

i In Plut. loc. cit.

We, first, a crown of creeping lotus twine,
And on a shadowy plane suspend, as thine;
We, first, beneath the shadowy plane distill
From silver vase the balsam's liquid rill;
Graved on the bark the passenger shall see
"Adore me traveller! I am Helen's tree." ELTON.

Ovid likewise in the eighth book of his Metamorphoses, speaks of adorning them with ribands:

Stabat in his ingens annoso robore quercus
Una nemus; vitæ mediam, memoresque tabellæ,
Sertaque cingebant, voti argumenta potentis.

An ancient oak in the dark centre stood,
The covert's glory, and itself a wood:
Ribbands embrac'd its trunk, and from the boughs
Hung tablets, monuments of prosperous vows.

The act of consecration chiefly consisted in the unction, which was a ceremony derived from the most primitive antiquity. The sacred tabernacle, with all the vessels and utensils, as also the altar and the priests themselves, were consecrated in this manner by Moses at the divine command [j]. It is well known that the Jewish kings and prophets were admitted to their several offices by unction. The patriarch Jacob by the same rite consecrated the altars which he made use of [k]; in doing which, it is more probable that he followed the tradition of his forefathers, than that he was the author of this custom. The same, or something like it, was also continued down to the times of christianity. We find that in Theodoret's time, superstitious women anointed the balisters (κιγκλίδες) of the churches, and the repositories of martyrs [l]. And in the primitive ages of the church, oil was used upon some other occasions, which do not belong to this place [m].

At the time of consecrations, it was customary to offer great numbers of sacrifices, and to make sumptuous entertainments. Thus the Egyptians consecrated their god Apis, which was an ox [n]: in the same manner we find the temple of Solomon dedicated. At the consecration of Moses's tabernacle, an oblation was presented by all the Jewish princes [o]. And when the golden calf, and the altar before it, were to be consecrated, 'Aaron made proclamation, and said, to-morrow is a feast of the Lord. And they rose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt-offerings, and brought peace-offerings; and the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play [p].'

The consecration of single trees hath been already mentioned. It may here be farther observed, that altars were often erected un-

[j] Exod. xl. 9, 10. Numb. vii. 1.
[k] Gen. xxviii. 18. xxxv. 14.
[l] Quæst. lxxiv. in Gen.
[m] Jacob.
[n] Suidas.
[o] Num. vii.
[p] Exod. xxxii. 5, 6.

der the shade of trees. Thus we find the altar of Jupiter Herceus placed within the court of Priamus king of Troy;

Ædibus in mediis, nudaque sub ætheris axe
Ingens ara fuit, juxtaque veterrima laurus
Incumbens aræ, atque umbra complexa Penates[q].

Within the courts, beneath the naked sky,
An altar rose; an aged laurel by;
That o'er the hearth and household-gods display'd
A solemn gloom, a deep majestic shade. PITT.

But where groves of trees could be had, they were preferred before any other place. It was so common to erect altars and temples in groves, and to dedicate them to religious uses, that ἄλση καλȣ̃σι τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα, *all sacred places, even those where no trees were to be seen, were called groves;* as we learn from Strabo[r]. And it seems to have been a general custom, which prevailed not only in Europe, but over all the eastern countries, to attribute a sort of religion to groves. Hence, among other precepts, whereby the Jews were kept from the imitation of the pagan religion, this was one; 'thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God[s].' This practice is thought to have been introduced into Greece from Phœnicia by Cadmus. And some are of opinion, that hence Ascra, a village in Bœotia, where Hesiod was born, received its name; for in the scripture אשרה is the name of a grove, and ἄσκρα is by Hesychius interpreted δρῦς ἄκαρπος, *a barren oak.* Several causes are assigned why groves came into so general request.

As, first, the pleasantness of such places was apt to allure the people, and to beget in them a love for the religious worship which was paid there; especially in hot countries, where nothing is more delightful and refreshing than cool shades; for which cause the sacred groves consisted of tall and beautiful trees, rather than such as yield fruit. Hence Cyril does expressly distinguish τὸ ἀλσῶδες ξύλον, *the tree fit for groves,* from τὸ καρποφόρον *that which bears fruit, it being the custom to plant groves, not with vines, or fig-trees, or others which produce fruit, but only with* τὰ ἄκαρπα ξύλα, *trees which afford no fruit* for human use, τέρψεως χάριν, merely *for the sake of pleasure*[t]. Thus one of the temples of Diana is described by Herodotus[u], to stand within a grove δενδρέων μεγίστων, *of the largest trees.* And the way to Mercury's temple was set on both sides with δένδρεα ȣ̓ρανομήκεα, *trees reaching up to heaven,* as we are told by the same historian. The same is farther confirmed by the description of groves which remain in the ancient poets.

[q] Virg. Æneid. lib. ii. v. 512.
[r] Geograph. lib. ix.
[s] Deuteron. xvi. 21.
[t] Cyrillus Homil. iv. in Jerem.
[u] Euterpe, cap. 138.

Secondly, the solitude of groves was thought very fit to create a religious awe and reverence in the minds of the people. Thus we are told by Pliny, that in groves, *ipsa silentia adoramus,* the very silence of the place becomes the object of our adoration [v]. Seneca also observes, that when we come into such places, *illa proceritas sylvæ, et secretum loci, et admiratio umbræ, fidem Numinis facit:* the height of the trees, the solitude and secrecy of the place, and the horror which the shade strikes into us, does possess us with an opinion that some deity inhabits there [w]. It may not be impertinent to add one testimony more from Ovid, who speaks thus [x]:

Lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra,
Quo possis viso dicere, Numen inest.
A darksome grove of oak was spread out near,
Whose gloom impressive told, "A God dwells here."

Thirdly, some are of opinion that groves derived their religion from the primitive ages of men, who lived in such places before the building of houses. Thus, Tacitus [y] reports of the ancient Germans, that they had no other defence for their infants against wild beasts or the weather, than what was afforded *ramorum nexu,* by boughs of trees compacted together. All other nations lived at first in the same manner; which was derived from paradise, the seat of the first parents of mankind. And it is not unworthy observation, that most of the ceremonies used in religion were at first taken from the customs of human life. Afterwards the manners and customs of men changed, but the same rites still were preserved in religious worship, which it was thought a sort of irreverence to alter. Thus, from the houses of men were derived the temples and habitations of the gods; which were not built in the most primitive ages, as hath been before observed, men having not then invented the art of making houses. The altars served instead of tables, and the sacrifices were the entertainments of the gods. And it is farther observable, that the several sorts of things offered in sacrifice were taken from their use in human food. The animals most commonly eaten by men were made victims to the gods: and those ages, which are reported to have lived only on the fruits of the earth, are likewise said to have refrained from sacrificing animals; which will farther appear in the fourth chapter of this book [z].

In latter ages, when cities began to be filled with people, and men to delight in magnificent edifices and costly ornaments, more

[v] Nat. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 1.
[w] Lib. v. epist. iv. cap. 4.
[x] Fastor. lib. iii.
[y] Libro de moribus Germanorum.
[z] Conf. Cluverius ubi de Germanorum Moribus agit. Medus nostras Dissert. de Sanctit. Relat. Spencerus de Legibus Hebræorum.

than the country and primitive way of living, groves by degrees came into disuse. Yet such of the groves as remained from former times were still held in great veneration, and reverenced the more for the sake of their antiquity. As in the early times it was accounted an act of sacrilege to cut down any of the consecrated trees, which appears from the punishment inflicted by Ceres upon Erichthonius for this crime, whereof there is a prolix relation in Callimachus [a]; so in latter ages, the same was thought a most grievous wickedness; whereof it will be sufficient to mention this one example, where Lucan speaks of Cæsar's servants, in allusion to the fable of Lycurgus, who endeavouring to destroy the vines of Bacchus, cut off his own legs:

Sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verenda
Majestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent,
In sua credebant redituras membra secures.

——————————but valiant hands
Then falter'd. Such the reverend majesty
That wrapt the gloomy spot, they fear'd the axe
That struck those hallow'd trees, would from the stroke,
Recoil upon themselves. ELTON.

The temples, statues, and altars were accounted so sacred, that to many of them the privilege of protecting offenders was granted; so that if any malefactor fled to them, it was accounted an act of sacrilege to force him thence, and they thought his blood would be upon them that should do it; insomuch, that those who killed the followers of Cylon, who had plundered the temple of Minerva, because they executed them hanging on the altars, were ever after called Ἀλιτήριοι, profane and impious [b]. And in Ætolia, when Laodamia, who had fled for protection to Diana's altar, was killed in a tumult of the people, there ensued a dreadful famine, with civil and foreign wars, till the whole Ætolian nation was almost quite destroyed. Mio, who killed Laodamia, fell into distraction and madness, and having torn out his own bowels with his teeth, died on the twelfth day after the fact was committed [c]. Hence, and from other examples of the like nature, it came to pass, that the privileges of the asyla were preserved inviolable; whence Tacitus complains, that the Grecian temples were filled with the worst of slaves, with insolvent debtors, and criminals who fled from justice; and that no authority was sufficient to force them thence [d]. And that this was a very ancient cause of complaint, may be learned from the following words of Ion in Euripides [e];

[a] Hymno in Cererem.
[b] Conf. Plutarchus Solone, Pausanias Atticis, et Achaicis.
[c] Justinus Histor. lib. xxviii. cap. 3.
[d] Annal. lib. iii. cap. 60.
[e] Ion. vers. 1312, act. iv. fine.

Φεῦ Δεινόν γε, θνητοῖς τὰς νόμους ὡς οὐ καλῶς
Εθηκεν ὁ Θεὸς, οὐδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης σοφῆς,
Τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκους βωμὰς οὐχ ἕζειν ἐχρῆν,
Αλλ' ἐξελαύνειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ψαύειν καλὸν
Θεῶν πονηρὰν χεῖρα· τοῖσι δ' ἐνδίκοις
Ἱερὰ καθίζειν, ὅστις ἠδικεῖτ' ἐχρῆν·
Καὶ μὴ 'πὶ ταὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἰόντ' ἔχειν ἴσον,
Τόν τ' ἐσθλὸν ὄντα, τόν τε μὴ, Θεῶν πάρα.

Strange that the God should give these laws to men,
Bearing no stamp of honour, nor design'd
With provident thought: it is not meet to place
Th' unrighteous at his altars, worthier far
To be chac'd thence; nor decent that the vile
Should with their touch pollute the gods: the good.
Oppress'd with wrongs, should at those hallow'd seats
Seek refuge: ill beseems it that th' unjust
And just alike should seek protection there. POTTER.

How infinitely more wisely were the Jewish asyla, or cities of refuge, ordered, in which they who had been guilty of manslaughter were protected only till their cause was brought to a fair hearing, and then, if they appeared to deserve punishment, delivered up to justice! When Pausanias king of Sparta, who had held a correspondence with the king of Persia, and conspired against his native country, fled to the temple of Minerva Chalciœcus, the Lacedæmonians, unwilling both to offend the goddess, and to let the criminal escape, permitted him to remain in the temple, but uncovered it, and so left him to perish with cold and hunger. But how unusual this way of proceeding was, may appear from Pausanias [f], who informs us, μόνον αὐτὸν ἱκετευσάντων τὴν Χαλκίοικον ἁμαρτεῖν ἀδείας· *that of all who had fled for protection to the goddess Chalciœcus, he was the only person who failed of it.* Nevertheless, there are instances in other places, where the doors of the temples were shut, and the roof uncovered, in order to starve criminals who had taken sanctuary there. Sometimes they were forced away by fire, as hath been observed by the scholiast of Euripides, where Hermione threatens Andromache, who had fled for refuge to Thetis, to drive her away by that means [g];

Πῦρ σοι προσοίσω, κοὐ τὸ σὸν προσκέψομαι.
I will bring fire; I reck not of the place. POTTER.

In the same manner Lycus treats the relations of Hercules [h];

Αγ' οἱ μὲν Ἑλικῶν', οἱ δὲ Παρνασοῦ πτυχὰς
Τέμνειν ἄνωχθ' ἐλθόντας ὑλουργοὺς δρυὸς
Κορμούς· ἐπειδὰν εἰσκομισθῶσιν πόλει,
Βωμὸν πέριξ νήσαντες ἀμφήρη ξύλα,
Εμπίπρατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ πυροῦτε σώματα.
————go, bid the woodman haste,
Some to the valleys of Parnassus, some
To Helicon, there hew the trunks of oak,

f Laconicis, p. 191. edit. Hanov.
g Andromach. ver. 256.
h Euripides Hercul Furent. ver. 240.

And bear them to the city; pile them you
Each way this altar round, set them on fire,
And burn those wretches there. POTTER.

In imitation, and as an improvement of this passage, Lycus is introduced by Seneca, commanding not only the family of Hercules, but the very temples to be burnt; which is an exaggeration very agreeable to the genius of that poet, but quite contrary to the manners of the times he describes. His words are these [i];

Congerite silvas; templa supplicibus suis
Injecta flagrent; conjugem et totam gregem
Consumat unus igne subjecto rogus.

There are several examples of the same custom in Plautus. When Tranio, the slave of Theuropides, had fled to a sanctuary, his master threatens him thus [j];

Jam jubebo ignem et sarmenta, carnifex, circumdari.

In another place of that author, Labrax in the same manner bespeaks his damsels, who had betaken themselves to the protection of Venus [k];

Volcanum adducam, is Veneris est adversarius.

And it being a direct act of sacrilege, to take away suppliants from the sanctuary, whither they had fled for protection, this method was used to constrain them to leave it, as it were of themselves, and by their own consent. Nevertheless, this evasion of the sacred priviliges was not thought free from impiety. Whence the forementioned words of Hermione are thus answered by Andromache [l] in Euripides;

Σὺ δ᾽ οὖν κάταιθε· Θεοὶ γὰρ εἴσονται τάδε.
Then burn me; but these things the Gods will see. POTTER.

From the frequent mention of suppliants securing themselves in the temples, and at the altars and images of the gods, it may be thought that all of them were asyla, according to that general expression of Euripides [m];

————————ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγὴν, θὴρ μὲν πέτραν,
Δοῦλοι δὲ βωμοὺς θεῶν.

The wild beast is secured by the rocks, and slaves by the altars of the god. Nevertheless, it is most certain, to use the words of Servius [n], *non fuisse asylum in omnibus templis, nisi quibus consecrationis lege concessum est:* that all temples were not sanctuaries, but only such as received that privilege from the manner of their consecration. Whence, at the dedication of such places, particu-

i Hercul. Fur. ver. 506.
j Mostel. act. v. sc. 1.
k Rudent. act. iii. sc. 4.
l Eurip. Androm. v. 257.
m Supp. ver. 267.
n Comment. in Æneid. lib. ii.

lar mention is often made by authors, that they were appointed to be sanctuaries; which would have been needless, if all temples had been invested with that privilege. The same farther appears from this, that some of the asyla were free for all men, others appropriated to certain persons, or crimes. Thus, the temple of Diana at Ephesus, was a refuge for debtors; the tomb, or temple of Theseus, was a sanctuary for slaves, and all those of mean condition, that fled from the severities and hard usages of their masters, and men in power; in memory that Theseus was an assister and protector of the distressed, and never rejected the petitions of the afflicted, that fled to him for succour and defence, as Plutarch [o] reports. Nor was this honour only granted to the gods, but also to the statues, or monuments of princes, and other great persons [p]. So the sepulchre of Achilles on the Sigean shore was, in after ages, made an asylum; and Ajax had the like honour paid his tomb on the Rhœtean.

The first asylum, some say, was built at Athens by the Heraclidæ, and was a refuge for those that fled from the oppression of their fathers: others will have this to be a sanctuary for all sorts of suppliants [q]. Others affirm, that the first was erected at the building of Thebes by Cadmus, where the privilege of sanctuary was granted to all sorts of criminals; and in imitation of these, they say, the asylum at Rome was opened by Romulus [r]. This is certain, that sanctuaries were common in the heroical times. Hence, Troy being taken, Priamus fled for protection to the altar of Jupiter Herceus, as we are informed by Pausanias [s]. Virgil [t] adds farther, that he was accompanied by his wife Hecuba, and his children. And Polyxena, who was to be sacrificed to appease Achilles's ghost, is thus advised by one in Euripides [u];

> Αλλ' ἴθι πρὸς ναὺς, ἴθι πρὸς βωμὺς.
> Go to the temples, to the altars go.

The sacredness of these places was held entire till the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, who, upon consideration of the many inconveniencies which must necessarily be the effect of tolerating so many villains as were always harboured in them, dissolved them all, preserving only to Juno Samia, and one of Æsculapius's temples, their ancient privileges. Suetonius indeed reports, that he did *abolere*

[o] Theseo.
[p] Strabo, lib. iii.
[q] Conf. Statius Theb. lib. xii. ejusque vetus Interpres. Item, Servius in Æneid. lib. viii.
[r] Alex. ab Alex. lib. iii. cap. 20. Pausanias, lib. vii. Epig. Græc. Antholog. lib. iv.
[s] Corinthiacis.
[t] Æneid. lib. ii. ver. 512.
[u] Hecubæ, ver. 146.

jus moremque asylorum, quæ usquam erant, abolish the privileges and customs of asyla in all parts of the world [v]. But from Tacitus, who has more exactly reported this matter, we learn, that the privileges of sanctuaries were not then wholly taken away, but only regulated and reformed [w].

Before the conclusion of this chapter, it will not be improper to mention the fields dedicated to religious uses. These were called Τεμένη. Τέμενος is interpreted by the scholiast upon Homer [x] to be ἱερὸν χωρίον, ἀφωρισμένον Θεῷ κατὰ τιμὴν, ἢ ἥρωϊ· *a sacred portion of land set apart in honour of some god or hero.* Several of these places are mentioned by Homer, Pausanias, and other authors. Sometimes their product was carefully gathered in, and reserved for the maintenance of the priests, or other religious purposes [y]. For, as hath been already observed, it was customary to pay the same offices to the gods which men stand in need of. The temples were their houses, sacrifices their food, altars their tables, images represented their persons, and portions of land were also set apart for the maintenance of their families. The same respect was paid to kings, and men who had done eminent service for their country. Thus Tarquinius Superbus had a portion of ground in the Campus Martius at Rome. King Latinus's field is mentioned by Virgil [z];

> *Insuper id campi, quod rex habet ipse Latinus.*

This was also called Τέμενος· which word, according to Hesychius, signifies whatever is set apart Θεῷ ἢ βασιλεῖ· *for a god or a king.* Thus the Lycians assigned τέμενος, *a portion of land,* for the private use of Bellerophon [a]. The same was promised by the Ætolians to Meleager [b]; and in Lycia enjoyed by the two kings Sarpedon and Glaucus, the former of whom thus speaks to the latter in Homer [c];

> Καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ' ὄχθας,
> Καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο.

> Why boast we, Glaucus! our extended reign,
> Where Xanthus' streams enrich the Lycian plain,
> Our numerous herds that range the fruitful field,
> And hills where vines their purple harvest yield? POPE.

v Tiberii, cap. 37.
w Annal. lib. iii. 60, 61, 62, 63.
x Iliad. β'. ver. 696.
y Plato, lib. vi. de Legibus.
z Æneid. lib. ix. ver. 274.
a Iliad. ζ'. ver. 194.
b Iliad. ϑ'. v. 374.
c Iliad, μ'. ver. 315.

CHAP. III.

Of the Grecian Priests, and their Offices.

It has been the custom of all nations to pay a peculiar honour to their priest; which was partly done out of respect to the gods, whom they represented; and partly (as Plutarch in his Morals tells us), because they did not pray for a blessing on themselves, their own families and friends only, but on whole communities, on the whole state of mankind. They were accounted mediators between gods and men, being obliged to offer the sacrifices and prayers of the people to their gods, as will farther appear in the following chapter; and on the other side ἑρμηνευταὶ παρὰ θεῶν ἀνθρώποις, *deputed by the gods to be their interpreters to men,* to instruct them how to pray for themselves, what it was most expedient to ask, what sacrifices, what vows, what gifts, would be most exceptable to the gods; and, in short, to teach them all the ceremonies used in the divine worship, as Plato informs us[d]. On this account, the priests were honoured with the next places to their kings and chief magistrates, and in many places wore the same habit. In most of the Grecian cities, and particularly at Athens, as we are informed by Plato[e], and several others, the care of divine worship was committed to the chief magistrates: and these were often consecrated to the priesthood. Thus Anius in Virgil was king of Delos, and priest of Apollo[f]:

Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos.

In Egypt the kings were all priests; and if any one who was not of the royal family, usurped the kingdom, he was obliged to be consecrated to the priesthood before he was permitted to govern[g]. In some places of Greece ἀντίῤῥοπον ἦν τὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀξίωμα πρὸς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας· *the dignity of priests was equal to that of kings,* as we are assured by Plutarch[h]. At Sparta, the kings, immediately after their promotion, took upon them the two priesthoods of the heavenly and the Lacedæmonian Jupiter[i], which was rather esteemed an accession to their honour, than any diminution of it. And all the public sacrifices for the safety of the commonwealth were offered by them only; it being the common opinion, that

d Politico, p. 550. edit. Franc. Conf. idem Convivio, p. 1194.

e Loco citato.

f Æneid. iii. v. 80.

g Plato, loco citato.

h Quest Roman. sub finem.

i Alex. ab Alexandro, Gen. Dier. lib. iii. cap. 7. Nic. Cragius de Rep. Laced. lib. ii. cap. 2.

the gods were more ready to hear the prayers of them than other men. Neither was this a privilege peculiar to royal priests, but common to all others, even in the most ancient times; they being all accounted the immediate ministers of the gods, and by them commissioned to dispense their favours to mankind. Hence, though at other times it was not unlawful for other men to offer sacrifices, yet when any public calamity was to be averted, or any great and uncommon blessing to be obtained, they had recourse to some of those who were consecrated to the office of priesthood. Thus the pestilence could not be removed from the Grecian army by any prayers or sacrifices, till they did

——— ἀγεῖν ἱερὴν θ' ἑκατόμβην
Ἐς Χρύσην ——— j.

Carry a sacred hecatomb to Chryses, the priest of Apollo. At other times, and in the absence of priests, it was customary for others to offer prayers and sacrifices. Thus Eumaeus is said to have done in Homer's Odysseis, and the same is frequently done in other places by the heroes, princes, or masters of the family; it being customary for the most honourable person in the company to perform the religious rites. The same method was observed by the patriarchs in the Holy Scriptures, where we find oblations made by Cain, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Job, Jacob, and others, till the time of Aaron's consecration to the priesthood, after which it was reputed an act of sacrilege for private persons to intermeddle with any of the sacred rites.

Some of the priests obtained their office and dignity by inheritance. This was the constant method in Egypt [k], amongst the Jews, the sacred families at Athens, and in many other places. Some were appointed by lots, others by the designation of the princes, and others by popular elections. And that this last method was very ancient, appears from Homer [l], where he speaks of Theano's being appointed priestess of Minerva by the Trojans:

Τὴν μὲν Τρῶες ἔθηκαν Ἀθηναίης ἱέρειαν.

Her the Trojans appointed to be priestess of Minerva. Where Eustathius observes, that she was οὔτε κληρωτὴ, οὔτε ἐκ γένους, οὔτε ἑνὸς ψήφῳ, ἀλλ' ἦν, ὡς παλαιοί φασι, τὸ πλῆθος εἵλετο· *neither appointed by lots, nor by right of inheritance, nor by the designation of a single person, but, as the ancients say, elected by the people.* By which words he describes the several ways of appointing priests, which were used by the ancient Greeks.

j Iliad. α. v. 99. k Herodotus Euterpe. l Il. ζ. v. 300.

It was required, that whoever was admitted to this office, should be sound and perfect in all his members, it being thought a dishonour to the gods to be served by any one that was lame, maimed, or any other way imperfect; and therefore at Athens, before their consecration, it was examined whether they were ἀφελεῖς, that is, perfect and entire, neither having any defect, nor any thing superfluous [m]. In the same manner, it is commanded by one of the Jewish laws, which in many things agree with those of Athens, that *no man that had a blemish of the seed of Aaron, shall come nigh unto the altar* [n].

Nor ought they to be perfect in body only, but upright in mind; nothing ought to approach the gods but what is pure and uncorrupt; therefore the priests lived temperately and chastely, abstaining even from those pleasures which were allowable to other men; insomuch that Euripides tells us, that in Crete the prophets of Jupiter did not only deny themselves the use of flesh meat, but forbore to eat any thing that was boiled. Some were so rigid observers of the rules of chastity, that, like the priests of the mother of the gods at Samos, they dismembered themselves. The hierophantæ at Athens, after their admission, enfeebled themselves by a draught of the juice of hemlock: in short, it was very customary for those that attended on the more sacred and mysterious rites, by using certain herbs and medicaments, to unman themselves, that they might worship the gods with greater chastity and purity. They also generally retired from the world, to the end, that being free from business and cares, they might have the more leisure to attend on the service of the gods, and wholly devote themselves to piety, and the exercise of religion. One of the herbs commonly made use of by them was the *agnus-castus*, in Greek λύγος or ἄγνος, so called from being ἄγονος, an enemy to generation; this they were wont to strew under the bed-clothes, believing that it had a certain natural virtue, whereby it was able to preserve their chastity, as Eustathius [o], besides many others, hath observed. But though most of them were obliged to strict chastity and temperance, and some to practise these severities upon themselves, yet were others allowed to marry; and Eustathius [p] tells us that it was but an institution of later ages, that the priestesses should be virgins; to confirm which, Homer gives us an instance in Theano, who was priestess of Minerva, and wife of Antenor the Trojan:

[m] Hesychius, Etymologici Auctor, v. Αφιλής.

[n] Levit. xxi. 21, 23.

[o] Il. ζ'. p. 768. edit. Basil.

[p] Ibidem, p. 505.

——————Θιανὼ καλλιπάρηος
Κισσηῒς, ἄλοχος Ἀντήνορος ἱπποδάμοιο.
Τὴν γὰρ, Τρῶες ἔθηκαν Ἀθηναίης ἱέρειαν [q].

———the sacred heights
At length subdued, Theano, as they came,
From Cisseus sprung, Antenor's lovely spouse,
And priestess by the general voice, threw wide
The temple doors. COWPER.

In Homer's first Iliad mention is made of Chryseis, the daughter of Chryses, Apollo's priest. And, to omit many other examples, in the fifth Iliad, Dares the priest of Vulcan is said to have two sons. Nevertheless, second marriages were not reputed creditable. Hence Dido in Virgil, speaking of being married to Æneas after the death of a former husband, calls it *culpam*, a fault [r]:

Huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpæ.

Where Servius has made this remark, *quòd antiqui, à sacerdotio repellebant bis nuptas:* that the ancients used to exclude those who had been twice married from the priesthood. By which words it is implied, that in the latter ages such persons were admitted to this office. And in some places to have several husbands or several lovers, was a necessary qualification for the priestess. *Alia sacra coronat univira, alia multivira, et magna religione conquiritur, quae plura possit adulteria numerare,* saith Minutius Felix [s]. This we find reported concerning the priestesses in Lydia by Herodotus [t], and those in Armenia by Strabo [u].

At Athens all the priests and priestesses, with the sacred families, and all others who were entrusted with the care of religion, were obliged to give account before certain officers how they had discharged their several functions [v].

In small cities, all the sacred offices were commonly executed by one person, who both offered sacrifices, had the care of the temple, collected the revenues belonging to it, and had the management of other things, which any way related to the worship of the gods. But where the worshippers were numerous, and by consequence the religious services too burdensome for one priest, several priests were appointed, and other officers κεχωρισμένοι τῆς ἱερωσύνης, *distinct from the priesthood,* as ἱεροποιοὶ, ναοφύλακες, ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων· *Sacrificers, keepers of the temple, treasurers of the sacred revenue* [w], and others.

Of the different orders of priests, nothing exact can be delivered; for not only every god had a different order of priests conse-

[q] Il. ζ'. v. 298.
[r] Æneid. iv. v. 19.
[s] Octavii, p. 256. edit. Bat.
[t] Lib. i.
[u] Lib. xii.
[v] Æschines in Ctesiphontem. p. 18. edit. Oxon.
[w] Aristoph. Polit. lib. vi. cap. 8. p. 506. tom. iii. edit. Paris.

crated to him, but even the priests of the same gods were very different, according to the diversity of place, and other circumstances. I shall not therefore trouble the reader with an account of the particular priests belonging to every deity in the many cities of Greece, which would be both unpleasant, and not very useful, but only briefly mention the general orders, and offices of them. First, in every place they seem to have had an Ἀρχιερωσύνης, or high-priest, whose office it was to superintend over the rest, and execute the more sacred rites and mysteries of religion. Amongst the Opuntians [x], there were two chief-priests, one of which belonged to the chief and celestial gods, the other to the Δαίμονες, or demigods. At Athens they had a great many, every god almost having a chief-priest that presided over the rest; as the Dadouchus over the priests of Hercules, and the Stephanophorus over those of Pallas. The Delphians had five chief priests, who helped to perform the holy rites with the prophets, and had the chief management of all parts of divine worship; these were called Ὅσιοι, i. e. *holy*, and the chief of them that presided at sacrifices, Ὁσιωτὴρ, i. e. *purifier*, one that *makes holy*; and another that had the care of the oracle, called Ἀφήτωρ, which is a surname of Apollo, given him by Homer, and signifies one that *gives oracles*.

Another holy order was that of the parasiti [y], which word (saith Clearchus the Solensian, one of Aristotle's scholars), in its first acceptation, signified, τὸν ἕτοιμον, a man quick and expeditious, but was afterwards taken for a *table companion*: though Polemon is of opinion that this was its ancient signification, and that they were so called, because they were allowed part of the sacrifices together with the priest, as is evident from an inscription on a pillar in the Anaceum:

ΤΟΙΝ ΔΕ ΒΟΟΙΝ ΤΟΙΝ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΙΝ ΤΟΙΝ
ΕΞΑΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΝ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΣ
ΤΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΑ ΤΑ ΔΕ ΔΥΟ ΜΕΡΗ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ
ΤΩ ΙΕΡΕΙ ΤΟ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΣΙΤΟΙΣ.

That of the oxen, one part should be reserved for the games; and of the other two, one should be given to the priests, another to the parasiti. It was at the first an office of great honour; for by the ancient law, the parasiti were reckoned among the chief magistrates. Their office was to gather of the husbandmen the corn allotted for public sacrifices, which they call Πρόσοδια μεγάλα, the great income, and is by Aristophanes [z] put for the *great* sacrifices,

[x] Alex. ab. Alex. Gen. Dierum, lib. ii. cap. 8.

[y] Athenæus Deipnosoph. lib. vi. p. 235. Pollux, lib. vi. cap. 7. Hesychius.

[z] Avibus.

which, as the scholiast tells us, were so called because their charges were defrayed by these public revenues. The public storehouse, where they kept these first fruits, was called Παρασίτιον [a]. Diodorus the Sinopensian in Athenæus tells us, that in every village of the Athenians, they maintained at the public charge certain parasiti in honour of Hercules; but afterwards, to ease the commonwealth of this burden, the magistrates obliged some of the wealthier sort to take them to their own tables, and entertain them at their own cost; whence this word seems in later ages to have signified a *trencher-friend*, a *flatterer*, or one that, for the sake of a dinner, conforms himself to every man's humour. Thus indeed Casaubon interprets that passage; but the meaning of it seems rather to be this: that, whereas, in former times, Hercules had his parasiti, the rich men of later ages, in imitation of that hero, chose likewise their parasiti, though not χαρίεστατοι, such as Hercules used to have, but τὰς κολακεύειν δυναμένας, *such as would flatter them most.*

The Κήρυκες also, or public criers, assisted at sacrifices, and seem to have had the same office with the popæ and victimarii among the Latins; for in Athenæus [b], one Clidemnus tells us, they were instead of μάγειροι and βουθυταὶ, *cooks* and *butchers*; and adds, that a long time the crier's office was to kill the offering, prepare things necessary for the sacrifices, and to serve instead of a cup-bearer at the feast; he also tells us, that the ministering at sacrifices did of old belong to the criers. The same is confirmed by Eustathius on this verse of Homer [c]:

> Κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεῶν ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην
> Ηγον.————
>
> Along the streets the sacred hecatomb
> The criers dragg'd.————

Phavorinus and Cœlius Rhodiginus give this reason for their being called Διὸς ἄγγελοι by Homer, viz. because they assisted at the sacrifices of the gods, and (as the former adds) τὰς ἑορτὰς τῶν θεῶν ἤγγελον, *gave public notice* of the times wherein the festivals were to be celebrated. To this purpose I might bring many instances out of the ancient poets, and especially Homer. These Κήρυκες, indeed, were a kind of public servants employed on all occasions; they were instead of ambassadors, cooks, and criers; and, in short, there was scarce any office, except such as were servile and base, they were not put to; but their name was given them ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, saith Athenæus, from the best and most proper part of their office, which was τὸ κηρύττειν, to *proclaim*, which they did as

[a] In Επικλήρῳ. [b] Lib. x. et xiv. [c] Odyss. ύ.

well in time of divine service, as in civil affairs; for, at the beginning of the holy rites, they commanded silence and attention in these, or such like words, Εὐφημεῖτε, σιγῇ πᾶς ἔςω λεώς· when the religious mysteries were ended, they dismissed the congregation with these words, Λαῶν ἄφεσις, of which more afterwards. At Athens there was a family named Κήρυκες, from Κήρυξ, the son of Mercury and Pandrosia, which was accounted sacred; when Suidas [d] calls them γένος ἱερὸν, καὶ θεόφιλον, *a holy family, beloved by the gods*; such also were the Eumolpidae, who enjoyed a priesthood at Athens by inheritance, being either descended from king Eumolpus, or instituted in memory of him. The ceryces, as Anthemio the comedian in Athenaeus [e] tells us, were the first that taught men to boil their victuals, as the flesh of sheep and oxen, which before they devoured raw. They were had in great honour at Athens, insomuch, that Athenaeus endeavours to prove that the trade of a cook was a creditable calling, from the respect paid to these ceryces, who were cooks at sacrifices, and likewise seem to have performed those other holy offices, which belonged to the Κήρυκες in other places. Diodorus Siculus [f] resembles them to the Egyptian pastophori, and thinks they had their original from them; indeed some parts of their office were much alike, for both of them killed the victim, and attended on the sacrificers.

Νεωκόροι, called by Nicander Ζακόροι [g], so named from κορεῖν, which signifies to *keep neat*, and *clean*, or to *adorn*: for it was their duty to adorn the temples, and look after the furniture of them; but they submitted not to such mean offices as the sweeping of them, as Suidas [h] would have it; but herein he contradicts Euripides [i], who brings in *Ion*, the Νεωκόρος, or Edituus of Apollo, telling Mercury that he swept the temple with a besom of laurel. There were also Ναοφύλακες, whose charge it was to take care of the holy utensils, and see that nothing was wanting, and to repair what went to decay, saith Aristotle [j]. Sometimes the parasiti are said to have been entrusted with the reparation of temples; and there was a law enacted at Athens, that whatever they expended this way should be repaid them.

There were also other priests, one of which Aristophanes [k] calls Πρόπολος, which is a general name for any servant, and therefore to restrain it, he adds θεῦ, calling him πρόπολος θεῦ. These were

d Εὐμολπίδαι.
e Lib. xiv.
f Lib. i. g Alexipharm.
h In voce Νεωκόρος.
i In Ione, v. 121.
j In Politic.
k Pluto, act. iii. scen. 2.

priests waiting always on the gods, whose prayers the people desired at sacrifices, at which they seem to have performed some other rites distinct from those which belonged to the ceryces; their share in the sacrifices was the skin and feet; the tongues were the fees of the ceryces. Indeed all that served the gods were maintained by the sacrifices and other holy offerings. To which there is an allusion in Aristophanes[l], where Cario thus speaks to the priest:

Οὐκοῦν τὰ νομιζόμενα σὺ τέτων λαμβάνεις;

Why do not you take the part allotted you by law? Where the scholiast observes, there was a law τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα τῆς θυσίας τὸν ἱερέα λαμβάνειν, *that the remains of sacrifices should belong to the priests*, and that these were δέρματα κὶ κῶλα, *the skins and feet:* which he has repeated in another place[m]. Thus likewise Apollo in Homer[n] promises the Cretans, whom he had chosen to be his priests, that they should have a maintenance out of the sacrifices. Hereby, together with other advantages, the priests, in the primitive times, seem generally to have grown rich: whence Chryses in Homer[o] offers for the redemption of his daughter ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα, *an infinite price*; and Dares, the priest of Vulcan, is by the same poet[p] said to have been a wealthy man:

> Ην δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δάρης, ἀφνειὸς, ἀμύμων,
> Ιρεὺς Ηφαίςοιο——————
> There was in Troy one Dares, blest with wealth,
> The priest of Vulcan.

These are the most general orders of priests; others were appropriated to certain gods, and sometimes certain feasts, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, as likewise of those that attended the oracles, and those who were any way concerned in the art of divination.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Grecian Sacrifices, sacred Presents, and Tithes.

Didymus, in his Annotations upon Pindar[q] reports, that one Melisseus, a king of Crete, was the first that offered sacrifice to the gods, and invented religious rites and ceremonies, and that

[l] Pluto, act. v. scen. 2.
[m] In Vespas.
[n] Hymno Apollinis, v. 535.
[o] Iliad. ά. 13.
[p] Iliad. έ. v. 9.
[q] Cæl. Rhod. lib. xii. cap. 1.

Amalthea and Melissa, who nursed Jupiter, and fed him with goat's milk and honey, were his daughters. Others relate, that Phoroneus, some that Merops, was the first who erected altars and temples, and offered sacrifices [r]. And others will have the use of (ἱλαραὶ θυσίαι) *propitiatory sacrifices* to have first begun by Chiron the centaur [s]. But passing by these and the like fabulous narrations, I shall endeavour to describe the customs in use amongst the ancient Greeks at their solemn sacrifices. In doing which, I shall first treat of the occasion and end of them. 2. Of their matter. 3. Of the preparations required before them, with all the ornaments both of the sacrifices, victims, and altars. 4. Of the sacred rites used at and after their celebration.

As to the causes and occasions of them, they seem to have been chiefly four: For sacrifices were,

1. Εὐκταῖα, or Χαριστήρια, *vows*, or *free-will offerings*; such were those promised to the gods before, and paid after a victory; as also the first-fruits offered by husbandmen after harvest, being grateful acknowledgments to the gods, by whose blessing they had received a plentiful reward for their labour and toil in tilling the ground. These are by Suidas [t] called Θυσίαι δωροφορικαὶ, because they were free gifts; and ἀποπληστικαὶ, because thereby they fulfilled some vow made to the gods; both which being effects of gratitude, I have reduced under one head. It may not be improper here to correct the mistake of Saubertus [u], who takes εὐκταῖα for αἰτητικὰ, *petitionary sacrifices*; whereas, the proper meaning of εὐκταῖον, is, according to Hesychius, τὸ κατ' εὐχὴν ἀποδιδόμενον, *that which is discharged to pay a vow.*

2. Ἱλαστικὰ, or διαλλακτικὰ, *propitiatory offerings*, to avert the anger of some offended deity. Such were all the sacrifices used in expiations.

3. Αἰτητικὰ, *petitionary sacrifices*, for success in any enterprize. So religious were the heathens, that they would not undertake any thing of moment, without having first asked the advice, and implored the assistance of the gods, by sacrifices and presents.

4. Τὰ ἀπὸ μαντείας, such as were imposed and commanded by an oracle or prophet. Some others have been added, which I have purposely omitted, as reducible to some of these four.

I come now, in the second place, to treat of the matter of their oblations. In the most ancient sacrifices, there were neither living

r Clemens. Alex. Protrept. p. 28.
s Idem, Strom. i. pag. 306.
t In voce Θυσίαι.
u Libro de Sacrificiis.

creatures, nor any thing costly or magnificent; no myrrh, or frankincense, or other perfumes were made use of; but instead of them all [v], herbs and plants, plucked up by the roots, were burnt whole, with their leaves and fruit, before the gods, and this was thought a very acceptable oblation. The like customs prevailed in most other nations, and particularly amongst the primitive Italians, of whose sacrifices Ovid has left us the following description [w];

> *Ante, deos homini quod conciliare valeret,*
> *Far erat, et puri lucida mica salis.*
> *Nondum pertulerat lacrymatas cortice myrrhas*
> *Acta per æquoreas hospita navis aquas.*
> *Thura nec Euphrates, nec miserat India costum:*
> *Nec fuerant rubri cognita fila croci.*
> *Ara dabat fumos herbis contenta Sabinis,*
> *Et non exiguo laurus adusta sono.*
> *Siquis erat, factis prati de flore coronis*
> *Qui posset violas addere, dives erat.*

> In former times the Gods were cheaply pleas'd,
> A little corn and salt their wrath appeas'd;
> Ere stranger ships had brought from distant shores
> Of spicy trees the aromatic stores:
> From India or Euphrates had not come
> The fragrant incense or the costly gum:
> The simple savin on the altars smok'd,
> A laurel sprig the easy Gods invok'd:
> And rich was he, whose votive wreath possest
> The lovely violet with sweet wild flowers drest. C. S.

Some report, that Cecrops introduced the custom of sacrificing oxen [x]; but Pausanias [y] making a comparison between Cecrops and his contemporary Lycaon, king of Arcadia, affirms, that whereas the latter of these sacrificed a child to Jupiter Lycæus, and polluted the holy altar with human blood; the former never sacrificed any thing endued with life, but only the cakes used in his own country, and there called πέλανοι. Some ages after, the Athenians were commanded by one of Triptolemus's laws to abstain from living creatures [z]. And even to Draco's time, the Attic oblations consisted of nothing else but the earth's beneficence. This frugality and simplicity had in other places been laid aside before his time, and here not long after; for no sooner did they leave their ancient diet of herbs and roots, and begin to use living creatures for food (which the ancients are said to have thought altogether unlawful), but they also began to change their sacrifices; it being always usual for their own feasts, and the feasts of the gods (such they thought the sacrifices), to consist of the same materials.

v Cæl. Rhod. lib. xii. cap. 1.
w Fastor. lib. i
x Eusebius Chronic. pag. 361,
y Arcadicis.
z Porphyr. de abstinent. ab Animal.

The solemn sacrifices consisted of these three things, Σπονδὴ, Θυμίαμα, and Ἱερεῖον. This Hesiod [a] seems to intimate in the following verses:

> Καδδύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἱερ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
> Αγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς, ἐπὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ μηρία καίειν,
> Αλλοτε δὴ σπονδῇσι, θυέεσσί τε ἱλάσκεσθαι,
> Ημὲν ὅτ' εὐνάζῃ, καὶ ὅταν φάος ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ.
>
> Let the rich fumes of od'rous incense fly,
> A grateful savour to the pow'rs on high;
> The due libation nor neglect to pay,
> When evening closes, or when dawns the day. COOKE.

Where it may be observed, that though the more solemn sacrifices consisted of all these three parts, yet it was lawful to use some of them by themselves. Whence Eustathius [b] tells us, it was not only usual to offer drink-offerings of wine at sacrifices, but also at the beginning of a journey by land or sea, before they went to sleep, when they entertained a stranger, and at any other time. In short, in all the smaller affairs of life, they seem to have desired the protection and favour of the gods, by oblations of incense, or drink-offerings; whereas, the more solemn sacrifices were only used upon set times, and weighty occasions, both because of the expensiveness and trouble of them. The case seems to have been this: the oblations of the gods, as hath been before observed, were furnished after the same manner with the entertainments of men. Hence, as men delight in different sorts of diet, so the gods were thought to be pleased with several sorts of sacrifices: some with human victims, others with beasts of various kinds, others with herbs only, and the fruits of the earth. All required salt and drink; whence there was scarce any sacrifice without salt, and an oblation of drink. And the latter of these was frequently offered without victims, though victims were rarely, if ever, sacrificed without oblations of drink; it being the custom of men to drink without eating, but very seldom to eat a meal without drinking.

Σπένδειν, and λείβειν, amongst the Greeks have the same signification, as Hesychius and Phavorinus have observed, and imply no more than to *pour forth*, which is also the proper sense of the Latin word *libare*, saith Isidorus [c]; but because of their constant use at the drink-offerings of the gods, they came at length to be appropriated to them. The same may be observed of their derivatives σπονδὴ, λοιβὴ, and *libatio*, which words differ not at all from one another. The matter in the σπονδαὶ was generally wine. Of wine there were two sorts; the one ἔνσπονδον, the other ἄσπονδον: the

[a] Εργ. καὶ Ημέρ. v. 334. βιβλ. ά.
[b] Il. ά. p. 102. edit. Basil.
[c] Origin. lib. vi. cap. 19.

former was so called, because it was *lawful*, the latter because it was *unlawful* to make use of it in these *libations*; such they accounted all wine mixed with water; whence ἄκρατον, i. e. *pure* and *unmixed* wine, is so often made mention of by ancient writers. And though sometimes mixed wine is mentioned at sacrifices, yet, if we may believe Eustathius, this mixture was not made of wine and water, but of different sorts of wine. Pliny [d] also tells us, that it was unlawful to make an oblation of wine, pressed from grapes cut, pared round, or polluted with a fall on the ground; or such as came out of a wine-press trodden with bloody and wounded feet, or from a vine unpruned, blasted, or that had a man hanged upon it. He speaks also of a certain grape called aspendia [e], whose wine it was unlawful to offer upon the altars. But though these libations generally consisted of wine, yet they were sometimes made of other ingredients, and called Νηφάλιοι θυσίαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ νήφειν, from being sober. Such as these were offered to the Eumenides; for which Suidas [f] gives this reason, viz. that divine justice ought always to be vigilant. He likewise adds, that at Athens such oblations were made to the nymphs, to Venus Urania, Mnemosyne, the Morning, the Moon, and the Sun; and there seems to have been a particular reason, why every one of these were honoured with such oblations. For instance, Eustathius [g] tells us, that honey was offered to the Sun, but wine was never used upon any altar dedicated to him; because he, by whom all things are encompassed, and held together, ought to be temperate. Plutarch [h] says, that these νηφάλιοι θυσίαι were often performed to Bacchus, for no other reason than that men might not be always accustomed to strong and unmixed wines. Pausanias affirms, that the Eleans never offered wine to the Δέσποιναι, i. e. Ceres and Proserpina, nor at the altar dedicated to all the gods. To Pluto, instead of wine, oil was offered, as Virgil [i] witnesseth; and Homer [j] brings in Ulysses telling Alcinous, that he had made an oblation to the infernal gods, in which he poured forth first wine mixed with honey, then pure wine, and after all water. His words are these:

——————ἐγὼ δ' ἄορ ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ,
Βόθρον ὄρυξα ὅσοντε πυγέσιον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·
Αμφ' αὐτῷ δὲ χοὰς χεόμην πᾶσι νεκύεσσιν,
Πρῶτα μελικρήτῳ, μετέπειτα δὲ ἡδεῖ οἴνῳ,
Τὸ τρίτον αὖθ' ὕδατι· ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ πάλυνον.

d Nat. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 19.
e Nat. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 18.
f Voce Νηφάλ. θυσίαι.
g Odyss. κ.
h De sanitate.
i Æn. vi. v. 254.
j Odyss. xi. v. 25.

———with my faulchion drawn
I scoop'd an hollow trench in measur'd length
And breadth, a cubit, and libation pour'd
Around for all the nations of the dead,
First, milk with honey mixt, then luscious wine,
Then water; sprinkling, last, meal over all. COWPER.

But concerning the oblations of the infernal gods, I shall discourse in another place.

There were also other gods, to whom, in certain places, they sacrificed without wine; such was Jupiter ὕπατος, *the supreme*, upon whose altar the Athenians never offered wine or living creatures. The νηφάλια ἱερὰ, *sober sacrifices*, are divided into four sorts: 1. τὰ ὑδρόσπονδα, *libations of water*; 2. τὰ μελίσπονδα, *libations of honey*; 3. τὰ γαλακτόσπονδα, *libations of milk*; 4. τὰ ἐλαιόσπονδα, *libations of oil*. Which liquors were sometimes mixed with one another. If Porphyry [k] may be credited, most of the libations in the primitive times were νηφάλιοι. And of these, water was first used, then honey, which is easily to be had, afterwards oil, and in later ages, wine came to be offered. It is very probable, whether this order was observed or not, that the most primitive oblations, like the way of living in those ages, were exceeding simple, and consisted of such materials as were most easily to be provided.

Lastly, it must be farther observed, that libations were always offered in cups full to the brim, it being a sort of irreverence to the gods to present any thing which was not τέλειον καὶ ὅλον, *whole and perfect*. Thus to fill the cup was termed ἐπιστέφειν κρατῆρα, *to crown it*; and the cup so filled, ἐπιστεφὴς οἴνοιο, *crowned with wine*, ἤτοι ὑπὲρ χείλης ποιεῖται ὥστε διὰ τοῦ ποτοῦ ἐστεφανοῦσθαι· *the liquor appearing above the cup in the form of a crown*, according to Athenæus [l]. The poets often express this custom. Hence the following verse of Homer;

Κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο.

And in that allusion of another poet cited by Athenæus,

Ἀλλὰ Θεὸς μορφὴν ἔπεσι στέφει.

And *vina coronare*, to crown the wine, is an expression used by Virgil.

The second thing to be considered in the sacrifices, is the *suffitus*, in Greek called Θύος, which word doth not originally signify the victim, but τὰ ψαιστὰ, i. e. *broken* fruits, leaves, or acorns, the only sacrifices of the ancients; whence, in Suidas, τὰ θύη are

[k] De Abstinent. lib. ii.

[l] Lib. i. cap. 11. Item, lib. xv. cap. 5.

expounded θυμιάματα, or *incense*. In like manner, the verb θύειν is never used by Homer to signify the offering of the victim (for in this sense he has made use of ῥέζειν and δρᾷν), but only of these ψαιςὰ, says Athenæus[m], which signification was afterwards changed, and almost appropriated to animals[n]. If Adrovandus[o] may be credited, there were no sacrifices in the primitive times, *in quibus arbores earumque partes, partem haud exiguam sibi non vendicabant*; whereof trees or some parts of them were not made a considerable part of the oblation. These were chiefly odoriferous trees, some parts whereof πολλοὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι θύουσι, *many do even in this age offer*, saith Porphyry[p]. But the most primitive offerings were only χλόαι, *green herbs*, as we are informed by the same author. In later ages, they commonly made use of frankincense, or some perfume. But it was a long time before frankincense came to be in use. In the times of the Trojan war it was unknown; but instead thereof they offered cedar and citron, saith Pliny[q]; and the Grecian fables tell us, that frankincense was first used after the change of a devout youth, called Libanus, into that tree, which has taken its name from him. It may be farther observed, that some sorts of trees were offered with libations of wine, others only with νηφάλια ἱερὰ, which are thence called νηφάλια ξύλα. These, according to Suidas's account, were τὰ μήτ' ἀμπέλινα, μήτε σύκινα, μήτε μύρσινα, *all beside the vine, fig, and myrrh*, which being offered with wine only, were termed ἀνόσπονδα. Hither also may be referred the οὐλοχύται, οὐλαὶ, or *molae salsae*, which were cakes of salt and barley, ἃς ἐπέχεον τοῖς βωμοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἱερουργίας· *which they poured down upon the altar before the victim was sacrificed.* At first the barley was offered whole and unbroken, till the invention of mills and grinding, whence they were called οὐλαὶ q. ὅλαι, saith Eustathius[r]. To offer these was termed οὐλοθυτεῖν, and of this custom there is frequent mention in Homer. Of this kind also were the πόπανα, being round, broad, and thin cakes; and another sort called πέλανοι, of which there were several kinds, and those three reckoned by Phavorinus, which he calls Θέσιοι, ἀνάςατοι, and ἀμφιφῶντης. Another sort of cakes was called Σελῆναι, from the figure being broad and horned, in imitation of the new Moon. There was another sort of cakes with horns, called also from their figure Βόες, and usually offered to Apollo, Diana, Hecate, and the Moon. In sacrifices to

[m] Deipn. lib. xiv.
[n] Porph. lib. ii. de Abstinent.
[o] Dendrolog. lib. i.
[p] Libro citato.
[q] Nat. Hist. lib. xiii. cap. 1.
[r] In Il. ά. p. 99. edit. Basil.

the Moon, they used, after six of the Σελῆναι, to offer one of these which, for that reason, was termed Βοῦ ἕβδομος. The same was sometimes offered after a sacrifice of six animals, saith Suidas; and hence Βοῦς ἕβδομος, as being a lump without life, is proverbially used for a stupid and senseless person. There were also other offerings of this sort, peculiar to certain gods, as the *obeliophori* to Bacchus, the Μελιτοῦτται to Trophonius, with others, which, for brevity's sake, I omit. It may here be observed, that no oblation was thought acceptable to the gods without a mixture of salt. *Nulla (sacra) conficiuntur sine mola salsa.* No sacrifice is made without meal mixed with salt, saith Pliny[s]. There is continual mention hereof in the poets. Thus in Virgil[t]:

> ———*Mihi sacra parari*
> *Et fruges salsæ.*———

And in Ovid, describing the primitive oblations[u]:

> *Antè, Deos homini quod conciliare valebat,*
> *Far erat, et puri lucida mica salis.*
> In early times the Gods were chiefly pleas'd.
> A little meal with salt their wrath appeas'd.

This custom was certainly very ancient and universal. To forbear the mention of other testimonies, we find this precept given to Moses[v]; 'Every oblation of thy meat-offering shalt thou season with salt: neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat-offering; with all thy offerings thou shalt offer salt.' The ground of this custom is by some affirmed to be, that salt was a token of friendship and hospitality. It being also constantly used in all the victuals of men, was thought necessary to the entertainments and sacrifices of the gods, as was before observed. For the same reason, there was scarce any sacrifice without bread-corn, or bread. Particularly barley was offered more than any other grain, that being the first sort of corn which the Greeks used after their primitive diet of acorns; whence κριθὴ is by some derived from κρίνειν, *to discern*, men being first by that sort of food distinguished from other animals, with whom they had before lived upon acorns[w]. On the same account the Athenians offered only such barley as grew in the field Rharium, in memory of its having first been sown there[x]. And instead of the Greek κριθὴ, the Romans used another sort called Ζειὰ, which was

[s] Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi. cap. 7.
[t] Æneid. lib. ii. ver. 131.
[u] Fastor. lib. iii. ver. 337.
[v] Levit. ii. 11.
[w] Eustathius loco citato. Conf. Archæologiæ hujus lib. vi. ubi de convivii materia agitur.
[x] Pausan. Atticis, pag. 71. edit. Han.

the sort of corn first used by them. This practice remained in the time of Dionysius the Halicarnassian[y].

The third, and chief part of the sacrifice, was Ἱερεῖον, *the victim*; concerning which it may be observed, in the first place, that it was required to be whole, perfect, and sound in all its members, without spot or blemish; otherwise it was unacceptable to the gods, who must be served with the very best of all the flocks and herds; to which end Solon, in his laws, commanded the Athenians to offer Ἐκκριτα ἱερεῖα, chosen and *select sacrifices*; and it was an ancient custom to cull out of the flocks the goodliest of all the cattle, and put certain marks upon them, whereby they might be distinguished from the rest. Virgil[z] tells us, their herds were divided into three parts, one of which they designed for propagation, another for sacrifice, and the third for labour; his words are these:

> *Post partum cura in vitulos traducitur omnis,*
> *Continuoque notas, et nomina gentis inurunt:*
> *Et quos aut pecori malint submittere habendo,*
> *Aut aris servare sacros, aut scindere terram.*
>
> Distinguish all betimes, with branding fire,
> To note the tribe, the lineage and the sire:
> Whom to reserve for husband of the herd,
> Or who shall be to sacrifice preferr'd;
> Or whom thou shalt to turn thy glebe allow;
> To smooth the furrows, and sustain the plough. DRYDEN.

The same is affirmed by Apollonius Rhodius in the second book of his Argonautics[a].

Notwithstanding all this care in the choice of victims, yet it was thought unlawful to offer them, till the priests had, by divers experiments, made trial of them, of which I shall speak hereafter. The sacrifice, if it was approved by the priest, was called Τελεία θυσία, whence comes the frequent mention of ταῦροι, αἶγες, βόες τέλειοι[b]. If not, another was brought to the trial, till one every way perfect was found. The Spartans, whose custom was to serve the gods with as little expence as was possible, did very often ἀνάπηρα θύειν, sacrifice maimed and defective animals[c]; out of an opinion, that so long as their minds were pure and well-pleasing to the gods, their external worship, in whatever manner performed, could not fail of being accepted.

As to the kinds of animals offered in sacrifice, they differed according to the variety of the gods to whom, and the persons by

[y] Lib. ii. pag. 95. edit. Lips.
[z] Georg. iii. v. 157.
[a] V. 355.
[b] Conf. Homeri Il. ά. ibique vetus Scholiastes.
[c] Plato Alcib. ii. pag, 458. edit. Francofurt.

whom they were offered. A shepherd would sacrifice a sheep, a neat-herd an ox, a goat-herd a goat, and a fisher, after a plentiful draught, would offer a tunny, saith Athenæus, to Neptune; and so the rest according to every man's employment. They differed also according to the diversity of the gods, for to the infernal and evil gods they offered black victims; to the good, white; to the barren, barren ones; to the fruitful, pregnant ones; lastly, to the masculine gods, males; to the feminine, females were commonly thought acceptable. Almost every god had some of the animals consecrated to him, and out of these sacrifices were often chosen; for instance, to Hecate they sacrificed a dog, to Venus a dove, or pigeon. Choice was also made of animals, according to the dispositions of the gods to whom they were to be offered. Mars was thought to be pleased with such creatures as were furious and warlike, as the bull. The sow was sacrificed to Ceres as being apt to root up the seed-corn, and on that account an enemy to her. Many authors affirm, that this animal was for that reason first killed, when before it was held unlawful to put living creatures to death; and that it was the first of all others eaten by men, and sacrificed to the gods. Hence its Greek name σῦς, termed in Latin also *sus*, is thought to have been so called by changing θ into σ, from θύειν, to *kill* or *sacrifice* [d]. The same animal is also allowed by Porphyry [e] to have been offered in sacrifice before any other, though upon a different account; for he derives it from a command of Apollo, who, to excuse Clymene's killing a sow, ordered, that in times to come that animal should be offered in sacrifice. Next to the sow, the goat came to be sacrificed, which happened by reason of its browsing upon the vines, and thence becoming an enemy to Bacchus. Thus we find in Ovid [f];

————————et prima putatur
Hostia sus meruisse necem, quia semina pando
Eruerat rostro, spemque interceperat anni.
Vite caper morsa Bacchi mactatus ad aras
Ducitur ultoris: nocuit sua culpa duobus.

The sow, with her broad snout, for rooting up
Th' entrusted seed, was judg'd to spoil the crop,
And intercept the sweating farmer's hope.
The goat came next in order to be try'd
Her hunger was no plea; for that she dy'd.
The goat had cropt the tendrils of the vine
And this had lost his profit, that his wine. GARTH.

The animals most commonly sacrificed, were, beside the two forementioned, the bull, ox, cow, sheep, lamb, &c. and amongst the

d Athen. lib. ii. Clemens. Alexandrin. Stromat. . p. 401. Varro de Re Rust. lib. ii. cap. 4.

e Lib. ii. de Abstinent.

f Metam. lib. xv.

birds, the cock, hen, &c. Some were more acceptable at one age than another. For example, an heifer a year old, which had never been put to the yoke, was most grateful to the gods. Such an one is promised to Minerva by Diomedes in Homer [g]:

> Σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ ῥέξω βοῦν ἦνιν εὐρυμέτωπον,
> Ἀδμήτην, ἣν οὔπω ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνήρ.
> A youthful steer shall fall beneath the stroke,
> Untam'd, unconscious of the galling yoke. POPE.

Another is elsewhere promised by Nestor [h]. The same may also be observed in other poets. And the Jews were commanded to sacrifice an heifer, without spot, wherein is no blemish, and upon which never came yoke [i]; such as had been employed in the service of men being unworthy to be made victims to God.

Athenæus [j] tells us out of Agatharchides, that the Bœotians were wont to sacrifice certain eels of an unusual bigness, taken in Copais, a lake of that country, and about these they performed all the ceremonies usual at other sacrifices. It will be difficult to guess the reason of this custom, for my [k] author tells us, that when a stranger once happened to be present at these sacrifices, and inquired what might be the cause of them, the Bœotians made him no other answer, than that they were obliged to observe the customs of their ancestors, but thought themselves not bound to give foreigners any reason for them. The only animal almost unlawful to be sacrificed, was the ploughing and labouring ox; and from him the Athenians abstained, because he assisted them in tilling the ground, and was, as it were, man's fellow-labourer, saith Ælian [l]. Nor did the Athenians only, but almost all other nations, think it a very great crime to kill this creature, insomuch that the offender was thought to deserve death, saith Varro [m]: Ælian [n] in particular witnesseth as much of the Phrygians; and Pliny [o] in his Natural History mentions a person banished Rome on that account. But in later times, as Plutarch [p] tells us, they were used at feasts, and then it was no wonder if they were also sacrificed to the gods; and that they were so, Lucian [q] assures us. Nay, to eat and sacrifice oxen, came at length to be so common, that βουθυτεῖν was used as a general term in the place of θύειν, *mactare*. Thus in Aristophanes [r]:

[g] Iliad. κ'. v. 292.
[h] Odyss. γ'. v, 282.
[i] Numer. xix. 2.
[j] Deipn. lib. vii.
[k] Athenæus, loco citato.
[l] Var. Hist. lib. v. cap. 14.
[m] De Re Rustic. lib. ii.
[n] De Animal. lib. xii. cap. 14.
[o] Lib. viii. cap. 45.
[p] De Esu Animal. lib. ii.
[q] Dialog. de Sacrific.
[r] Pluti act. iv. scen. i.

Καὶ νῦν ὁ δεσπότης μὲν ἔνδον θυθυτεῖ
Ὗν, ϗ τράγον, ϗ κριὸν ἐστεφανωμένος.

The person who first adventured to kill a labouring ox, was Cecrops, according to Eusebius, as was observed in the beginning of this chapter. Aratus charges it upon the men of the brazen age [s];

———πρῶτοι γὲ βοῶν ἐπάσαντ' ἀροτήρων.

But Theon, in his commentary upon that passage, affirms the killing of labouring oxen, to have been held unlawful in the time of the Trojan war, and that the company of Ulysses, who are reported by Homer to have suffered very much for their impiety in killing the sacred oxen of the sun, were only guilty of killing the ploughing and labouring oxen, by whose assistance we are nourished and see the sun. He farther adds, that the Athenians were the first who fed upon the flesh of such oxen.

Neither was it lawful to sacrifice oxen only, but also men. Examples of this sort of inhumanity were very common in most of the barbarous nations. Concerning those who bordered upon the Jews, as also concerning the Jews themselves, when they began to imitate their neighbours, we find several testimonies in the sacred scriptures. Cæsar witnesseth the same of the Gauls; Lucan, in particular, of that part of Gallia where Massilia stands; Tacitus, of the Germans and Britons. And the first christian writers do in many places charge it upon the heathens in general. Nevertheless, it was not so common in Greece, and other civilized nations, as in those which were barbarous. Among the primitive Grecians, it was accounted an act of so uncommon cruelty and impiety, that Lycaon, king of Arcadia, was feigned by the poets to have been turned into a wolf, because he offered an human sacrifice to Jupiter [t]. In later ages it was undoubtedly more common and familiar: Aristomanes the Messenian sacrificed three hundred men, among whom was Theopompus one of the kings of Sparta, to Jupiter of Ithome. Themistocles, in order to procure the assistance of the gods against the Persians, sacrificed some captives of that nation, as we find it related in Plutarch [u]. Bacchus had an altar in Arcadia, upon which young damsels were beaten to death with bundles of rods; something like to which was practised by the Lacedæmonians, who scourged their children (sometimes to death) in honour of Diana Orthia. To the manes, and infernal gods,

[s] Pag. 19. edit. Oxon.

[t] Pausanias Arcadicis, p. 457. edit. Hanov.

[u] Plutarch. in Themist.

such sacrifices were very often offered: hence we read of Polyxena's being sacrificed to Achilles: and Homer relates how that hero butchered twelve Trojan captives at the funeral of Patroclus. Æneas whom Virgil celebrates for his piety, is an example of the same practice [v]:

> ——————*Sulmone creatos*
> *Quatuor hic juvenes, totidem quos educat Ufens,*
> *Viventes rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris,*
> *Captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammas.*
>
> Four youths by Sulmo, four by Ufens, bred,
> Unhappy victims! destined to the dead,
> He seiz'd alive, to offer on the pyre,
> And sprinkle with their blood the funeral fire. PITT.

Whoever desires to see more instances of human sacrifices, may consult Clemens of Alexandria [w], Lactantius [x], Minutius Felix [y], Cyril of Alexandria [z], Eusebius [a], and other christian apologists.

It may here be observed, that sacrifices were to be answerable to the condition and quality of the person by whom they were offered. As it was thought a contempt of the gods for a rich man to bring a poor sordid offering; so, on the other hand, from a poor man the smallest oblations were acceptable. If his estate was not able to reach the price of a living ox, instead thereof it was lawful for him to sacrifice one made of bread-corn, saith Suidas [b]. And on other accounts, when they were not able to provide the accustomed sacrifices, they had liberty to offer what the place or time would afford. Hence the Cyzicenians, being closely besieged, and unable to procure a black ox, which they were obliged to offer upon a certain anniversary festival, made one of corn, and so performed the usual ceremonies. Ulysses's companions in Homer, for want of barley, made use of oak leaves; and instead of wine, offered a libation of water. But from those that were able to procure them, more costly offerings were required. Men of wealth, especially when they had received, or desired any great favour of the gods, offered great numbers of animals at once; whence there is frequent mention of hecatombs, which consisted of an hundred living creatures, and of *chiliombs*, in which were sacrificed a thousand. An hecatomb, saith Eustathius [c], properly signifies a sacrifice of an hundred oxen, and such a one was offered by Clisthenes in Herodotus; but it is generally taken for such sacrifices, as consist

[v] Æneid. lib. x. ver. 517.
[w] Protrept. p. 27.
[x] De falsa Relig. cap. 21. et de Justitia, lib. 5. cap. 10.
[y] Pag. 99. edit. Oxon. 1636.
[z] Adv. Julianum, lib. iv. p. 128. edit. Paris.
[a] Præparat. Evangel. lib. iv. cap. 16.
[b] In voce Βοῦς.
[c] Iliad, ά, p. 36. edit. Bas.

of an hundred animals of any sort; only the ox being the principal and most valuable of all the living creatures used at sacrifices, it has its name from containing ἑκατὸν βȣ̃ς, *an hundred oxen.* Others derive it (saith my author) from ἑκατὸν βάσεις, ἤτοι πόδες, i. e. *an hundred feet,* and then it must have consisted only of twenty-five animals. Others think a finite number is here put for an indefinite, by a figure very usual among the poets; and then an hecatomb amounts to no more than a sacrifice consisting of many animals. Others will have this name derived not from the number of creatures offered, but of the persons present at the sacrifice. Lastly, it may be observed from Julius Capitolinus [d], that an hecatomb was sometimes offered after this manner: they erected an hundred altars of turf, and then killed an hundred sows, or sheep, &c. Suidas [e] mentions another sacrifice, which consisted of seven offerings, viz. a sheep, sow, goat, ox, hen, goose, and after all an ox of meal, whence some derive the proverb, βοῦς ἕβδομος, of which before. Another sacrifice, in which were offered only three animals, was called Τριττὺς, or Τριττύα. This consisted, saith Eustathius [f], of two sheep and an ox, according to Epicharmus; sometimes of an ox, goat, and sheep; sometimes of a boar, ram, and bull; and at other times of a sow, he-goat, and ram, for such an one is mentioned by Aristophanes. Sometimes the sacrifice consisted of twelve animals, and then, saith my author [g], it was called δωδεκαὶς θυσία, and the rest in like manner. Thus much concerning the matter of sacrifices.

The next thing to be considered are the preparatory rites required before, and the ornaments used in the time of sacrifice. No man was admitted to some of the solemn sacrifices, who had not purified himself certain days before, in which he was to abstain from all carnal pleasures. To this purpose Tibullus [h];

————Discedite ab aris,
Queis tulit hesterna gaudia nocte Venus.
Hence, I command you, mortals, from the rite,
Who spent in amorous blandishment the night;
The vernal powers in chastity delight. GRAINGER.

They were so rigid in observing this custom at some of their solemnities, that the priests and priestesses were forced to take an oath that they were duly purified. Such an one was imposed upon the priestesses of Bacchus at Athens, in this form [i]: Αγιστεύω, καὶ εἰμὶ καθαρὰ, καὶ ἁγνὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ȣ̉ καθαρευόντων, καὶ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς συνȣσίας· καὶ τὰ

d In Maximo et Balbino.
e In voce Βοῦς.
f Odyss. λ'. p. 423. edit. Basil.
g Ibidem.
h Lib. ii. Eleg. i.
i Demosth. Orat. in Neær.

Θεόγνια κ) Ιοβακχεῖα γεραίρω τῷ Διονύσῳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, κ) ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις· *I am pure, undefiled, and free from all sorts of pollution, and particularly that which is contracted by lying with a man; and do celebrate the festival of Bacchus at the usual time, and according to the received custom of my country.* This seems to be meant not only of adultery and fornication, but also of the lawful pleasures of the marriage bed; for at the celebration of divine solemnities, they thought more than ordinary purity and sanctity was required of them, and therefore abstained from delights, which at other times they might lawfully enjoy. Yet by some of them this sort of purification was thought unnecessary; for Theano, an Athenian priestess, being asked when it might be lawful for a woman to go from the company of a man to the divine mysteries? answered, *from her own at any time, from a stranger never.*

At least every person who came to the solemn sacrifices was purified by water. To which end, at the entrance of the temples, there was commonly placed a vessel full of holy water. This water was consecrated by putting into it a burning torch taken from the altar. The same torch was sometimes made use of to besprinkle those who entered into the temple[j]. Thus we find in Euripides[k];

> Μέλλων δὲ δαλὸν χειρὶ δεξιᾷ φέρειν,
> Εἰς χέρνιβ' ὡς βάψειν, Αλκμήνης τόκος.

Also in Aristophanes[l];

> Φέρε δὲ τὸ δαδίον, τοδ' ἐμβάψω λαβών·

Where the scholiast observes, that this torch was used because of the quality of fire, which is thought to purify all things. Instead of the torches, they sometimes used a branch of laurel, as we find in Pliny[m]. Thus Sozomen[n], where he speaks of Valentinian following Julian into a pagan temple, relates, that when they were about to enter, a priest θαλλοὺς τινας διαβρόχους κατέχων, νόμῳ Ελληνικῷ περιέῤῥαινε, *holding certain green boughs dropping water, besprinkled them after the Grecian manner.* Instead of laurel, olive was sometimes used. Thus we find in Virgil[o];

> *Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,*
> *Spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivæ,*
> Old Corinæus compass'd thrice the crew
> And dipp'd an olive branch in holy dew. DRYDEN.

j Athen. lib. ix. p. 409. edit. Lug.
k Hercul. Furent. v. 228.
l Pace, p. 696. edit. Aurel. Allobrog.
m Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 30.
n Histor. Eccles. lib. vi. p. 644. edit. Paris.
o Æneid. lib. vi. ver. 229.

This custom of surrounding, here expressed, was so constant in purifying, that most of the terms which relate to any sort of purification, are compounded with περὶ, *around*. Thus, περιῤῥαίνειν, περιμάττεσθαι, περιθειῦν, περιαγνίζειν, &c. The vessel, which contained the water of purification, was termed περιῤῥαντήριον. And the Latin word *lustrare*, which signifies to *purify* or *expiate*, came hence to be a general word for any sort of *surrounding* or *encompassing*. Thus it is used by Virgil [p]:

> ———————*dum montibus umbræ*
> *Lustrabunt convexo*———————

Spondanus tells us, that before the sacrifices of the celestial gods, the worshippers had their whole bodies washed, or if that could not be, at least their hands; but for those that performed the sacred rites to the infernal gods, a small sprinkling was sufficient. Sometimes the feet were washed as well as the hands; whence come the proverbs, ἀνίπτοις χερσὶν, and ἀνίπτοις ποσὶν, in Latin *illotis manibus*, and *illotis pedibus*, which are usually applied to men who undertake any thing without due care and preparation. Porphyry [q] tells us there was a programma fixed up, that no man should go beyond the Περιῤῥαντήριον till he had washed his hands; and so great a crime was it accounted to omit this ceremony, that Timarchides [r] hath related a story of one Asterius, who was struck dead with thunder, because he had approached the altar of Jupiter with unwashed hands. Nor was this custom only used at solemn sacrifices, but also at the smallest parts of their worship. Hector tells us he was afraid to make so much as a libation to Jupiter before he had washed;

> Χερσὶ δ' ἀνίπτοισιν Διῒ λείβειν αἴθοπα οἶνον
> Ἅζομαι————————[s].
>
> I dread with unwash'd hands to bring
> My incens'd wine to Jove an offering. J. A.

And Telemachus is said in Homer's Odysseis to have washed his hands before he adventured to pray to the gods. This they did, out of a conceit that thereby they were purified from their sins; and withal signifying, that nothing impure ought to approach the deities. On the same account they sometimes washed their clothes, as Homer relates of Penelope before she offered prayers to the gods. The water used in purification was required to be clear, and without mud and all other impurities. It was commonly fetched from fountains and rivers. The water of lakes, or standing ponds,

[p] Æneid. lib. i. ver. 611.
[q] De victim.
[r] Libro de Coronis.
[s] Il. ζ'. v. 266.

was unfit for this purpose. So was also the purest stream, if it had been a considerable time separated from its source. Hence *recens aqua*, fresh water, is applied to this use in Virgil[t];

Occupat Æneas aditum, corpusque recenti
Spargit aqua——————
With eager speed his course Aeneas bore,
And with fresh water dash'd his body o'er. DRYDEN.

The same custom prevailed in other countries. The Jewish essenes made use of καθαρωτέρων τῶν πρὸς ἁγνείαν ὑδάτων· *the purer sort of water for cleansing*, as we are informed by Porphyry[u]. The apostle seems to allude to the same practice in the following words: 'Let us draw near—having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water[v].' The prophet Ezekiel, in like manner, 'Then I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you[w].' But if the sea waters could be procured, they were preferred before all others, because by reason of their saltness, φύσει τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης καθαρτικόν ἐστι· *the marine waters are naturally cathartic*, as we are informed by the scholiast upon Homer[x]. Hence Aristeas reports concerning some of the Jews who lived near the sea, that every day before mattins they used ἀπονίψασθαι θαλάσσῃ τὰς χεῖρας, *to wash their hands in the sea*. The Argonauts in Apollonius are said to find Circe washing her head in the sea[y];

————Κίρκην
Εὗρον ἁλὸς νοτίδεσσι κάρη ἐπιφαιδρύνουσαν,
Τοῖον γὰρ νυχίοισιν ὀνείρασιν ἐπτοίητο.
Here saw they Circe, as in Ocean's bed,
Dismay'd with nightly dreams she plung'd her head. FAWKES.

And that saying of Euripides,

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.
The cleansing sea removes all human ills,

Is applied to superstitious men, Οἱ θαλάσσῃ περικαθαίροντα, *who purified themselves in the sea*, according to Stobæus. When the sea water could not easily be procured, they sometimes mixed the water with salt, and to that they frequently added brimstone, which also was thought to be endued with a purifying quality, whence περιθειοῦν signifies to *purify*. In Theocritus an house is thus purified[z];

t Æneid. lib. vi. ver. 635. Conf. Æneid. lib. vi. ver. 635. et lib. ii. ver. 719.
u De Abstinent. lib. iv. cap. 12.
v Heb. x. 22.
w Ezek. xxxvi. 25.
x Iliad. ά. ver. 3, 4.
y Argonaut. lib. iv. ver. 662.
z Idyll. xxiv. ver. 94.

——————καθαρῷ δὲ πυρώσατε δῶμα θεείῳ
Πρᾶτον, ἔπειτα δ' ἅλεσσι μεμιγμένον, ὡς νενόμισαι,
Θαλλῷ ἐπιῤῥαίνειν ἐσεμμένον ἀθλαβὲς ὕδωρ.

The same custom is also mentioned by Juvenal [a];

——————*Cuperent lustrari, siqua darentur*
Sulphura cum tædis, et si foret humida laurus.

Ye fly to expiate the blasting view;
Fling on the pine-tree torch the sulphur blue,
And from the dripping bay, dash round the lustral dew. GIFFORD.

It may be farther observed, that the purified person was thrice besprinkled, the number three being commonly observed in the performance of religious ceremonies, Thus in Ovid [b]:

Terque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat.

There are two ways of purifying mentioned in the Moral Characters of Theophrastus, which differ from those already described. The first by drawing round the person purified, a squill, or sea-onion, of which rite Lucian hath also taken notice [c]. The second, called περισκυλακισμὸς, from σκύλαξ, *a whelp*, which was drawn about the purified person. This method was used by almost the whole Greek nation, as we are informed by Plutarch [d]. Grangæus, in his commentary on the fore-mentioned passage of Juvenal, mentions another way of purifying, by fanning in the air.

Whoever had committed any notorious crime, as murder, incest, or adultery, was forbidden to be present at the holy rites, till he had been duly purified. Pausanias [e] mentions a temple dedicated by Orestes to the Eumenides, into which if any such person entered, though with a design only to take a view of it, he was immediately seized by the furies, and lost the use of his reason. Nay, even one who had returned from a victory over his lawful enemies, was not permitted to sacrifice, or pray to the gods before purification; whence Hector, in the place before cited, adds,

———οὐδὲ πῃ ἐςὶ κελαινεφεῖ Κρονίωνι
Αἵματι ϗ λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένον εὐχετάασθαι.

'Tis impious, while I'm thus besmear'd with gore,
To pay my vows, and mighty Jove adore. J. A.

The persons allowed to be present were called Αβέβηλοι, ὅσιοι, &c. the rest βέβηλοι, ἀλιτροὶ, ἀκάθαρτοι, ἐναγεῖς, δυσαγεῖς, μιαροὶ, παμμιαροὶ, ἀνόσιοι, ἐξειργόμενοι, &c. Such were servants at some places, captives, unmarried women, and at Athens all bastards [f], except in the temple of Hercules at Cynosarges, where they were permitted to be present, because Hercules himself was under some illegitimacy,

[a] Sat. ii. ver. 157.
[b] Metam. lib. vii. cap. 2.
[c] In Επισκοπῦντες.
[d] Quæst. Roman.
[e] Achaicis.
[f] Isæus.

being not one of the great immortal gods, but having a mortal woman for his mother.

It was also unlawful for the Δευτερόποτμοι, or Ὑστερόποτμοι to enter into the temple of the Eumenides, saith Heyschius [g], and after him Phavorinus; that is, such who had been thought dead, and after the celebration of the funeral rites, unexpectedly recovered; or those who, after a long absence in foreign countries, where it was believed they were dead, returned safe home. Such persons at Athens were purified by being let through the lap of a woman's gown, that so they might seem to be new-born, and then admitted to the holy rites. In like manner, at Rome, such as had been thought dead in battle, and afterwards unexpectedly escaped from their enemies, and returned home, were not permitted to enter at the door of their own house, but were received at a passage opened in the roof. It would be endless to mention all those who were accounted profane at particular sacrifices or places; I shall only, therefore, in general add, that before the ceremonies were begun, the Κῆρυξ, or sometimes the priest, with a loud voice, commanded them all to be gone, as in Callimachus [h];

——— ἑκὰς, ἑκὰς ὅστις ἀλιτρός.

Which saying Virgil [i] hath thus imitated:

> ——— *procul, ô procul este, profani,*
> *Conclamat vates, totoque absistite luco.*
> Fly ye profane! far, far away, remove,
> Exclaims the Sybil, from the sacred grove. PITT.

In allusion to this custom, Orpheus commands the doors to be shut before he explains the mysterious parts of philosophy:

> Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βεβήλοις
> Πᾶσιν ὁμῶς.———
> I'll sacred oracles to them proclaim,
> Whom virtue doth with quick'ning heat inflame,
> But the profane, far hence be they remov'd. J. A.

Sometimes the interior part of the temple was divided from the other by a cord, beyond which the βέβηλοι were not permitted to pass. This cord is called in Greek Σχοινίον, whence men excluded from the holy rites are called by Demosthenes [j] Απεσχοινισμένοι, *separated by a cord.*

The ornaments used in the time of sacrifice were such as follow: The priests were richly attired, their garments being usually the same, at least not much differing from royal robes. At Athens they sometimes used the costly and magnificent garment invented

[g] Voce Δευτερόποτμος, item Plut. Quæst. Rom. [h] Hymn. in Apollin. [i] Æn. vi. ver. 358. [j] Orat. in Aristogit.

by Æschylus for the tragedians, as we learn from Athenæus [k]. At Sparta, their garments were suitable to the other parts of their worship, being neither costly nor splendid; and they always prayed and sacrificed with their feet bare.

In all holy worship, their clothes were to be without spots or stains, loose, and unbound. If they had been touched by a dead body, or struck by thunder, or any other way polluted, it was unlawful for the priests to officiate in them. The purity of the sacerdotal robes is frequently insisted on in the poets. Thus,

Pure cum veste sacerdos.

And again;

Casta placent superis, pura cùm veste venito.

Various habits also were used, according to the diversity of the gods in whose honour the solemnities were celebrated. They who sacrificed to the celestial gods were clothed with purple; to the infernal gods they sacrificed in black; to Ceres in white garments. They had also crowns upon their heads, which were generally composed of the leaves of the tree which was accounted sacred to the god to whom they paid their devotions. Thus, in the sacrifices of Apollo [l], they were crowned with laurel; in those of Hercules, with poplar; and after the same manner in the rest. Crowns and garlands were thought so necessary to recommend men to the gods, and were so anciently used, that some have derived the custom of putting them on at feasts, from the primitive entertainments at which the gods were thought to be present [m]. But of this there will be occasion to speak more fully, when the Grecian entertainments come to be described.

Beside this crown, the priest sometimes wore upon his head a sacred infula, or mitre, from which, on each side, hung a riband, as we learn from Virgil [n]. Infulæ were commonly made of wool, and were not only worn by the priest, but were put upon the horns of the victim, and upon the temple and altar. In like manner also, were the crowns used by them all. But the covering their head with a mitre, was rather a Roman than a Grecian custom, and first introduced into Italy by Æneas, who covered his head and face, lest any ill-boding omen appearing to him should disturb the religious rites, as we are informed by Virgil [o]. Nevertheless, some of the Roman sacrifices were offered after the Greci-

[k] Athen. lib. i. cap. 18.
[l] Apoll. Rhod. Arg. β'. 159.
[m] Athenæus, lib. xv. cap. 5. p. 674.
[n] Æneid. x. v. 538.
[o] Æneid. lib. iii.

an fashion, ἀπαρακαλύπτῳ κεφαλῇ, *with their heads uncovered,* as particularly those of Saturn mentioned by Plutarch [p], the rites whereof were first brought from Greece, according to Macrobius [q]. The same is affirmed by Dionysius the Halicarnassian [r] concerning the sacrifices offered on the great altar of Hercules, which were first instituted by Evander the Arcadian. The victims had the infula and the ribands tied to their horns, the crowns and garlands upon their necks. Whether this order was perpetual, is not certain. However, that victims were adorned with garlands, is attested by innumerable examples, whereof I shall only at present mention that of Polyxena, who being to be sacrificed, is called by Lycophron στεφηφόρος βȣ̃ς because ἐστεφάνȣν καὶ ἄνθεσιν ἔπαττον τοῦς θυομένȣς *they adorned with garlands, and bestrewed with flowers, them who were to be sacrificed;* as the scholiast there observes. Upon solemn occasions, as the reception and petition of any signal benefit, they overlaid the victims horns with gold. Thus Diomedes in Homer [s] promises Minerva;

> Τήν τοι ἐγὼ ῥέξω χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχεύας [t].
> This cow, whose horns o'er-tipt with gold, look bright,
> You should have offer'd Pallas, as your right. J. A.

Alluding to this custom, Porphyry calls the oxen designed for sacrifice Χρυσοκέρȣς. Pliny [u] hath observed, that the larger sacrifices only, such as oxen, were thus adorned; but the contrary appears out of a decree of the Roman senate, cited by Macrobius [v], in which the decemviri are commanded to sacrifice to Apollo, after the Grecian manner, an ox, and two she-goats with gilded horns; unless, as some think, goats were also numbered amongst the *hostiae majores,* or greater victims; as the sheep were counted *maximae,* or the greatest, not for their bigness, but their value, and acceptableness to the gods.

The altars were decked with sacred herbs, called by the Romans *verbenæ;* which is a general name for all the herbs used at sacrifices; and here, as at other times, every god had his peculiar herb, in which he was thought to delight.

The solemn times of sacrificing were varied according to the temper of the gods. To the celestial gods they sacrificed ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἀνατέλλοντος τȣ̃ ἡλίȣ, *in the morning, about the time of the sun's rising,* or at least in open day. To the *manes* and subterraneous

p Quæst. Roman.

q Saturn, lib. i. cap. 10. Conf. ejusdem libri. cap. viii. Aurelius Victor. Servius in Æneid. iii.

r Lib. i. Antiq. Rom.

s Cassandra, v. 326.

t Il. κ.

u Lib. xxxiii. cap. 3.

v Saturnal. lib. i.

gods, who were thought to hate the light, and to frequent the earth by night only, they offered their devotions περί ἡλίȣ δυσμὰς, *about sunset* [w], and very often at midnight; at which time the magical rites, whereof Hecate was president, were celebrated.

All things being prepared, the *mola salsa*, with the knife, or other instrument to kill the victims, and the crowns, were brought in a basket called Κανȣ̃ν, whence the Athenian virgins, whose office it was to carry this basket at the Panathenaea, and some other solemnities, were called Κανηφόροι.

The victim, if it was a sheep, or any of the smaller animals, was driven loose to the altar; but the larger sacrifices often were brought by the horns, as appears from the words of Homer, where he describes the sacrifices of Nestor;

> Βȣ̃ν δ᾽ ἀγέτην κεράων Στράτιος, ϰ̀ δῖος Ἐχέφρων,
> Stratius and Echephron dragg'd by the horns
> An ox.———

Sometimes, as Juvenal [x] witnesses, the victims were led by a rope; but then it was a long one, and not close or strait, lest the victim should seem to be brought by force to the altar. Thus that poet's words intimate;

> *Sed procul extensam petulans quatit hostia funem*
> *Tarpejo servata Jovi, frontemque coruscat.*
>
> A steer, of the first head in the whole drove,
> Reserve we sacred to Tarpeian Jove:
> Forward he bounds his rope's extended length,
> With pushing front.———

And lest the victim should seem to be sacrificed unwillingly, and by constraint, the cords were commonly loosed. Thus we find done in Virgil [y];

> *Tres Eryci vitulos, et tempestatibus agnam*
> *Cædere deinde jubet, solvique ex ordine funes.*
>
> Three heifers next to Eryx' name he pays,
> A lamb to every storm the hero slays,
> Loos'd from the ropes.———

In one of Aristotle's epigrams, an old woman leads a bull to the altar by his ear, to shew his compliance:

> Τȣ̃τον γρaὺς στείχȣσα μόνη μόνον ȣ̓ατος ἕλκει
> Τόνδ᾽ ἐπὶ βωμὸν, ὁ δ᾽, ὡς ματέρι παῖς, ἕπεται.

Sometimes there were certain persons appointed to fetch the sacrifice with musical instruments, and other solemnities; but this was seldom practised, except at the larger sacrifices, such as hecatombs.

[w] Apollonii Scholiastes in lib. i. Argon.

[x] Sat. xii.

[y] Æneid. lib. v. ver. 772.

After this, they stood about the altar, and [z] the priest turning towards the right hand, went round it, and sprinkled it with meal and holy water; he besprinkled also those who were present, taking a torch from the altar, or a branch of laurel. This water was called χέρνιψ, being the same they washed their hands with at purification. On both which accounts the poets use χερνίπτεσθαι instead of ἱερὰ ῥέζειν, to offer sacrifice. The vessels also they purified with onions, water, brimstone, eggs, and the like.

This done, the crier proclaimed with a loud voice, Τίς τῇδε, *who is here?* To which the people replied, Πολλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ, *many and good.* After this they prayed, the priest having first exhorted them to join with him, saying, Εὐχώμεσθα, *let us pray.* An example of this we find in Aristophanes [z];

> ———TP. Αλλ' εὐχώμεσθα
> Τίς τῇδε πῦ ποτ' ἐςί; ΘΕ. Πολλοὶ κἀγαθοί.

Their requests were generally that the gods would vouchsafe to accept their oblations and send them health and happiness; they added at their αἰτητικὰ, *petitionary* sacrifices, a request for whatever particular favour they then desired. They seem to have had a general form of prayer, used on all such occasions, though sometimes varied as to the words. One of these remains in Aristophanes [b], another in Athenaeus [c], out of Menander's flatterer. At this time also the crier commanded silence, in these or the like words, Εὐφημεῖτε· σίγα, σίγα πᾶς ἔςω λεώς. The same custom was observed by the Romans in their sacrifices, where they proclaimed, *favete linguis,* which words answer to the Greek εὐφημεῖτε, by which the people seem not to have been commanded to remain in a deep and uninterrupted silence, but rather to abstain from all profane speeches and ominous words. Thus Horace has interpreted it;

> ———*male ominatis*
> *Parcite verbis.*
> Let no ill-boding words your lips profane.

Prayer being ended, the priest having before examined all the members of the victim, to see if it had any blemish, or other defect, proceeded now to examine (unless this also had been done before) whether it was sound within. To this end meat was set before it, as barley meal before bulls, vetches before goats; which, if they refused to eat, they were judged unsound. They sometimes besprinkled it with cold water, which, if it endured without shrinking, it was thought to be some way indisposed; thus Plu-

[z] Aristoph. ejusque Schol. in Pace.
[a] Pag. 662. edit. Amstelod.
[b] Loco citato.
[c] Deipn. lib. xiv.

tarch [d]. This being done, they made trial whether the victim was willing to he sacrificed to the gods, by drawing a knife from its forehead to the tail, as Servius hath observed [e]; at which if the victim struggled, it was rejected, as not acceptable to the gods; but if it stood quiet at the altar, then they thought the gods were pleased with it; yet a bare non-resistance was not thought sufficient, except it also gave its consent, as it were, by a gracious nod, which was the ancient manner of granting, or approving (whence the word ἐπινεύειν among the Greeks, and *annuere* among the Romans, signifies to give assent to any thing), and to this end, they poured water into its ear, and sometimes barley, which they called Προχύτας, according to the scholiast upon Apollonius Rhodius [f].

After this, they prayed again; which being done, the priest took a cup of wine, and having tasted it himself, caused the company to do the like, and poured forth the remainder between the horns of the victim, as we learn from Ovid [g];

———dum vota sacerdos
Concipit, et fundit purum inter cornua vinum.
While the rob'd priest prays at the hallow'd shrine,
And pours between the horns the unmix'd wine. H. H.

The same custom is everywhere mentioned in authors; but it will be sufficient to observe this one example, in that remarkable epigram of Furius Evenus, wherein the vine thus bespeaks the goat:

Κἥν με φάγῃς ἐτὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω
Οσσον ἐπισπεῖσαί σοι, τράγε, θυομένῳ.
Tho', lech'rous goat, you on my cions browse,
And tear the swelling clusters from my boughs,
Luxuriant sprouts will shoot out fresh supplies,
To pour betwixt your horns at your own sacrifice. H. H.

After this, frankincense, or other incense, was strewed upon the altar, and, as some say, upon the forehead of the victim, being taken out of the censer, called in Greek Θυμιαματήριον, with three fingers, as Ovid [h] hath informed us:

Et digitis tria thura tribus sub limine ponit.
Thrice frankincense beneath the threshold laid,
Which thither with three fingers she convey'd. H. H.

Whence it is, that the Pythia in Porphyry saith, that the whole hecatombs of the Thessalians were not more acceptable to the gods, than the ψαιστὰ, which a certain Hermionian offered with his three fingers. Then they poured forth part of the Οὐλαὶ on the back of the victim, which was upon that account bedewed with a small

[d] Libro de defect. Orac.
[e] In Æneid. xii. v. 173.
[f] Argon. lib. v. 425.
[g] Metam. lib. viii. v. 593.
[h] Fast. lib. ii.

sprinkling of water. This being done, they prayed again, and then offered the remainder of the Οὐλαὶ upon the altar: all these they called Προθύματα, as being offered before the victim.

Then the priest, or the Κῆρυξ, or sometimes the most honourable person in the company, where no priest was present, killed the beast, by striking him down, or cutting his throat. Sometimes the person who killed and prepared the victim, which was accounted a more ignoble office, was different from him who offered it upon the altar. If the sacrifice was in honour of the celestial gods the throat was bended up towards heaven, and this Homer calls αὖ ἐρύειν, or in one word, αὐερύειν: but if the sacrifice was made to the heroes or infernal gods, it was killed with its throat towards the ground, saith Eustathius[i]. If by any chance the beast escaped the stroke, leaped up after it, bellowed, did not fall prone upon the ground, after the fall kicked and stamped, was restless as though it expired with pain and difficulty, did not bleed freely, and was a long time of dying, it was thought unacceptable to the gods; all these being unlucky omens, as their contraries were tokens of divine favour, and good-will. The Κήρυκες did then help to flay the beast, light the wood, and do other inferior offices, while the priest, or soothsayer with a long knife, turned over the bowels to observe, and make predictions from them (it being unlawful to touch them with his hands). The blood was reserved in a vessel called Σφαγεῖον, Αμνίον, or, according to Lycophron, Ποιμανδρία, and offered on the altar to the celestial gods; if the sacrifice belonged to the gods of the sea it was poured into salt water; but if they were by the sea-side, they slew not the victim over the Σφαγεῖον, but over the water, into which they sometimes threw the victim, whereof this instance occurs in Apollonius Rhodius[j];

> Η ῥ' ἅμα δ' εὐχωλῇσιν ἐς ὕδατα λαιμοτομήσας,
> Ηκε κατὰ πρύμνης———
>
> Then praying to the blue-ey'd deity,
> O'er the curl'd surface stabb'd the sacrifice,
> And heav'd it over deck.——— H. H.

In the sacrifices of the infernal gods, the beast was either slain over a ditch, or the blood poured out of the Σφαγεῖον into it. This done, they poured wine, together with frankincense, into the fire, to increase the flame; then they laid the sacrifice upon the altar, which in the primitive times, was burned whole to the gods, and thence called Ὁλόκαυστον, or ὁλοκαύτωμα. Prometheus, as the poets feign, was the first that laid aside this custom; for considering

i Iliad. α. j Argon. iv. v. 1601.

that the poorer sort had not wherewith to defray the expences of a whole burnt-offering, he obtained leave from Jupiter, that one part only might be offered to the gods, and the remainder reserved for themselves. The parts belonging to the gods, were the Μηροὶ; these they covered with fat, called in Greek Κνίσση, to the end they might consume altogether in a flame: for except all was bnrned, they thought they did not καλλιερεῖν, or *litare, i. e.* that their sacrifice was not accepted by the gods. Upon the Μηροὶ, were cast small pieces of flesh, cut from every part of the beast, as the Απαρχαὶ, *first fruits* of the whole; the doing this they called ὠμοθετεῖν, either because the first cut the shoulder, which is in Greek called Ωμὸς, or because they did Ωμὰ τίθεσθαι, put these raw pieces of flesh upon the other parts. Thus we find done in Homer[k]:

———— καὶ ἔσφαξαν, καὶ ἔδειραν,
Μηρὲς τ' ἐξέταμον, κατά τε κνίσσῃ ἐκάλυψαν,
Δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν.

———they, their retracted necks
First pierc'd, then flay'd them; the disjointed thighs
They, next, invested with the double cawl
Which with crude slices thin they overspread. COWPER.

The Μηροὶ, *thighs,* were appropriated to the gods, because of the honour due to these parts, διὰ τὸ λυσιτελεῖν τοῖς ζώοις εἰς βάδισίν τε καὶ γένεσιν, *because of their service to animals in walking and generating*[l]. And hereby they commended, in the mystical sense of this rite, both themselves and all their actions and enterprises to the divine protection[m]. Thus Eustathius[n]; but Casaubon[o] tells us they sometimes offered the entrails, herein contradicting Eustathius who informs that these were divided among the persons present at the sacrifice; and Homer in the descriptions of his sacrifices usually tells us that they feasted upon them, σπλάγχν' ἐπάσαντο. By the word σπλάγχνα, though it properly signify the *bowels,* are to be understood, saith my author[p], the spleen, liver, and heart; and that it is sometimes taken for the heart, will appear by the signification of its compounds: for by ἄσπλαγχνος ἀνὴρ, is meant a *pusillanimous man*; as on the contrary, εὔσπλαγχνος, denotes a man of courage, saith the scholiast[q] upon Sophocles. Yet in some places the entrails were burned upon the altar. Thus Æneas does in Virgil[r]:

Tum stygio regi nocturnas inchoat aras,
Et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis.

k Iliad. ά. ver. 459.
l Eustathius in Iliad. ά.
m Tzetzes in Hesiodi Oper. et Dier. lib. 535.
n Il. ά.
o In Theophrast.
p In Iliad. ά.
q In Ajace.
r Æneid. lib. vi. ver. 252.

Then to the Stygian monarch he begins
The nightly sacrifice; the solid flesh
Of bulls upon the flaming altar lays. TRAPP.

And another person in Ovid's Metamorphosis;

Viscera jam tauri flammis adolenda dedisset.

But Dionysius the Halicarnassian, comparing the Grecian and Roman rites of sacrifice, affirms, that only the ἀπαρχαὶ of the entrails, as hath been observed concerning the other members, were sacrificed. 'Having washed their hands (saith he) and purified the victims with clear water, and bestrewed their heads with the fruits of Ceres, they pray to the gods, and then command the officers to kill the victims: some of these do thereupon knock down the victim, others cut its throat when fallen to the ground, others flay off its hide, divide the body into its several members; and cut off the first fruits (ἀπαρχὰς), from every entrail, and other members, which being sprinkled with barley meal, are presented upon canisters to the persons who offer the sacrifice, by whom they are laid upon the altar to be burnt, and whilst they are consuming in the fire, wine is poured upon them. All which is performed according to the Grecian rites of sacrifice, as will easily appear from the poems of Homer [s].' He then proceeds to confirm this description of the sacrifices by several testimonies out of Homer, which being to the same purpose with others already cited out of that poet, shall be omitted.

Whilst the sacrifice was burning, the priest, and the person who gave the victim, jointly made their prayers to the god, with their hands upon the altar, which was the usual posture in praying, as will be shewn hereafter. Sometimes they played upon musical instruments in the time of sacrifice, thinking hereby to charm the god into a propitious humour, as appears by a story related in Plutarch [t], of Ismenias, who playing upon a pipe at a sacrifice, when no lucky omens appeared, the man by whom he was hired, snatched the pipe, and played very ridiculously himself; and, when all the company found fault with him, he said, 'to play satisfactorily is the gift of heaven.' Ismenias, with a smile, replied, 'whilst I played, the gods were so ravished with the music, that they were careless of the sacrifice, but to be rid of thy noise, they presently accepted it.' This custom was most in use at the sacrifices of the aërial deities, who were thought to delight in musical instruments and harmonious songs.

[s] Dionysius Halicarnass. Antiquit. Roman. pag. 478, 479. edit. Lips.
[t] Symposiac. lib. ii. q. 1.

It was also customary on some occasions to dance round the altars, whilst they sung the sacred hymns, which consisted of three stanzas, or parts; the first of which, called *strophe*, was sung in turning from east to west; the other, named *antistrophe*, in returning from west to east; then they stood before the altar, and sung the *epode*, which was the last part of the song. These hymns were generally composed in honour of the gods, contained an account of their famous actions, their clemency and liberality, and the benefits conferred by them upon mankind; and concluded with a petition for the continuation of their favours. They were all called by a general name Παιᾶνες, but there was also a particular name belonging to the hymns of almost every god, saith Pollux. For instance the hymn of Venus was called Ὑπιγγὸς, that of Apollo was peculiarly named Παιὰν, and both of them were styled Προσῴδια· the hymns of Bacchus were called Διθύραμβοι, &c. Of all musical instruments, the flute seems to have been most used at sacrifices, whence comes the proverb Αὐλητᾶ βίον ζῆν, applied to those that live upon other men's charges, because Αὐληταὶ, flute-players, used to attend on sacrifices, and to partake of them, and so lived on free cost, as Suidas [u] informs us. At some of the Jewish sacrifices, the priests sounded trumpets, whilst the victims were burned upon the altar [v]. And most of the heathen nations were possessed with a belief that the gods were affected with the charms of music in the same manner as men. On which account they are ridiculed by the Christian apologists [w]. But, as hath been several times observed, the feasts or sacrifices of the gods being managed in the same manner with the entertainments of men, it is no wonder that musical instruments, so much used by all nations at their feasts and merry meetings, should be admitted at the festivals and sacrifices of the gods.

The sacrifice being ended, the priest had his share, of which an account is given in the preceding chapter. A tenth part was also due to the magistrates called Πρυτάνεις, at Athens. At Sparta, the kings had the first share in all public sacrifices, and the skin of the victim. It was usual also to carry home some part of the offering, for good luck's sake. This was termed Ὑγίεια, as conducing to their health and welfare [x]. The Athenians were commanded by a law to observe this custom; and covetous men sometimes sold what remained, and made a gain of their devotion. Sometimes the re-

[u] Voce Αὐλητοῦ. [v] Numer. x. 10. [w] Conf. Arnobius contra Gen. lib. vii.
[x] Athenæus, lib. iii. Hesych. v. ὑγίεια.

maining parts of the sacrifice were sent to absent friends; to which custom Theocritus [y] thus alludes;

——— ϗ τὺ δὲ θύσας
Ταῖς Νύμφαις, Μόρσωνι καλὸν κρέας αὐτίκα πέμψον.

Go, to the Nymphs the welcome offering make,
And let thy Morson of the feast partake. FAWKES.

For the most part, especially if they had received any particular mark of divine favour, the sacrifice being ended, they made a feast; for which purpose there were tables provided in all the temples. Athenæus [z] tells us, that amongst the ancients, they never indulged themselves with any dainties, nor drank any quantity of wine, but at such times; and thence an entertainment is called Θοίνη, because they thought they were obliged διὰ θεὺς οἰνῦσθαι, *to be drunk in honour of the gods*; and to be drunk was termed μεθύειν, because they did it μετὰ τὸ θύειν, *after sacrificing*. Hence *epulari*, *comedere*, and the like words, which express eating, or feasting, are sometimes put for sacrificing. Thus we find in Virgil [a];

Jupiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis
Gens epulata toris, Lenæum libat honorem.

Almighty Jove! to whom our Moorish line
In large libations pour the generous wine,
And feast on painted beds. PITT.

Hence also the gods were said to feast with men. Thus Alcinous speaks in Homer [b];

Αἰεὶ γὰρ τοπάρος γε Θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς
Ημῖν, Εὖθ' ἔρδωμεν ἀγακλειτὰς ἑκατόμβας·
Δαίνυνταί τε παρ' ἄμμι, καθήμενοι ἔνθα περ ἡμεῖς.

———For the Gods
Have deign'd not seldom, from of old to mix
In our solemnities; have fill'd a seat
Where we have sat, and made our banquet theirs. COWPER.

On the same account Jupiter and the rest of the gods are said to go to a feast in Ethiopia, which is only a poetical description of a festival time in that country:

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐπ' Ωκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας
Χθιζὸς ἔβη μετὰ δαῖτα· Θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἕποντο.

From these and the like instances in other authors, it appears to have been a custom very ancient in Greece. The same was also generally observed in other countries. Hence 'the just man' in Ezekiel [c] is said to be one, 'who hath not eaten upon the mountains, neither hath lift up his eyes to the idols.' And in Exodus, when God had commanded Moses to require leave of Pharaoh for

[y] Idyl. V. v. 150.
[z] Deipn. lib. iii. c. 3. Conf. quæ postea in iv. hujus Archæol. lib. dicentur de conviv.
[a] Æneid, lib. iv. ver. 206.
[b] Odyss. ή. ver. 202.
[c] Ezek. xviii. 6.

the Jews 'to go into the wilderness to sacrifice to the Lord[d],' he thus bespeaks Pharaoh in a different form of words, but importing the same sense[e]: 'Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, let my people go, that they may hold a feast to me in the wilderness.' Hence Balaam and the princes with him, are entertained by Balak king of Moab, with the flesh of sacrificed victims[f]: and the Moabites enticed the Israelites to be present at the feasts of their gods[g]. Hence also, to mention no more examples, the Israelites are commanded to destroy the idolatry of the nations who lived about them, 'lest thou do sacrifice to their gods, and one call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice[h].' All the time the feast lasted, they continued singing the praises of the god. Thus we find after the sacrifice offered by Chryses and the Grecians to Apollo, in Homer;

> *Οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο,*
> *Καλὸν ἀείδοντες παιήονα κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,*
> *Μέλποντες Ἑκάεργον.*——————— [i]
>
> With hymns divine the joyous banquet ends,
> The Pæans lengthened till the sun descends:
> The Greeks, restor'd, the grateful notes prolong;
> Apollo listens and approves the song. POPE.

When they sacrificed to Vesta, it was usual to eat up whatsoever was left, and to send any part of it abroad was thought a crime; whence the proverb Ἑστίᾳ θύειν, and among the Romans *lari sacrificare,* is applied to gluttons, who eat up all that is set before them. To this goddess also, they offered the first part of their libations, at least of all those which were paid to the household gods; whence comes the proverb, ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι, *to begin at home.* This custom the scholiast upon Aristophanes[j] tells us, was founded upon a grant of Jupiter to Vesta. After he had suppressed the sons of Titan, he promised Vesta to grant whatever she would request; whereupon she first desired that she might enjoy a perpetual virginity; and, in the next place, that she might have the first part in all sacrifices. The last part also, as well as the first, was offered to Vesta, she being the same with the earth, to which the first and last parts belong; because all things are produced out of that element, and again resolved into it; or because Vesta, who presides over *arae et foci,* the altars and hearths of houses, is *custos rerum intimarum,* keeper of the most secret things, and on that account to be honoured above all other deities. Which reason is assigned by Cicero[k]. To re-

d Exod. iii. 18.
e Exod. v. 1.
f Numb. xxii.
g Numb. xxv.
h Exod. xxxiv. 15.
i Il. ά. ver. 473.
j In Σφηξί. p. 491. edit. Aurel. Allobrogum.
k De Nat. Deorum. lib. ii.

turn, the feast in some places was to be ended before sunset, as Athenæus [l] informs us, and was not to exceed an appointed time in any place. After the feast they sometimes played at dice, as Saubertus hath observed out of Plato. And whence was this custom derived? No doubt from the common practice of recreating themselves with all sorts of plays and diversions after meals. Neither were dice only, but any other sort of game used after the feasts upon sacrifices. Hence of the Jews, who had sacrificed to the golden calf, it is said, that 'they sat down to eat, and rose up to play *.' But of this custom a more particular account will be given when the Grecian entertainments shall be described. The entertainment and recreations being ended, they returned to the altar, and offered a libation to Jupiter τέλειος, *the perfect*. The primitive Greeks were wont to offer the tongues, together with a libation of wine, to Mercury, as Athenæus [m] reports. The same custom is also mentioned by Apollonius [n]:

> *Οὐδ' ἐπιδὴν μετέπειτα κεραστάμενοι δὴ λοιβὰς*
> *Ἡ θέμις ἐςὶ, τέως ἐπί τε γλώσσῃσι χέοντο*
> *Αἰθομέναις· ὕπνου δὲ διὰ κνέφας ἐμνώοντο.*
>
> Then as the custom of their country was,
> O'er the hot tongues the mix'd libation flows;
> This done, they hasten to their soft repose. H. H.

The tongues they offered at this time, either with a design to make an expiation for any indecent language which had been spoken, or in token that they committed to the gods as witnesses what discourse had passed at the table; or to signify that what had been spoken there, ought not to be remembered afterwards or divulged. They were offered to Mercury, the god of eloquence, as taking a particular care of that member [o].

After all, they returned thanks to the god for the honour and advantage of sharing with him in the victim, and then were dismissed by the Κῆρυξ, in this or the like form, *λαοῖς ἄφεσις* [p].

Thus much concerning the Grecian sacrifices. There were also other sorts of presents offered to the gods, even from the earliest times, either to pacify them when angry, or to obtain some future benefit, or as a grateful acknowledgment of some past favour. They consisted of crowns and garlands, garments, cups of gold, or other valuable metals, and any other thing which conduced to the ornament or the enriching of the temples: they were commonly termed *ἀναθήματα*, and sometimes *ἀνακείμενα*, from their being de-

l Deipn. lib. iv. * Exod. xxxiii.
m Deipn. lib. i. cap. xiv.
n Argon. lib. i. ver. 517.
o Conf. Archæol. huj. lib. iv. ubi de Conviv. agitur.
p Apuleius Metam. lib. ult. et ibi Beroaldus.

posited in the temples, where they sometimes were laid on the floor, sometimes hung upon the walls, doors, pillars, or the roof, or any other conspicuous place. Thus we find in Horace:

> ——— *Me tabula sacer*
> *Votiva paries indicat uvida*
> *Suspendisse potenti*
> *Vestimenta maris Deo* [q].
>
> As for me, this wall declares,
> Which my votive tablet bears,
> That my drench'd weeds hang on high
> To the sea's great deity.

And in Virgil [r], to mention only this example more;

> ——— *Si qua ipse meis venatibus auxi,*
> *Suspendive tholo, aut sacra ad fastigia fixi.*
>
> ———If I have e'er
> Loaded thy altars with my sylvan spoils,
> Hung them aloft, or to thy sacred roofs
> Affix'd those trophies. TRAPP.

Sometimes the occasion of the dedication was inscribed either upon the thing itself, or when the matter of that could not bear an inscription, upon a tablet hung up with it. This appears from the fore-mentioned passage of Horace, and (to mention this one instance more) from the following distich of Tibullus [s].

> *Nunc, Dea, nunc succurre mihi: nam posse mederi*
> *Picta docet templis multa tabella suis.*
>
> Now help me, goddess, still the pains of love;
> That thou cans't every mortal ill remove,
> The numerous tablets in thy temple prove.

I shall only add this one observation, that when any person left his employment or way of life, it was customary to dedicate the instruments belonging to it, as a grateful commemoration of the divine favour and protection. Thus, in the following epigram [t], a fisherman makes a present of his nets to the nymphs of the sea:

> Ταῖς νύμφαις Κίνυρις τόδε δίκτυον· ου γὰρ ἀείρει
> Γῆρας ἀκοντιστὴν μόχθον ἐκηβολίης.

Shepherds hung up their pipes to Pan, or some of the country deities. This we find done by one in Tibullus [u]:

> *Pendebatque vagi pastoris in arbore votum,*
> *Rustica silvestri fistula sacra Deo.*
>
> To Pan, the sylvan god, on every bough
> Pipes hung, the grateful shepherd's rustic vow.

Hence Lais, decayed with age, dedicates her mirror to Venus [v];

> Η σοβαρὸν γελάσασα καθ' Ἑλλάδος, ἡ τὸν ἐρώντων
> Εσμὸν ἐνὶ προθύροις Λαῒς ἔχουσα νέων,
> Σοὶ, Παφίη, τὸ κάτοπτρον· ἐπεὶ τοίη μὲν ὁρᾶσθαι
> Οὐκ ἐθέλω· οἵη δ' ἦν πάρος, οὐ δυνάμαι.

[q] Carm. lib. i. od. v.
[r] Æneid. lib. ix. v. 407.
[s] Lib. i. eleg. 3.
[t] Antholog. lib. vi. cap. 3. Epigr. vi.
[u] Lib. ii. Eleg. 5.
[v] Antholog. lib. vi. cap. 8. Epigr. i.

Whoever is willing to be farther informed concerning the nature and kinds of these presents, may consult Pausanias [w], who has left us a very particular description of those in the Delphian temple, which was the richest of any in Greece.

Before the conclusion of this chapter, it will be necessary to observe farther, that by a very ancient and universal prescription, the tenths of many things were claimed by the gods. Hence the Grecians, having driven the Persians out of Greece, presented a golden tripod to Delphian Apollo out of the tenths of the spoils taken in the war, as we are informed by Diodorus the Sicilian [x]. Another example is the golden buckler dedicated to Jupiter after the taking of Tanagra, with this inscription, as we find it in Pausanias [y]:

Ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ Τανάγρας
  Τῆς Λακεδαιμονίης συμμαχίδος γε τεθὲν,
Δῶρον ἀπ' Αργείων, καὶ Αθηναίων, καὶ Ιώνων,
  Τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εἵνεκα τῶ πολέμω.

Lucian mentions the tenths of spoils dedicated to Mars [z]. Herodotus [a] speaks of a golden chariot and horses consecrated to Pallas by the Athenians, with this inscription:

Εθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες
  Παῖδες Αθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμε,
Δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδήρεον ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν·
  Τῶν ἵππες δεκάτην Παλλάδι τὰς δ' ἔθεσαν.

We find in Xenophon [b] that the tenth part of the product of a certain field consecrated to Diana was sacrificed every year. And in Pausanias [c], that the Siphnians constantly presented a tenth part of their gold mines to Apollo. It was also customary for kings to receive a tenth portion of the several revenues of their subjects. This was paid by the Athenians to Pisistratus, the receiving whereof that tyrant excuses in his epistle to Solon [d], as being not expended in his own private service, but laid out upon sacrifices, and for other public uses. The same custom prevailed in other countries; whence Samuel describes some of the inconveniences which the Jews were bringing upon themselves by desiring a king, in the following words [e]; 'He will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give them to his officers and to his servants. He will take the tenth of your sheep, and ye shall be his servants.' So constant and universal was the custom of paying tenths to the

[w] Phocicis, p. 624. edit. Hanov.
[x] Bibliothec. Hist. Lib. xi.
[y] Eliac. ά.
[z] Dialog. de Saltatione.
[a] Lib. v. cap. 77.
[b] De expedit. Cyri, lib. v.
[c] Phocicis, p. 628.
[d] Apud Diogenem Laertium.
[e] 1 Sam. viii. 15. 17.

gods and kings, that δεκατευταὶ, and δεκατολόγοι, *collectors of tenths,* are general names for τελῶναι, *publicans,* or collectors of taxes; and δεκατεύειν is equivalent to καθιερῶσαι, λαφυραγωγεῖν or τελωνεῖν· which words signify to *consecrate,* or to *gather tributes* and *taxes*[f]. And that the same was derived from the most early times, appears from the well-known example of Abraham, who gave tithes of all to Melchisedeck, king of Salem, and priest of the most High God[g].

CHAP. V.

Of the Grecian Prayers, Supplications, and Imprecations.

THE piety of the ancient Grecians, and the honourable opinion they had conceived of their deities, doth in nothing more manifestly appear, than in the continual prayers and supplications they made to them; for no man amongst them that was endued with the smallest prudence, saith Plato[h], would undertake any thing of greater or lesser moment, without having first asked the advice and assistance of the gods; for this they thought the surest means to have all their enterprises crowned with success. And that this was practised by the whole nation of the Greeks, as well as by their philosophers, and that in the most primitive times, is fully witnessed by their poets, and other ancient writers. Thus, in Homer's ninth Iliad, Nestor is introduced praying for success to the ambassadors whom the Grecian chiefs were sending to Achilles. In the tenth Iliad, Ulysses enters upon his expedition into the Trojan camp in the same manner. In the last Iliad, Priamus entreats the assistance of the gods, before he durst adventure himself into the tent of Achilles to redeem Hector's body. And to forbear other instances, the heroes seldom engage with their enemies till they have first implored the divine protection and favour.

It seems to have been the universal practice of all nations, whether civil or barbarous, to recommend themselves to their several deities every morning and evening. Whence we are informed by Plato[i], 'that at the rising both of the sun and moon, one might everywhere behold the Greeks and barbarians, those in prosperity,

[f] Etymologici Auctor, Harpocration, Hesychius, Suid.
[g] Gen. xiv. 18. 20.
[h] Timæo.
[i] De legibus, lib. x.

as well as those under calamities and afflictions, prostrating themselves, and hear their supplications.' And to this custom Horace seems to allude, in the following words [k];

Longas ô utinam, dux bone, ferias
Præstes, dicimus integro
Sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi
Cum sol oceano subest.

Gracious and good, beneath thy reign
May Rome her happy hours employ,
And grateful hail thy just domain,
With pious hymns and festal joy :
Thus, with the rising sun we, sober, pray,
Thus, in our wine, beneath his setting ray. FRANCIS.

That is, *we pray for the prosperity of Italy, both in the morning and in the evening.*

The Lacedæmonians had a peculiar form of prayer; for they never used, either in their public or private devotions, to make any other request, than that the gods would grant what was honourable and good for them, as Plato [l] witnesseth; but Plutarch [m] tells us they added one petition more, viz. that they might be able to suffer injuries. The Athenians [n] used, in their public prayers, to desire prosperity for themselves and the Chians; and at the panathenæa, a solemnity which was celebrated once in five years, the public crier used to implore the blessing of the gods upon the Athenians and Platæans.

But passing by the subject matter of their prayers, it is my principal design in this place to describe their manner of supplicating the gods; and because they made their supplication to men for the most part with the same ceremonies, I shall treat of them both together. Petitioners, both to the gods and men, used to supplicate with green boughs in their hands, and crowns upon their heads, or garlands upon their necks; which they did with a design to beget respect in those to whom they made their supplications, as Triclinius [o], in his commentary upon Sophocles, teacheth us. These boughs are called by several names, as θαλλοὶ, or κλάδοι ἱκτήριοι, φυλλάδες ἱκτῆρες, and ἱκετηρίαι. They were commonly of laurel, or olive; whence Statius [p],

Mite nemus circa,———————
Vittatæ laurus, et supplicis arbor Olivæ.

A grove surrounds the place, where in a row
The laurel wreath'd, and suppliant olive grow.

Which trees were chiefly made use of, either because they were

[k] Lib. iv. Od. V. v. 37. [l] Alcib. ii. [m] Institut. Laconic.
[n] Alexand. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. v. cap. 27. [o] Oed. Tyr. v. 3.
[p] Theb. lib. xii.

ἀειθαλεῖς, *always green and flourishing,* whence Euripides[q] gives the latter the epithet of ἀκήρατος, *never-fading*; or because the laurel was a sign of victory, success, and joy; the olive of peace and good will. In these boughs they put wool, which was not tied to them, but wrapped about them; for which reason the tragedian[r] seems to have called it Δεσμὸν ἄδεσμον φυλλάδος, *the tie without a knot.* And from their being wrapped round, some think that they were called by the Romans *vittae,* or *infulae:* whence Virgil[s],

> ——— *ne temne, quod ultro*
> *Præferimus manibus vittas, ac verba precantum.*
> Despise us not, that in our hands we bear
> These holy boughs, and sue with words of prayer. DRYDEN.

And by the Greeks they were termed στέμματα· in which sense Homer is by some thought to have used this word[t]:

> Στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος.

For, according to the old scholia upon Sophocles[u], στέμμα is to be interpreted τὸ προσειλημένον ἔριον τῷ θαλλῷ, *certain wool wrapped about a green bough.* With these boughs, and sometimes with their hands, if they were doubtful whether they should prevail or not, it was usual to touch the knees of the statue or man, to whom they addressed themselves: if they had hopes, they touched his right hand, but never the left, that being thought unlucky; if they were confident of success, they rose as high as his chin or cheeks. It was customary to touch the head, because that is the principal and most honourable member in a man's body, as Eustathius thinks[w]; or because they desired the person should give his consent to their petitions *annuendo, by a nod,* for this was the manner of granting requests; whence Jupiter, in Homer[x], having granted Thetis's petition, adds:

> Εἰδ', ἄγε τοι κεφαλῇ κατανεύσομαι, ὄφρα πεποίθῃς.
> Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέθεν γίνετ' ἀθανάτοισι μέγιστον
> Τεκμωρ, οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον οὐδ' ἀπατηλὸν,
> Οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητόν γ', ὅ, τι κεφαλῇ κατανεύσω.
> Now part in peace, secure thy prayer is sped;
> Witness the sacred honours of our head,
> The nod that ratifies the will divine
> The faithful, fix'd, irrevocable sign. POPE.

The hand they touched[y], as being the instrument of action; the knees, because they desired the soul of the person should *bend* as it were and *incline* to their requests, for that the joints in that place are more flexible than in any other part; or because the knees are

q In Ione, v. 1436.
r In Ἱκέτιδ. v. 31.
s Æneid. vii. v. 236.
t Iliad. ά. v. 14.
u In vers. 3. Oedip. Tyr.
w In Il. ά. p. 97. edit. Bas.
x Il. ά. v. 524.
y Eustath. ibidem.

the instruments of motion, as if they requested the person to bestir himself, and walk about to effect their desires. Whence, to use the words of Pliny[z], *hominis genibus quaedam religio inest, observatione gentium: haec supplices attingunt; haec, ut aras, adorant; fortasse quia ipsis inest vitalitas.* By all nations a sort of religious veneration is paid to the knees of men; these the suppliants endeavour to touch; these they adore in the same manner as they do the altars of the gods; perhaps because there is a sort of lively vigour in them. Sometimes they touched the knees with one hand, and the head or hands with the other. Thus did Thetis by Jupiter:

> *Ἠερίη δ' ἀνέβη μέγαν οὐρανὸν, Οὔλυμπόν τε,*
> *Εὗρεν δ' εὐρύοπα Κρονίδην ἄτερ ἥμενον ἄλλων*
> *Ἀκροτάτη κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο.*
> *Καί ῥα πάροιθ' αὐτοῖο καθέζετο, καὶ λάβε γούνων*
> *Σκαιῇ, δεξιτερῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' ἀνθερεῶνος ἑλοῦσα.*
>
> Just like the morning mist in early day,
> Rose from the flood the daughter of the sea;
> And to the seats divine her flight addrest;
> There, far apart, and high above the rest,
> The Thunderer sat; where old Olympus shrouds
> His hundred heads in heaven, and props the clouds.
> Suppliant the goddess stood: one hand she plac'd
> Beneath his beard, and one his knee embrac'd. POPE.

Sometimes they kissed the hands and knees. Priamus in Homer is introduced touching the knees of Achilles, and kissing his hands[a]:

> *Χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος λάβε γούνατα, καὶ κύσε χεῖρας.*

And Ulysses reports, that himself, when a suppliant to the king of Egypt, touched and kissed his knees[b]:

> *Καὶ κύσα γούναθ' ἑλὼν, ὁ δ' ἐρύσατο, καὶ μ' ἐλέησεν.*

If the petitioners were very fearful, and the persons to whom they addressed themselves of very great quality, they kissed their feet. This kiss the Romans called *labratum*, and the old Gloss renders it *φίλημα βασιλικὸν, ἢ ἀσπαστικὸν βασιλέως*, *a kiss of a king*. Sometimes they kissed their own hands, and with them touched the person. Another sort of salutation there was, whereby they did homage to the gods, viz. by putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joint, which they used in counting the number ten), and then giving a turn on their right hand, as it is in Plautus[c]:

> Ph. *Quod si non affert, quo me vortam nescio.*
> Pa. *Si Deos salutas, dextro vorsum censeo.*

[z] Nat. Hist. lib. x. cap. 45.
[a] Iliad. ώ. v. 478.
[b] Odyss. ξ'. v. 279.
[c] Circul. act. i. scen. 1.

Ph. But if he fail me, I know not which way to *turn.*
Pa. *Turn!*—why you must *turn* to th' right hand, I conceive,
If you would reverence the gods.—— H. H.

Sometimes they prostrated themselves at the entrance of the temples, and kissed the sacred threshold. To which custom Tibullus thus alludes [d];

Non ego si merui, dubitem procumbere templis,
Et dare sacratis oscula liminibus.

For crimes like these, I'd abject crawl the ground,
Kiss her dread threshold, and my forehead wound. GRAINGER.

So generally was this custom of kissing practised by supplicants, that Eustathius [e] thinks the words προσκυνεῖν, to *adore*, was derived from κύειν which signifies to *kiss*.

Another manner they had of supplicating, by pulling the hairs off their head, and offering them to the person to whom they prayed. After this manner did Agamemnon present himself before Jupiter, when Hector had given the Grecians an overthrow [f]:

Πολλὰς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελύμνους ἕλκετο χαίτας
Ὑψόθ' ἐόντι Διΐ——————

He rends his hairs in sacrifice to Jove,
And sues to him that ever lives above. POPE.

They often clothed themselves with rags, or put on the habit of mourners, to move pity and compassion.

The postures they used were different. Sometimes they prayed standing, sometimes sitting, but generally kneeling, because that seems to bear the greatest show of humility; whence the words γουνάζεσθαι, γονυπετεῖν, and such like, signify to *pray*, or make supplication. Prostration was almost as frequent as kneeling. The poets furnish us with innumerable examples of prostration before the images, altars, and sometimes the thresholds of the temples. Thus in Ovid [g]:

Ut templi tetigere gradus, procumbit uterque
Pronus humi, gelidoque pavens dedit oscula saxo.

Come to the temple prostrate they ador'd,
Kiss'd the cold ground, and then the god implor'd.

Which practice is ridiculed by Lucretius [h], who says that it is no act of piety;

——— *procumbere humi prostratum, et pandere palmas*
Ante Deûm delubra.————

To fall down prostrate at a senseless shrine
And with spread arms invoke the pow'rs divine,
Before their temples.————

The Greek scholiast upon Pindar tells us, they were wont to turn their faces towards the east, when they prayed to the gods; and to

d Lib. i. eleg. v. e Ad Odyss. ί. f Iliad. ϑ́. v. 15.
g Metamorph. lib. i. h Lib. v.

the west, when to the heroes or demigods. Others [i] say, they always kept their faces towards the sun; that in the morning they turned themselves to the east, at noon to the south, and in the evening to the west.

The safest place for a petitioner, either to gods or men (next to the temples and altars), was the hearth or fire-place, whither it was usual to betake themselves, when they came to any strange place in travel or banishment, as being the altar of Vesta, and the household gods. Whence Ulysses, being a suppliant in the court of Alcinous king of Phæacia, is thus introduced by Homer [j]:

——— κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετ' ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἐν κονίῃσι

When they had once seated themselves there, in the ashes, in a mournful posture, and with a dejected countenance, they needed not to open their mouths, neither was it the custom so to do; for those actions spoke loud enough, and told the calamity of the supplicant more movingly than a thousand orations. This we learn from Apollonius Rhodius [k];

> Τὼ δ' ἄνεω, καὶ ἄναυδοι ἐφ' ἑστίῃ ἀΐξαντες
> Ἵζανον, ἥ τε δίκη λυγροῖς ἱκέτῃσι τέτυκται.
>
> As soon as o'er the threshold they can get,
> At Vesta's shrine in humblest sort they sit;
> For there they're safe, and want of nothing know,
> Such privilege our laws the poor allow. H. H.

The Molossians had a peculiar manner of supplicating, different from that of all other countries; which was practised by Themistocles when he was pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and forced to cast himself on the protection of Admetus, king of that country; he held the young prince (who was then a child) in his arms, and in that posture prostrated himself before the king's household gods; this being the most sacred manner of supplication among the Molossians, and which was not to be rejected, as Plutarch [l] reports.

They that fled to the gods for refuge or help, used first to crown the altars with garlands, and then to make known their desires to the deity;

> Πάντας δὲ βωμοὺς οἳ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δόμους,
> Προσῆλθε, κἀξέστεψε, καὶ προσηύξατο.
>
> And when with myrtle garlands he had crown'd
> Each altar in Admetus' house, he pray'd, H. H.

saith Euripides [m]. It was usual also to take hold of the altars, as Virgil [n] witnesseth;

i Cœlius Rhod. lib. xii. cap. 2.
j Odyss. η. v. 153.
k Argonaut, lib. iv.
l In Themistocle.
m In Alcestide.
n Æneid. iv. v. 219.

Talibus orantem dictis, arasque tenentem,
Audiit omnipotens,

Him as he grasp'd the altars, and preferr'd
His wrathful prayer, th' almighty father heard. PITT.

Whence Varro is of opinion, that altars were called *arae, q. ansae.* which word is used to signify any thing that may be *taken hold of.* It was also an usual gesture in praying, to lift up their hands towards heaven. Πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἀνατείνομεν τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν ἐρανὸν εὐχὰς ποιέμενοι· *we do all lift up our hands to heaven when we pray,* saith Aristotle [o]. The same is affirmed by Helena in her prayer to Juno [p]:

——————ὀρθὰς ὠλένας πρὸς ἐρανὸν
Ῥιπτἐνθ', ἵν' οἰκεῖς ἀςέρων ποικίλματα.

Goddess rever'd, two wretches from their woes
Relieve, we suppliant beg thee, stretching thus
Our hands to yon star-spangled sky, thy seat. POTTER.

Whence it appears, that the reason of lifting up their hands, was, that they might hold them towards the gods, whose habitation is in heaven. Homer everywhere mentions this posture, always adding χεῖρας ἀνασχὼν, when he speaks of any one that prayed to the gods. And this custom was so universally received, that the holding up of hands is sometimes used to signify *praying,* as in Horace;

Cœlo supinas si tuleris manus.
If to the gods your hands you shall lift up.

On the contrary, because the infernal gods were supposed to have their habitation beneath the earth, it was usual to pray to them with hands pointed downwards. Sometimes, the better to excite the attention of these gods, they stamped the ground with their feet. This is said to have been done by the actors, when they pronounced these words of Hecuba, wherein she invokes the assistance of the infernal gods to save her son Polydorus [q]:

Ω χθόνιοι Θεοὶ, σώσατε παῖδ' ἐμόν.

Whence *Cleanthem, cum pede terram percussisset, versum ex Epigonis dixisse ferunt:* It is reported of Cleanthes, that having first stamped the ground with his foot, he recited the following verse out of the Epigoni:

Audisne hæc, Amphiarae, sub terram abdite [r] *?*

When they lay prostrate or kneeled upon the earth, it was customary to beat it with their hands. Thus the mother of Meleager is introduced by Homer [s]:

o Lib. vi. De Mundó.
p Euripid. Hel. v. 1100.
q Euripides Hecubæ, v. 79.
r Cicero Tusculan. Quæst. lib. ii.
s Iliad. *i.* v. 564.

Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοία,
Κικλήσκουσ' Ἀΐδην, καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνειαν,
Πρόχνυ καθεζομένη, ———

Oft would she smite the earth, while on her knees,
Seated, she fill'd her bosom with her tears,
And call'd on Pluto and dread Proserpine
To slay her son.——— COWPER.

Lastly, they who prayed to the deities of the sea, expanded their hands towards the sea. This we find done by Achilles in Homer, when he invokes Thetis [t]; as likewise by Cloanthus in Virgil [u]:

Ni palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus,
Fudissetque preces, Divosque in vota vocâsset:
Dii, quibus imperium pelagi, &c.

But brave Cloanthus o'er the rolling floods
Stretch'd wide his hands and thus invok'd the Gods:
Ye pow'rs! on whose wide empire I display, &c. PITT.

These customs are briefly explained by the scholiast on the forementioned verses of Homer's ninth Iliad: Εὔχονται δὲ οἱ ἥρωες τοῖς μὲν ὀυρανίοις θεοῖς, ἄνω τὰς,

Χεῖρας ἀνασχόντες μέγα εὐχετόωντο ἕκαστος.

The heroes pray to the celestial gods, lifting up their hands to heaven, as in the verse there cited. Τοῖς δὲ θαλασσίοις *to the gods of the sea,* they prayed thus:

Πολλὰ δὲ μητρὶ φίλῃ ἠρήσατο χεῖρας ὀρεγνὺς,

Πρὸς θάλλασσαν δηλονότι· *extending his hands towards the sea.* Τοῖς καταχθονίοις δὲ, κόπτοντες τὴν γῆν, ὡς ἐνθάδε φησι. *But to the subterraneous gods, they prayed beating the earth, as is here done by Meleager's mother.* Prayer being ended, they lifted up their hand to their mouth, and kissed it; which custom was also practised by the Romans, whenever they passed by a temple, and was accounted a sort of veneration, as Alexander ab Alexandro informs us [w]; and Lilius Gyraldus [x] tells us, he hath observed the same in Homer, and others. Whence Lucian, in his encomium of Demosthenes, has these words: Καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τῷ στόματι προσαγαγόντος, ὀυδὲν ἄλλο ἢ προσκυνεῖν ἐλάμβανον· *his hand being lift up to his mouth, I did not suspect that he was doing any thing but praying.* And again, in his tract concerning sacrifices: Ὁ δὲ πένης ἱλάσατο τὸν θεὸν, φιλήσας μόνον τὴν αὐτȣ̃ δεξιάν· *the poor man obtains the favour of the gods, by kissing his right hand only.* Whence it appears, that the right hand, rather than the left, was kissed on this occasion. Neither was the palm, or inward part, but τὸ ὀπισθέναρ, the *back* and outward part of the hand thus honoured; for, to use the words of Pliny [y], *inest et aliis partibus quædam religio: Sicut dextera oscu-*

[t] Iliad. α. v. 350.
[u] Æneid. v. ver. 233.
[y] Nat. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 45.
[w] Gen. Dier lib. iv. cap. 16.
[x] Syntagm. de Diis Gentium.

lis aversa appetitur. There is a sort of religion in other members; as we find by the custom of kissing the back of the hand.

It will not be improper to observe, in the last place, that τὰς εὐχὰς ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι δυνατωτέρας εἶναι βαρβάρῳ φωνῇ λεγομένας, *it was a common opinion, that their prayers were more prevalent and successful, when offered in a barbarous and unknown language:* and the reason assigned for it, was, that αἱ πρῶται καὶ γενικαὶ διάλεκτοι, βάρβαροι μὲν, φύσει δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσιν· *the first and native languages of mankind, though barbarous and uncouth, yet consisted of words and names more agreeable to nature* [z]. Whence it was customary for magicians, and those who pretended to have a more intimate familiarity with the gods than other men, to make their petitions in barbarous and unknown sounds.

Sometimes if they obtained their request, and it was a matter of consequence, they presented to the god some rich gift, or offered a sacrifice in thankfulness for the benefit they had received; sometimes they related it to the priest of the temple, that it might be registered, as a testimony of the goodness of the gods, and their readiness to hear the petitions of mortals, and send them relief; and for an encouragement to men to make known their wants and desires to the deities, and to expect assistance from them: on which account, as Eustathius has observed, all prayers in Homer, the petitions of which are just and reasonable, are rewarded with a full and satisfactory answer.

From the Grecian prayers let us pass to their imprecations. These were extremely terrible, being thought so powerful, when duly pronounced, as to occasion the destruction, not only of single persons, but of whole families and cities. The miseries which befel Atreus, Agamemnon, and others of that family, were thought to proceed from the imprecations of Myrtilus upon Pelops their ancestor, by whom he was thrown into the sea. Thus Lycophron [a]:

> Φερωνύμους ἔδυψε Νηρέως τάφους,
> Πανώλεθρον κηλῖδα θωΰξας γένει.

The same imprecations are likewise mentioned in the Electra of Sophocles, and the Orestes of Euripides. Though by others the calamities of that family are ascribed to the curses of Thyestes, Atreus's brother; whence *Thyesteæ preces* are used proverbially for any dreadful imprecations: as in Horace [b];

[z] Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. i. p. 339.

[a] Cassandræ, ver. 164.

[b] Epod. v. ver. 86.

Misit Thyesteas preces.

But the most dreadful imprecations were those pronounced by parents, priests, kings, prophets, or other sacred persons. Examples whereof may be found in Homer's ninth Iliad, where Phœnix relates, that the gods would not permit him to have children by reason of his father's imprecations [c]: and afterwards that Meleager was destroyed by the curses of his mother [d]:

Ἐξ ἀρέων μητρὸς κεχολωμένος, ἥ ῥα θεοῖσι
Πολλ' ἀχέουσ' ἠρᾶτο κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο·
Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοία,
Κικλήσκουσ' Ἀΐδην, καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνειαν,
Πρόχνυ καθεζομένη· δεύοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι
Παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον· τῆς δ' ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐριννὺς
Ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἐρέβευσφιν, ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα.

Althæa's hate th' unhappy warrior drew,
Whose luckless hand his royal uncle slew;
She beat the ground, and call'd the powers beneath
On her own son to wreak her brother's death:
Hell heard her curses from the realms profound
And the red fiends that walk the nightly round. POPE.

Hence it was customary for men condemned for any notorious crime, to be publicly cursed by the priests. This befel Alcibiades, against whom, beside banishment and confiscation, the Athenians ἔτι καταρᾶσθαι προσεψηφίσαντο πάντας ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερείας· *decreed that he should be cursed by all the priests and priestesses.* Which decree was obeyed by all who then held that office, except Theano, who professed herself εὐχῶν ου καταρῶν ἱερείαν γεγονέναι· *to be by her office of priesthood appointed to bless and not to curse.*

There is likewise frequent mention of imprecations in the Roman affairs and authors. Thus when Crassus undertook that fatal expedition against the Parthians, wherein he perished, ὁ Ἀτήϊος προσδραμὼν πρὸς τὴν πύλην, ἔθηκεν ἐσχαρίδα καιομένην, καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου γενομένου κατ' αὐτὸν, ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ κατασπένδων, ἀρὰς ἐπηρᾶτο δεινὰς μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ φρικώδεις· *Ateius running to the gate of the city, placed there a vessel full of burning coals, upon which he offered odours and libations, and pronounced most dreadful curses against Crassus, as he passed by* [e]. And we are informed by Pliny [f], that *diris deprecationibus defigi, nemo non metuit*: 'All men are afraid of imprecations.' There being no way to avoid or expiate their direful effects, according to Horace [g]:

Diris agam vos: dira detestatio
Nullâ expiatur victimâ.

For while I curse the direful deed
In vain shall all your victims bleed. FRANCIS.

[c] Ver. 455. [d] Ver. 562. [e] Appianus in Parthico Conf. Cicero de Divin. lib. i. [f] Nat. Hist. lib. xxviii. cap. 2. [g] Epod. v. ver. 89.

And that the same practice was used in other parts of the world, appears from the sacred writings: wherein Jonathan, after he had gained a glorious victory over the enemies of his country, is reported to have been reduced to the last extremity by the imprecations of Saul, his father and king [h]. And Joshua is said to have pronounced a solemn curse upon the person who should rebuild Jericho [i]; which was fulfilled upon Hiel many ages after [k]. Balaam the magician was sent for by Balak, king of Moab, to curse his enemies the Israelites [l]. The patriarch Jacob is introduced distributing his blessings to some of his children (which was a custom no less ancient than the other), and his curses to Reuben, Simeon, and Levi [m]. Noah, the father of a new world, pronounced an imprecation upon his grandson Canaan [n], which had its effect a long time after. And the practice seems to have been derived from the curses pronounced by God upon Adam, and afterwards upon Cain.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Grecian Oaths.

HAVING described the manner of offering sacrifices and prayers to the gods, I shall proceed, in the next place, to speak of the honour paid to them, by using their names in solemn contracts, promises, and asseverations; and calling them to witness men's truth and honesty, or to punish their falsehood and treachery. This was reputed a sort of religious adoration, being an acknowledgment of the omnipotence, and omnipresence, and by consequence, of the divinity of the person thus invoked. Whence the poets describe men's reception into the number of the gods by their being invoked in oaths. Thus Horace speaks of Cæsar [o];

Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras:

and Lucan of the Roman heroes, who sacrificed their lives in the civil wars [p];

Bella pares superis facient civilia Divos:
Fulminibus manes, radiisque ornabit, et astris;
Inque Deum templis jurabit Roma per umbras.
In civil wars, the Chiefs, like Gods, command,
With rays adorn'd, with thunders arm'd they stand,
And incense, prayers and sacrifice demand;

h 1 Sam. xiv. 24.
i Josh. vi. 26.
k 1 Reg. 34.
l Numer. xxii. 5, 6, &c.
m Gen. xlix. 5, 4.
n Ibid. ix. 25, 26. 27.
o Lib. ii. Epist. i. ver. 16.
p Lib. vii. v. 457.

While trembling, slavish, superstitious Rome
Swears by a mortal wretch, that moulders in a tomb. ROWE.

Adrastus in Statius [q] compliments the ghost of Archemorus in the same manner:

——— *captivis etiam jurabere Thebis.*

And the inspired writers, for the same reason forbid to swear by the pagan deities, and command to swear by the true God. Thus in Deuteronomy [r]: 'Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name.' And in Jeremiah [s]: 'How shall I pardon thee for this? Thy children have forsaken me, and sworn by them that are no gods.' And to forbear other instances, the worshippers of the true God are by David [t] described by swearing by him.

Ὅρκος, the god of oaths, is by Hesiod [u] said to be the son of Eris, or contention; and fables tell us, that in the golden age, when men were strict observers of the laws of truth and justice, there was no occasion for oaths, nor any use made of them: but when they began to degenerate from their primitive simplicity, when truth and justice were banished out of the earth, when every one began to make advantage of his neighbour by cozenage and deceit, and there was no trust to be placed in any man's word, it was high time to think of some expedient whereby they might secure themselves from the fraud and falsehood of one another. Hence had oaths their original. We are told indeed by Clemens of Alexandria [w], that Chiron first invented oaths; but the meaning of that seems only to be this; that he first reduced some of the barbarous nations to a sense of religion and virtue: whence it is added in the same place, that he taught them δικαιοσύνην, καὶ θυσίας ἱλαρὰς· *justice and propitiatory sacrifices.* However that be, it is probable, that at first oaths were only used upon weighty and momentous occasions, yet in process of time they came to be applied to every trivial matter, and in common discourse, which has given occasion to the distinction of oaths into that, which was called Ὁ μέγας, and used only on solemn and weighty accounts; and that which they termed Ὁ μικρὸς, which was taken in things of the smallest moment, and was sometimes used merely as an expletive to fill up a sentence, and make a round and emphatical period. Some there are that tell us, the μέγας ὅρκος, was that wherein the gods, μικρὸς, that wherein creatures were called to witness; but the falsity of

[q] Thebaid. vii. 102. [r] VI. 15. [s] V. 7. [t] Psalm lxiii. v. 2.
[u] Theogon. v. 231. [w] Strom. i. pag. 306.

this distinction doth evidently appear by a great many instances, whereof I shall only mention one, viz. that of the Arcadians, amongst whom the most sacred and inviolable oath was taken by the water of a fountain called Styx, near Nonacris, a city, as Herodotus [x], or, according to others, a mountain in Arcadia; upon which account it was, that Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, to secure the fidelity of the Arcadians, had a design to carry the principal men among them to Nonacris, and there to make them swear by this fountain, though they had taken another oath before, as my author [y] hath related. It will not be wholly impertinent in this place to mention the great oath of the gods by the Stygian lake; for Jupiter, as Hesiod [z] reports,

> Αὐτὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἐμμέναι ὅρκον,
> Ordain'd this lake a solemn oath should be
> To all the gods.————

Which is the reason why some derive the word ὅρκος, an oath, from *orcus*, hell. This oath was invented by Jupiter, and prescribed by him to the rest of the gods, in honour of Styx; because she, with her sons, came the first of all the gods, to his assistance in the war against the giants; or, for that her daughter Victoria was favourable to him, saith Hesiod; or, because he had quenched his thirst with her waters in the fight. If any god swore falsely by these waters, he was debarred the use of nectar, and deprived of his divinity for an hundred years; these others reduce to nine, but Servius, out of Orpheus, enlargeth them to nine thousand.

The god that was thought more especially to preside over oaths, was Jupiter; though all the gods seem to have been concerned in them, for it was usual to swear by them all, or any of them; and of any perjured person they spoke in general, that he had offended the gods, of which there are innumerable instances: but they were thought chiefly, and more peculiarly to belong to Jupiter's care; and though perhaps this may not appear (as some think it doth) from the word *jus-jurandum*, which they will have to be so called *q. Jovis jurandum*, yet it will sufficiently be proved by the plain testimony of the poet, that saith [a],

> ————Ζῆνά θ', ὅς ὅρκον
> Θνατοῖς ταμίας νενόμισαι.
> And Jove, that over human oaths presides.

The gods, by whom Solon commanded the Athenians chiefly to

[x] Erato. [y] Loc. citato. [z] Theogonia. [a] Euripid. Medeæ, v. 170.

swear in public causes, were three[b], viz. Ἱκέσιος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἐξακεστήριος, or rather one Jupiter Ὅρκιος, by three names, though some make them to be three distinct gods. Plato in his Euthydemus mentions Apollo, Minerva, and Jupiter. Demosthenes also in his oration against Midias swears by the same three deities: but in another against Timocrates he takes an oath by Jupiter, Neptune, and Ceres. And the Athenians very often swore by other gods: sometimes by all the gods in general, sometimes by the twelve great gods, as μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεὺς; the Spartans usually Μὰ τὼ Σιώ, by Castor and Pollux. The women's oaths, were commonly by Juno, Diana, or Venus, or νὴ τὼ θεώ, i. e. by Ceres and Proserpina, which were appropriated to the female sex, according to Phavorinus[c], and never used by men, except in imitation of the women. Not that these were the only oaths used by women, for the contrary doth abundantly appear, but they were the most usual ones, though they often swore by other goddesses, and sometimes by the gods, as appears from Aristophanes.

Men generally swore by the god to whom the business they had in hand, or the place they were in, did belong; in the market they usually swore by Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος, or Mercury; ploughmen, by Ceres; those that delighted in horses, by Neptune. The Athenians[d] alone of all the Greeks used to swear by Isis, and the Thebans commonly by Osiris.

Sometimes, either out of haste, or assurance of their being in the right, or some of the like reasons, they swore indefinitely by any of the gods, in this manner: Ὄμνυμι μέν τινα τῶν θεῶν· which form we find used in Plato's Phædrus, and in Aristænetus's epistle of Euxitheus to Pytheas. Others, thinking it unlawful to use the name of god upon every slight occasion, said no more than Ναὶ μὰ τὸν, or *By*, &c. by a religious ellipsis omitting the name; thus Phavorinus[e]. Suidas also mentions the same custom, which (saith he) ῥυθμίζει πρὸς εὐσέβειαν· inures men to a pious regard for the name of god[f]. Isocrates, in Stobæus, forbids to swear by any of the gods in any suit of law about money, and only allows it on two accounts: ἢ σαυτὸν αἰτίαις αἰσχρᾶς ἀπολύων, ἢ φίλους ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων διασώζων· *either to vindicate yourself from the imputation of some wickedness, or deliver your friends from some great danger.* To which Simplicius, in his commentary upon Epictetus, adds a third, viz. *to obtain some considerable benefit for your country*

b Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 12.

c In voce Νή.

d Alex. ab Alex. lib. v. cap. 10. Gen. Dier.

e Voce Μά.

f V. Ναὶ μὰ τό.

Pythagoras, as Hierocles [g] informs us, was very cautious in this matter, for he rarely swore by the gods himself, or allowed his scholars to do so; instead of the gods, he advised them to swear by Τὴν τετρακτυν, or *the number four*, saith Plutarch [h], as thinking the perfection of the soul consisted in this number, there being in every soul, a mind, science, opinion, and sense. And it is reported of Clinias the Pythagorean, that when he might have cleared himself from a fine of three talents, he rather chose to pay that sum than to take an oath. Socrates told his scholars, that Rhadamanthus, the justest man that ever lived, had expressly forbidden men to swear by the gods, but instead of them, allowed the use of a dog, goose, ram, or such like creatures; and in conformity to this rule, that philosopher was wont to swear, νὴ τὸν κύνα, χῆνα, or πλάτανον, *by a dog, goose*, or *plane-tree*. Zeno, the father of the stoics, usually swore νὴ τὴν κάππαριν, i. e. *by a shrub that bears capers*. In Ananius, one swears by *crambe*, i. e. colewort, saith Cœlius [i]; the same oath occurs in Teleclides, Epicharmus, and Eupolis, and it seems to have been used more especially among the Ionians. By which instances, it appears, that though the custom of swearing upon light and frivolous occasions was very common amongst the Greeks, as may be seen in their comedies and other interlocutory discourses, yet the more wise and considerate sort entertained a most religious regard for oaths. Sometimes they seem entirely to forbid all sorts of oaths, whether just or unjust, to which purpose is that saying of Menander:

Ὅρκον δὲ φεῦγε, κἂν δικαίως ὀμνύῃς.

And another of Chœrilus;

Ὅρκον τ' οὔτ' ἄδικον χρεὼν ἔμμεναι, οὔτε δίκαιον.

And, to mention no more examples, the scholiast upon Homer informs us, that the ancient Greeks did not προπετῶς κατὰ τῶν Θεῶν ὀμνύναι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν προστυγχανόντων· *rashly, and in common discourse, swear by the gods, but made use of other things*. The same words occur also in Suidas [j].

Sometimes they swore by the ground they stood upon, as Hippolytus in Euripides [k];

———— καὶ πέδον χθονὸς ὄμνυμι,
And by the solid ground I swear.

Sometimes by rivers, fountains, floods, the elements, sun, moon, and stars, all which they accounted very sacred oaths [l]. Some-

[g] In Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. 2.
[h] Libro de Placit. Philosoph,
[i] Antiq. Lect. lib. xxvii. cap. 28.
[j] Voce Ναὶ μὰ τὸ.
[k] Ver. 1025.
[l] Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib, v. cap. 10.

times they swore by any thing they made use of, as a fisher by his nets, a soldier by his spear; and this last was a very great oath, if that be true which Justin [m] hath reported, viz. that the ancients paid divine worship to this weapon; in memory of which, in later ages, it was usual for the statues of the gods to hold a spear: and Eustathius [n] writes, that Cæneus erected a spear, and commanded that it should be worshipped as a god. Kings and princes usually swore by their sceptres, as we find everywhere in Homer; and this also was thought a solemn oath, because the sceptre is a badge and ensign of regal and judicial power.

They swore also by men; sometimes by the dead, of which Demosthenes is a famous instance, who, in an oration to the people of Athens, swore by τὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, those that valiantly lost their lives in the battle of Marathon; sometimes by the living, and this was done either by their Σωτηρία, *health* and *safety*; or Ἄλγεα, their *misfortunes;* or their names; or some of their members, as their eyes, right hand, especially their head, which was accounted a very solemn oath:

> ——— πατρὸς κεφαλὴν μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμῦμαι
> By my good father's head, to me most dear,
> This binding oath I solemnly do swear. MR. E. DECHAIR, LINC. COLL.

Saith one in Homer; and Helena, swearing to Menelaus, calls it Ἁγνὸν ὅρκον, *a sacred oath;*

> Ἀλλ' ἁγνὸν ὅρκον σὸν κάρα κατομῶσα.
> Let your vow'd head this sacred oath confirm.

The reason of this was, because the head was accounted the principal and most noble part of man; or, as Hansenius [o] thinks, because it was the *hieroglyphic* of health.

Sometimes they swore by those who were dearest to them, as parents, children, or those they had an high esteem for; so the Pythagoreans used to swear by their master Pythagoras; nor did they this as thinking him a god or hero, but because he was a person whose memory they thought deserved a great veneration, and whose merits had exalted him to a near affinity with the divine nature.

The manner of taking oaths was sometimes by lifting up their hands to heaven; whence Apollo, in the poet, bids Lachesus χεῖρας ἀνατεῖναι· though Hansenius is of opinion that this custom was of a later original. Sometimes in the μέγας ὅρκος, or great and solemn oath, they laid their hands upon the altar, as appears from that saying of Pericles, who being desired by a friend to take a false

[m] Lib. xiii [n] In Iliad. α. [o] Libro de Jurament, Veterum.

oath upon his account, replied, that he was his friend to the altars, and no farther; as likewise from the story reported by Diogenes Laertius, of Xenocrates, who, being a man eminent for a strict and virtuous life, was summoned as a witness in a certain cause, where, having spoken what he knew of the matter, he went to the altar to confirm his evidence by oath; but the judges well knowing the integrity of the man, with unanimous consent bid him forbear, and gave credit to him upon his bare word. Lastly, to pass by other examples, the same rite is observed in Virgil, at the celebrated league between Latinus and Æneas[p]:

Tango aras, mediosque ignes et numina testor;
Nulla dies pacem hanc Italis et fœdera rumpet.

I touch the sacred altars, touch the flames,
And all those powers attest, and all their names:
Whatever chance befall on either side,
No term of time this union shall divide. DRYDEN.

Instead of the altar, saith Pfeifer[q], sometimes they made use of a stone; for this he is beholden to Suidas, who hath taken it out of Aristotle and Philochorus, and for a farther confirmation of it, hath cited these words out of the oration of Demosthenes against Cohon, Τῶν τε παρόντων καθ' ἕνα ἡμῶν ἐτωτὶ πρὸς τὸν λίθον ἄγοντες, καὶ ἐξορκοῦντες· i. e. *and bringing all us who were present, one by one, to the stone, and there administering the oath to us.* What is meant by this stone, which Pfeifer seems not to have understood, the scholiast upon Aristophanes[r] hath informed us in his comment upon this verse;

Τονθορίζοντες δὲ γήρᾳ τῷ λιθῷ προσέςαμεν.

——— we, though depress'd with age,
With mutt'rings near tribunals still approach. E. D.

Where he tells us, that by λίθος is meant the βῆμα, or *tribunal,* in Pnyx, a public place where the Athenian assemblies used to meet. And the reason why it is so called, he gives in another place, where the comedian calls it Πέτρα, a *stone,* because it stood upon a rock; whence λιθωμόται, are those that took or imposed an oath in Pnyx. Instead of the altar, in private contracts, the person swearing, according to the Roman fashion, laid his hand upon the hand of the party to whom he swore: this ceremony Menelaus in Euripides demands of Helena;

Ἐπὶ τοῖσδι τοῖς νῦν δεξιᾶς ἐμῆς θίγε[s].

T' unite our hearts, our hands let's friendly join.

In all compacts and agreements it was usual to take each other by

p Æneid. xii. v. 201.
q Antiq. Græc. lib. ii. cap. 27.
r In Archarnensibus.
s Helen. v. 834.

the hand, that being the manner of plighting faith; and this was done, either out of the respect they had to the number ten, as some say, there being ten fingers on the two hands; or because such a conjunction was a token of amity and concord; whence, at all friendly meetings, they joined hands, as a design of the union of their souls. And the right hand seems to have been used rather than the left, because it was more honourable, as being the instrument by which superiors give commands to those below them; whence Crinagoras, in an epigram, saith, it was impossible that all the enemies in the world should ever prevail against Rome:

> ———ἄχρι κε μένῃ
> Δεξιὰ σημαίνειν Καίσαρι θαρσαλέη.
> While godlike Cæsar shall a right hand have
> Fit for command.——— E. D.

Beside this, in all solemn leagues and covenants, they sacrificed to the gods by whom they swore, offering for the most part, either a boar, ram, or goat; sometimes all three; sometimes bulls or lambs instead of any of them. Sometimes they cut out the stones of the victim, and took the oath standing upon them. A ram or boar they used, is properly called Τομίας. The ceremonies were thus: they first cut some of the hair off the victim's head, and gave part of it to all present, that all might share in the oath[t]:

> Ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνε τρίχας, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
> Κήρυκες Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν νεῖμαν ἀρίστοις.
> From the sign'd victims crops the curling hair,
> The heralds part it, and the princes share. POPE.

The reason of this custom Eustathius explains from the following verses of Sophocles:

> Κακῶς κακῶς ἄθαπτος ἐκπέσει χθονὸς,
> Γένους ἅπαντος ῥίζαν ἐξημημένος
> Αὕτως ὅπως περ τόνδ' ἐγὼ τέμνω πλόκον.
> Curses attend you, if you e'er prove false,
> Your days in bitter sorrows may you live,
> And when fate calls (but may that ling'ring come),
> May your dead corpse no fit interment find:
> Yet now I favours wish; be your whole race
> Plagues heap'd on plagues, vex'd, and at last cut off,
> As I these locks cut from the sacred head. E. D.

After this they invoked the gods to be witnesses of their agreement, and to punish the person that should first violate his oath. This done, they killed the victims by cutting their throats;

> ———ἀπὸ στομάχους ἀρνῶν τάμε νηλέϊ χαλκῷ.
> Then with his piercing sword their throats he stabb'd.

For στόμαχος originally signified a *throat*, as Eustathius observes

[t] Iliad. γ'.

upon that place. Hence comes the phrase, ὅρκια τέμνειν, in Latin, *ferire foedus*, i. e. *to make a covenant*. This done, they repeated the form of words, which both parties were to confirm with mutual oaths, as appears from Homer's description of the truce made between the Grecians and Trojans.

After this they made a libation of wine, which was at this time mixed, to signify the conjunction and concord between the parties; then praying again to the gods, they poured it forth, requesting, that whoever should first break his oath might have his blood or brains poured out in the same manner; as Homer reports [u]:

Οἶνον δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφυσσάμενοι δεπάεσσιν,
Εκχεον, ἠδ' εὔχοντο θεοῖς αἰειγενέτησιν.
Ωδε δέ τις εἴπεσκεν Αχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε·
Ζεῦ κύδιστε, μέγιστε, καὶ Αθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
Οππότεροι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὅρκια πημήνειαν,
Ωδέ σφι ἐγκέφαλος χάμαδις ῥέοι, ὡς ὅδε οἶνος,
Αὐτῶν, καὶ τεκέων, ἄλοχοι δ' ἄλλοισι μιγεῖεν.

From the same urn they drink the mingled wine,
And add libations to the powers divine.
While thus their prayers united mount the sky;
Hear, mighty Jove! and hear, ye gods on high!
And may their blood who first the league confound,
Shed like this wine, distain the thirsty ground;
May all their comforts serve promiscuous lust,
And all their race be scattered as the dust! POPE.

It was very usual to add a solemn imprecation to their oaths, which was done either for the satisfaction of the person by whom the oath was imposed, as in that of Demosthenes, Εἰ μὲν εὐορκῶ, πολλά μοι ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο· εἰ ἐπιορκῶ, ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην, *if what I swear be true, may I enjoy much happiness*; *if not, may I perish utterly*; or to lay a more inviolable obligation upon themselves, lest they should at any time repent of their purpose, and take contrary measures to what they then resolved upon. Upon which account it was, that the Phocensians [v], who afterwards built the city Massilia in Gallia Narbonensis, obliged themselves by an oath, backed with terrible imprecations, never to think of returning home; whence came the proverb Φωκέων ἀρὰ, applied to men under the obligations of a strict oath.

To return, the flesh on which they feasted at other sacrifices, was in this thought unlawful to be eaten; and therefore, saith Eustathius [w], if the person concerned was at home, it was buried; for so Priam seems to have done with his victims in the sacrifices before mentioned; but if the party was a stranger, they threw it into the sea, as Talthybius did the sow, which was sacrificed at one of Agamemnon's oaths, or disposed of it some other way. Here it

[u] Iliad. cit. [v] Herodot. lib. i. et Strab. lib. iv. [w] Iliad. γ'.

may be observed, that if any unlucky or ominous accident happened at the time of sacrifice, they usually deferred, or wholly refused to take the oath, of which we have an instance in Plutarch [x], who reports, that when Pyrrhus, Lysimachus, and Cassander, had concluded a peace, and met to confirm it by solemn oath and sacrifice, a goat, bull, and ram, being brought out, the ram on a sudden fell down dead, which some only laughed at; but Theodotus the priest forbade Pyrrhus to swear, declaring that heaven by that omen portended the death of one of the three kings, whereupon he refused to ratify the peace.

Alexander ab Alexandro [y] hath given us another manner of swearing, which was thus: they took hold of their garments, and pointing a sword towards their throats, invoked the heavens, earth, sun, and furies, to bear witness to what they were about to do; then they sacrificed a boar-pig, which they cast into the sea; and this being done, took the oath.

The solemn way of taking an oath amongst the Molossians was, by cutting an ox into small pieces, and then swearing; whence any thing divided into small parcels, was proverbially called βȣ̃ς ὁ Μολοττῶν, as Suidas [z] and Zenodotus [a] report. Erasmus [b], instead of *bos Molottorum*, writes *bos Homolottorum*, reading in the forementioned authors, Βοῦς Ὁμολοττῶν, instead of Βοῦς ὁ Μολοττῶν.

Another manner of swearing was that described by Plutarch [c], who reports, that when the Grecians had overthrown and utterly routed all the forces of Xerxes, being flushed with victory, they entered upon a design of making a common invasion upon Persia; whereupon, to keep them firm to their resolutions, Aristides made them all swear to keep the league, and himself took the oath in the name of the Athenians, and after curses pronounced against him that should break the vow, threw wedges of red-hot iron into the sea; by which was signified, that the oath should remain inviolable, as long as the irons should abide in the sea without swimming; which custom is also mentioned by Callimachus, who, as he is cited by the scholiast upon Sophocles [d], speaks thus of the Phocensians:

> Φωκήων μήχρις κε μένη μέγας ἐν' ἁλὶ μύδρος.
> While these plung'd irons the sea's sure bottom keep.

There is also another manner of swearing, mentioned by Plutarch in the life of Dion, which Dion's wife and sister imposed upon Ca-

x Vita Pyrrhi. y Lib. v. cap. 10. z Voce Βοῦς. a In Proverb. in βοῦς.
b In Adag. c Vita Aristidis. d Antig. v. 270.

lippus the Athenian, being moved thereto by a suspicion that he was privy to a conspiracy against Dion's life. It was thus: the juror went into the temple of Ceres and Proserpina, or, as some say, of Ceres Thesmophorus, the lawgiver, where, after the performance of certain ceremonies, he was clothed in the purple vestment of the goddess, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, as being in the presence of the deity, took the oath by all the gods in the world; this the Syracusians accounted the most solemn and sacred oath that could be.

Another test the Sicilians generally made use of at Palice, a city of Sicily, where was a fountain named Acadinus, to which the jurors came, and having written the oath in a tablet, threw it into the water, wherein, if it could swim, the person accused was believed honest; but if it sunk, he was to be cast into the flames immediately, which issued from the fountain: thus Aristotle[c] and Stephanus the Byzantian[f].

Other ways also they had of clearing themselves from the imputation of crimes. As when the person accused creeped upon his hands through the fire; or held in his hands red-hot iron, called in Greek Μύδρος, as the scholiast upon Sophocles reports; which was done by the innocent without any sense of pain. Thus, one in Sophocles[g] tells Creon, that all the guards were ready to take upon oath, that they neither buried Polynices themselves, nor knew who had done it;

> Ἡμεν δ' ἕτοιμοι καὶ μύδρȣς αἴρειν χεροῖν,
> Καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, κατὰ θεȣ̀ς ὁρκωμοτεῖν,
> Τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι, μήτε τῳ̃ συνειδέναι
> Τὸ πρᾶγμα βȣλεύσαντι μήτ' εἰργασμένῳ.
>
> The mass of burning iron in our hands
> We all were prompt to take, to pass through fire,
> To call the gods to witness with firm oath
> We did it not, we knew not who design'd,
> Or who perform'd the deed. POTTER.

A custom not much differing from these, was practised in this island by our Saxon ancestors upon the same account, and was therefore called the *fire-ordeal*, for *ordeal* in Saxon fignifies *purgation*. The manner of undergoing this test was thus: the person accused passed blindfold, with bare feet, over certain ploughshares made red hot, and placed at an equal distance from one another; this ordalium Edward the Confessor forced his mother Emma to undergo, to vindicate her honour from the scandal of incontinency with Alwyn bishop of Winchester; and by this trial she gave a sufficient demonstration of her innocence; for having pass-

[c] Lib. de Mirabilibus. [f] In Παλίκη. [g] Antigone, v. 270.

ed over the iron before she was aware of it, she cried out, *when shall I come to the place of my purgation?* And Kunigund, the wife of the emperor Henry the second, upon the like imputation, held a red-hot iron in her hand and received no harm thereby.

I shall desire the reader's leave to mention but one sort more of these purgation-oaths, which is described by Achilles Tatius in his eighth book of the Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe. It is this: when a woman was accused of incontinency, she was to clear herself from this charge by oath, which was written in a tablet, and hung about her neck; then she went into the water up to the mid-leg, where, if she was innocent, all things remained in the same manner as they were before; but if guilty, the very water, saith he, swelled as it were with rage, mounted up as high as her neck, and covered the tablet; lest so horrid and detestable a sight, as a false oath, should be exposed to the view of the sun and the world. Some other sorts of oaths there were, of which a larger account might be given, had I not already trespassed too far upon the reader's patience; I shall therefore only add something concerning their religious observance of oaths, and so conclude this chapter.

What a religious regard they had for oaths doth appear from this, that εὔορκος, *or one that keeps his oaths,* is commonly used for εὐσεβὴς, *a pious person,* as in Hesiod,

> Οὐδέ τις εὐόρκου χάρις ἔσσεται, οὔτε δικαίου.
>
> Nor just, nor pious souls shall favour have.

Aristophanes[h] also has taken it in the same sense,

> ——— εἴ τι χαίρεις εὐόρκοις τρόποις·
>
> If you're with justice pleas'd.

On the contrary, when they would express a wicked forlorn wretch, they called him ἐπίορκον, *perjurious*; which was the worst and most infamous title they could fix upon him; whence Aristophanes[i] speaking of Jupiter's lightning and thunderbolts, which, as some thought, were chiefly levelled against the wicked, saith, Εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους, *if perjured villains are indeed so liable to the stroke, how comes it to pass that Cleonymus and Theodorus escape so well? or that the poor oak is so often shattered to pieces,* οὐ γὰρ δρῦς ἐπιορκεῖ, *since it can never be perjured?* Such as were common and customary swearers, the Athenians branded with the name of Ardetti, from Ἀρδηττὸς (saith Hesychius, and out of him Phavorinus), the name of the place wherein oaths were required

h Pluto. i Nubibus.

of them, before their admission to public offices, as hath been observed in another place.

False swearers were, in some places, punished with death; in others, suffered the same punishment that was due to the crime with which they charged any innocent person; in others, only a pecuniary mulct. But though they sometimes escaped human punishment, yet it was thought the divine vengeance would not fail to overtake them, and the dæmons always pretended an utter abhorrence of such enormous crimes, of which there is a remarkable instance related by Herodotus[j]. There was at Sparta a man named Glaucus, famed over all Greece for his justice and integrity: into his hands a certain Milesian, fearing some danger at home, and being encouraged by the character of the man, deposited a large sum of money. After some time, the sons of this Milesian came to Sparta, and showing Glaucus the bill, demanded the money. Glaucus pretended he was wholly ignorant of the matter, yet promised to recollect with himself, and if he found any thing due to them, to pay it. To do this he took four months time; and having gained this delay, immediately took a journey to Delphi, on purpose to ask Apollo's opinion, whether it was lawful to perjure himself, thereby to secure the money? The god, moved with indignation at the impudence of the man, returned him this answer:

Γλαῦκ' Επικυδείδη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον ὖτω
'Ορκῳ νικῆσαι, ϗ χρήματα ληΐσσασθαι,
Ομνὺ· ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε ϗ εὔορκον μένει ἄνδρα;
Αλλ' 'Ορκȣ παῖς ἐςιν ἀνώνυμος, ὐδ' ἔπι χεῖρες,
Οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεπαι, εἰσόκε πᾶσαν
Συμμάρψας ὀλέσῃ γενεὴν, ϗ οἶκον ἅπαντα.

No, Glaucus, no, I think you need not fear,
To bilk your easy creditor, and swear
He lent you no such sum; you'll gain thereby,
And this consider'd, you may death defy,
Death, of the just alike an enemy.
But know, that Orcus has a monster son,
Ghastly of shape, who ever hastens on
To o'ertake perjuries; he'll ne'er forget
Your heinous crime, but with revengeful hate
Send every dreadful ill that mortals shun,
Till you, and all you love, be utterly undone. E. D.

This prediction was fully accomplished in Glaucus, notwithstanding he afterwards restored the money; for his whole family was in a few generations utterly extinct, and so became a memorable example of divine vengeance. But though all the other gods took upon them sometimes to punish this crime, yet it was thought in a more peculiar manner to be the care of Jupiter, surnamed 'Ορκιος.

j Erato.

And Pausanias reports, that in the Βυλευτήριον, or *council-hall*, at Olympia, there was a statue of Jupiter, with a thunderbolt in each hand, and a plate of brass at his feet, on which were engraven certain elegiacal verses, composed on purpose to terrify men from invoking that god to witness any untruth. Beside this, the perjured persons were thought to be haunted and distracted by the furies who every fifth day in the month, made a visitation, and walked their rounds for that purpose, according to Hesiod:

Εν πέμπτη γὰρ φασὶν Ερινννύας ἀμφιπολεύειν
Ὅρκον τιννύμενας, τὸν Ερις τέκε πημ' ἐπιόρκοις[k].
The fifths of every month your care require,
Days full of trouble, and afflictions dire:
For then the Furies take their round, 'tis said,
And heap their vengeance on the perjur'd head. COOKE.

Whence Agamemnon, swearing that he had never known Briseis, called the furies to bear witness:

——— Ερινννύες, αἵ θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν
Ανθρώπυς τίννυνται, ὅ τις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.
And ye, fell Furies of the realms of night,
Who rule the dead, and horrid woes prepare
For perjur'd kings, and all who falsely swear. POPE.

Though the punishment here meant by Homer seems to have been inflicted after death, because he saith, ὑπὸ γαῖων ἀνθρώπυς, &c. or *the men under the earth*; and that this is the meaning of that place, doth appear from another oath in Homer, where the infernal gods are invoked after this manner:

——— ϗ οἱ ὑπένερθε καμόντας
Ανθρώπυς τίνυσθε, ὅ, τις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.
———Witness ye infernal powers,
Who souls below torment for breach of oaths. E. D.

Yet some in that place read καμόντες, and then the meaning of it will be, *that the souls of deceased persons are employed in torturing perjured villains.*

In some places even insensible creatures were thought to take revenge for this crime; for it was generally believed in Arcadia, that no man could forswear himself by the waters of Styx, without undergoing some severe and remarkable punishment; and it is reported of the subterranean cavern, sacred to Palæmon at Corinth, that no perjured person could so much as enter into it without being made a memorable example of divine justice. In Sicily, at the temple of the Palici, in the city Palice, there were certain crateres, fonts, or lakes, (for so sometimes they were called,) named Delli, out of which there continually issued flames and balls of fire, with boiling and stinking water; and thither people used to

k Ἡμέραις, lib. iii. ver. 40.

resort from all quarters, for the deciding of controversies. If any one swore falsely near these fonts, he was presently st uck either blind, lame, or dead in the place; or was swallowed up, and drowned in the lakes. But of these mention has been made before [1].

Notwithstanding these, and other instances of the divine displeasure at this crime, and the scandal and infamy of it, yet was it so much practised by the Grecians, that they could never avoid the imputation of treachery and perfidiousness; insomuch that *Græca fides* came to be proverbially applied to men that were wavering, inconsistent, and unfit to be trusted or relied upon: Plautus, in his play called Asinaria, by *Græca fide mercari,* means to *buy with ready money,* as though without that a Grecian was not to be meddled with; his words are these:

> *Diem, aquam, solem, lunam, noctem, hæc argento non emo,*
> *Cætera, quæ volumus uti, Græca mercamur fide.*
>
> I'm not oblig'd to pay for day or night,
> For water, or the sun's and moon's free light;
> All other things I need, I straight command,
> Right Grecian like, with money in my hand. C. S.

Tully likewise in his oration for Flaccus, speaks after the same manner: 'that nation (says he) never made any conscience of observing their oaths.' And their own countryman Euripides affirms no less:

> Πιστὸν Ἑλλὰς οἶδεν οὐδέν.
>
> No sparks of honesty Greece ever had.

And Polybius yet more fully in the sixth book of his history; 'amongst the Greeks (says he) if you lend only one talent, and for security have ten bonds, with as many seals, and double the number of witnesses, yet all these obligations can scarce force them to be honest.' Yet Ausonius had a better opinion of them, unless his words were irony and ridicule, when he said to Paulus,

> *Nobiscum invenies* κατένοπλεα, *si libet uti*
> *Non Poena, sed Græca fide.*———
>
> At my house too, if you will honest be,
> A wanton muse's trifles you may see. E. D.

The Thessalians in particular were infamous for this vice; whence, as Zenodotus hath informed us, by Θεσσαλῶν νόμισμα, is meant fraud and deceit; and the other proverb, viz. Θετταλῶν σόφισμα, seems to have had its rise from the treacherous and double dealing of the Thessalians with their confederates; a memorable

[1] Conf. præter Aristotelem et Stephanum supra laudatos, Diodorus Siculus, lib. xi. Macrobius Saturnal. lib. v. cap. 19.

instance of which we have in the Peloponnesian war, where, in the midst of a battle, they turned sides, and deserting the Athenians, went over to the Lacedæmonians; which reason seems more probable than that mentioned by Zenodotus, viz. their solemn vow of an hecatomb of men made every year to Apollo, without any design of ever paying it; which they did in imitation of their forefather Thessalus, who made such a vow to Apollo, but considering how impious and unpleasing to the god it was like to be, neglected the performance of it. The Locrians were no less infamous on the same account, whence those proverbial sayings Λοκροὶ τὰς συνθήκας, and Λοκρῶν σύνθημα, do usually denote fraudulent persons and practices, as we learn from Zenodotus. And the Lacedæmonians, as they were the most renowned of all the Grecians for their valour, temperance, and other virtues, so were they the most scandalous for their treachery, and contempt of oaths; whence they are by Lycophron[m] called Αἱμύλοι, which the scholiast upon that place expounds ψεῦσται, καὶ δόλιοι, i. e. *liars and deceitful*; and by Euripides[n]:

> Σπάρτης ἔνοικοι, δόλια βουλεύματα.
> Spartans, fam'd ever for base treacheries.

Aristophanes speaks yet more fully, when he tells us, they neither accounted altars, promises, nor oaths sacred. His words are these:

> Οἷσιν οὔτε βωμοὶ, οὔτε πίστις, οὔθ' ὅρκος μένει.
> Who neither altars, oaths, nor trust revere.

And that this was no calumny, may farther appear from the aphorism of Lysander, one of the most eminent generals, Ἐξαπατᾷν χρὴ παῖδας μὲν ἀστραγάλοις, πολεμίους δὲ ὅρκοις. *Boys*, said he, *are to be deceived with dice, but enemies with oaths.* Though others will have this to be the saying of Dionysius the tyrant[o]. However that be, it is certain the Lacedæmonians, though perhaps more just and punctual in private affairs, had very small regard for oaths in public business. Their great Agesilaus seems to have thought it but a weak obligation, whenever it stood in competition with the public good, that great mark to which they thought all their actions were to be directed, insomuch that, as Plutarch[p] affirms, to serve their country was the principle and spring of all their actions; nor did they account any thing just or unjust, by any measures but that.

The Athenians seem to have had a greater regard for honesty,

[m] Cassand. v. 1124. [n] Androm. v. 446. [o] Alex. ab Alex. lib. v. cap. 10.
[p] Vita Agesilai.

as may appear from the story of Themistocles in Plutarch ; for he, telling the people he had formed a design, which, if accomplished, would be very advantageous to the commonwealth, but might not at this time be communicated to the whole assembly ; they ordered him to impart it to Aristides in private, who having heard the matter, came and reported to the people, that it was indeed a very beneficial contrivance, but withal the most unjust in the world ; whereupon they immediately commanded Themistocles to desist from his intention. Diogenian, in his book of collections, tells us, that Ἀττικὸς μάρτυς, was taken for a sincere and uncorrupt witness ; as also Ἀττικὴ πίστις, for a true, honest, and untainted faith : and though some would have this proverb taken from the goddess Fides, who had a temple at Athens, mentioned by Plautus [q], and others, not from the manners of the people, but the nature of their soil, which was so unfruitful, that it brought forth just as much as was sown, and no more ; whence *Attica fides* is applied to any man that restores all that he was entrusted with ; yet Velleius Paterculus [r] assures us it was taken from their faithfulness and unshaken loyalty to the Romans ; whence *Attica fides* is by Flaccus [s] called *certa:* by Horace [t] *impolluta*: and by Silius [u] *pura*. Notwithstanding this, their honesty was not so firm but that it might sometimes be shaken by the alluring and specious temptation of the public good. I will conclude this chapter with an instance of this taken out of Plutarch [v], which is the more remarkable, and more clearly evidences the disposition and temper of that state, because it was approved by the consent of the people, and put in execution by Aristides, a man of greater renown for justice and upright dealing than any that city ever brought forth. He, when the Grecians (after they had utterly routed all the remainder of Xerxes's numerous army) designed a common invasion upon Persia, took a solemn oath in the name of the Athenians, to observe the league ; but afterwards, when things were brought to such a pass, as constrained them to govern with a stronger hand than was consistent with it, advised them to throw the perjury upon him, and manage affairs as their convenience required. Upon the whole matter, Theophrastus tells us (saith Plutarch), that this person was, in his own private affairs, and those of his fellow-citizens, nicely just ; but in public matters, did many things according to the state and condition of his country, for whose sake

[q] I Aulul. [r] Hist. lib. i. [s] Argon. lib. iv. [t] Lib. iii. Od. 16.
[u] Bell. Punic. lib. xiii. [v] Vit. Aristidis.

he frequently committed acts of injustice. Then he adds, that it was reported of him, that to one who was in debate, whether he should convey a certain treasure from Delos to Athens, contrary to the league, at the persuasion of the Samians? he should say, 'that the thing was not just, but expedient.'

CHAP. VII.

Of the Grecian Divination, and Oracles in general.

It was a received opinion in all ages, that the gods were wont to converse familiarly with some men, whom they endowed with extraordinary powers, and admitted to the knowledge of their counsels and designs. These are by the Greeks called μάντεις, and μαντικὴ is a general name for all sorts of divination, and signifies the knowledge of things obscure, or future, which cannot be attained by any ordinary or natural means. It is divided by Plato [w], who is followed herein by Aristotle, Plutarch, and Cicero, into two species, one of which is called ἄτεχνος, ἀδίδακτος, and *naturalis*, i. e. unartificial, or natural divination, as not being attained by any rules, precepts, or observations, but inspired into the diviner, without his taking any farther care about it, than to purify and prepare himself to receive the divine afflatus. With this sort were all those endued, who delivered oracles, and foretold future events by inspiration, without observing external signs or accidents: such were the sibyls, and other enthusiasts. Some there are that reduce divination by dreams under this species, because in them revelations were made without any pains or art of the dreamers; but herein lies the mistake of this argument, that not the dreamers, but the interpreters of dreams, were the diviners; and that their skill was the effect of art and observation, is evident from the many books written upon that subject, and the various signs delivered in them to make conjectures by: in like manner, it was not so much the business of an augur to see the birds of divination, which might casually happen to any rude and unskilful person, but after he had seen them, to interpret what was portended by them.

These, therefore, with others of the like nature, are to be referred

[w] Phædo.

to the second species of divination, called Τεχνικὴ, or artificial, because it was not obtained by immediate inspiration, but was the effect of experience and observation, as soothsaying; or depended chiefly upon human art, invention, or imposition; which, nevertheless, was not supposed to be altogether destitute of divine direction and concurrence: such was divination by lots.

I shall begin with the first sort of divination, as having a more immediate dependence on the gods; and first with the noblest part of it, I mean oracles, which are called in Greek χρησμοὶ, χρησμῳδίαι, χρησμῳδήματα, μαντεύματα, θεοπρόπια, θεσμίσματα, θέσφατα, &c. The interpreters, or revealers, of oracles, χρησμολόγοι, &c. The consulters, θεοπρόποι, &c. The places in which they were delivered, χρηστήρια, μαντεία, &c. Some of which names were also applied to other sorts of divination.

Of all the sorts of divination, oracles had always the greatest repute, as being thought to proceed in a more immediate manner from the gods; whereas, others were delivered by men, and had a greater dependence on them, who might either out of ignorance, mistake, or out of fear, hopes, or other unlawful and base ends, conceal, or betray the truth; whereas they thought the gods, who were neither obnoxious to the anger, nor stood in need of the rewards, nor cared for the promises of mortals, could not be prevailed upon to do either of them. Upon this account, oracles obtained so great credit and esteem, that in all doubts and disputes their determinations were held sacred and inviolable; whence, as Strabo [x] reports, vast numbers flocked to them, to be resolved in all manner of doubts, and ask counsel about the management of their affairs; insomuch, that no business of great consequence and moment was undertaken, scarce any peace concluded, any war waged, any new form of government instituted, or new laws enacted, without the advice and approbation of an oracle: Crœsus [y], before he durst venture to declare war against the Persians, consulted not only all the most famous oracles in Greece, but sent ambassadors as far as Libya, to ask advice of Jupiter Hammon. Minos [z], the Grecian lawgiver, conversed with Jupiter, and received instructions from him, how he might new-model his government. Lycurgus also made frequent visits to the Delphian Apollo, and received from him that platform, which afterwards he communicated to the Lacedæmonians. Nor does it matter whether these things were really true or not, since it is certain

[x] Lib. xvi. [y] Herodot. lib. i. [z] Strabo, loc. cit.

they were believed to be so; for hence appears what great esteem oracles were in, at least among the vulgar sort, when lawgivers, and men of the greatest authority, were forced to make use of these methods to win them into compliance. My author goes yet higher, and tells us, that inspired persons were thought worthy of the greatest honour and trusts; insomuch, that sometimes we find them advanced to the throne, and invested with regal power; for that being admitted to the counsels of the gods, they were best able to provide for the safety and welfare of mankind.

This reputation stood the priests (who had their dependence on the oracles) in no small stead; for finding their credit thus thoroughly established, they allowed no man to consult the gods, before he had offered costly sacrifices, and made rich presents to them: whereby it came to pass, that few beside great and wealthy men were admitted to ask their advice, the rest being unable to defray the charges required on that account, which contributed very much to raise the esteem of oracles among the common people; men generally being apt to admire the things they are kept at some distance from, and, on the other hand, to contemn what they are familiarly acquainted with. Wherefore, to keep up their esteem with the better sort, even they were only admitted upon a few stated days: at other times, neither the greatest prince could purchase, nor persons of the greatest quality anywise obtain an answer. Alexander himself was peremptorily denied by the Pythia, till she was by downright force compelled to ascend the tripus, when, finding herself unable to resist any longer, she cried out, Ανίκητος εἶ, *thou art invincible*; which words were thought a very lucky omen, and accepted instead of a further oracle.

As to the causes of oracles, it has been disputed whether they were the revelations of demons, or only the delusions of crafty priests. Van Dale has wrote a large treatise in defence of the latter opinion; but his arguments are not of such force, but that they might, without difficulty, be refuted, if either my design required, or time permitted me to answer them. However that be, it was the common opinion that Jupiter was the first cause of this and all other sorts of divination; it was he that had the books of fate, and out of them revealed either more or less, as he pleased, to inferior demons; for which reason he was surnamed Πανομφαῖος, as Eustathius tells us in his comment upon this verse of Homer[a];

Ἔνθα πανομφαίῳ Ζηνὶ ῥέζεσκον Ἀχαιοί.

[a] Iliad. θ'. 250.

——— then at the holy fane
To mighty Jove was the glad victim slain,
To Jove from whom all divination comes,
And oracles inspir'd unriddle future dooms. H. H.

Of the other gods Apollo was reputed to have the greatest skill in making predictions, and therefore it was one of his offices to preside over, and inspire all sorts of prophets and diviners; but this was only in subordination to Jupiter, and by converse with, and participation from him, as Æschylus[b] gives us to understand, when he saith,

Στέλλειν ὅπως τάχιςα, ταῦτα γὰρ πατὴρ
Ζεὺς ἐγκαθεῖ Λοξίᾳ.———

Send, quickly send, for so by Jove inspir'd
Phœbus commands. H. H.

On the same account, in another place[c], when he brings in Apollo, commanding men to reverence his own oracles, he adds, they must also pay due respect to those of Jupiter, without mentioning any of the other prophetic deities. His words are these:

Κἀγώ τε χρησμοὺς τοὺς ἐμούς τε, καὶ Διὸς
Ταρβεῖν κελεύω.———

To mine, and Jove's most sacred oracles
Pay due obeisance. H. H.

Others report, that Apollo received the art of divination from Pan[d], others will have him instructed by Themis[e], others by Glaucus[f]. Lastly, some were of opinion, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Οὐρανίαν εἶναι μητέρα ὅλων, πάσης μαντείας καὶ προγνώσεως εὑρετήν· *that the heavenly Venus was the mother of the universe, and the inventor of all sorts of divination and prognostication.*

The manner of delivering oracles was not in all places, nor at all times, the same: in some places, the gods revealed them by interpreters, as did Apollo at Delphi: in others, more immediately, giving answers themselves, which they either pronounced *viva voce*, or returned by dreams, or lots (the former of which were supposed to be inspired, and the latter directed by the gods), or some other way. The oracles which the gods themselves pronounced, were termed χρησμοὶ αὐτόφωνοι· those which were delivered by interpreters, χρησμοὶ ὑποφητικοί. At some places several ways were used; for instance, they who consulted Trophonius, after having proposed their questions, first received an answer in a dream; and, if that was obscure, and hard to be understood, had the meaning of it interpreted by men kept for that purpose, and instructed in that art by the deity. Several other ways also this

b Sacerdotibus. c Eumenidibus. d Apollonius Argon. lib. iii.
e Orpheus hymno in Themidem, ver. 6. f Athenæus, lib. vii.

god used to give answers to enquirers, as Pausanias reports in his description of Bœotia; and in another place[g], the same author mentions these heroic verses, as spoken by Trophonius:

Πρὶν δορὶ συμβαλέειν ἐχθροῖς, ςήσασθε τρόπαιον,
Ασπίδα κοσμήσαντες ἐμὴν, τὴν εἴσατο νηῷ
Θοῦρος Αριςομένης Μεσσήνιος, αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοι
Ανδρῶν δυσμενέων φθίσω ςρατὸν ἀσπιςάων.

Let not the bloody ensigns be display'd,
Nor least attack upon your foes be made,
Till a distinguish'd trophy you erect,
And to my hallow'd shield pay due respect,
Which in the temple, with rich presents graced,
By valiant Aristomenes was placed:
This when you've done, you may expect that I
Will crown these toils of war with joyful victory.

Which answer was given to the Thebans before the battle at Leuctra, wherein, by the conduct of Epaminondas, they gave the Lacedæmonians and their confederates a notable overthrow.

Thus much of oracles in general. I shall, in the next place, endeavour to give a particular description of them, especially such as were of any note, together with a short account of the ceremonies required of those that consulted them, the manner of returning answers, with other things remarkable in each of them. And because Jupiter was reputed to be the first author of oracles, I shall begin with those which were thought to be more immediately delivered by him.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Oracles of Jupiter.

DODONA[k] is by some thought to have been a city of Thessaly; by others it was placed in Epirus; and others, to reconcile these two opinions, will have two Dodonas, one in Thessaly, and another in Epirus. They that place it in Epirus (and that is generally believed to have been the seat of the oracle, whether there was another Dodona in Thessaly or not), are no less divided in their opinions about it; for some of them will have it in Thesprotia, others in Chaonia, or Molossia; but Eustathius[l] has undertaken to decide the controversy, telling us that it did indeed once belong to the Thesprotians, but afterwards fell into the hands of the Molossians; and he is herein confirmed by Strabo[m].

[g] Messenic.
Stephanus Byzant.
[k] Eustath. Iliad. β'. p. 254. et Il. π'. p. 1074. edit. Basil.
[l] Odyss. ξ'. p. 534.
[m] Geogr. lib. x.

It was first built by Deucalion, who, in that universal deluge, wherein the greatest part of Greece perished, retreated to this place which by reason of its height secured him from the waters. Hither resorted to him all that had escaped from the inundation, with whom he peopled his new-built city, calling it Dodona, either from a sea nymph of that name, or Dodon, the son, or Dodone the daughter of Jupiter and Europa; or from the river Dodon, or Don; for so it is called by Stephanus; or, as some say, from Dodonim the son of Javan, who was captain of a colony sent to inhabit those parts of Epirus. At the same time, Deucalion is said to have founded a temple, which he consecrated to Jupiter, who is thence called Dodonæus. This was the first temple in Greece; but the oracle seems to have been a considerable time before it; for Herodotus, in the second book of his history, reports, that it was the most ancient of all oracles in Greece, which would be false, had it not been before Deucalion's time; for he, as the poets tell us, having escaped the deluge, consulted the oracle of Themis on mount Parnassus, what means he should use to replenish the country with people; and the same oracle is said to have been jointly possessed by the Earth and Neptune, before it belonged to Themis.

The original of it, though, like all other things of such antiquity, wrapped up in fables, I will repeat to you out of the fore-mentioned place of Herodotus, where he hath given us two accounts of it; the first of which he tells us, he received from the priests of Jupiter at Thebes in Egypt, which was this: that the Phœnicians had carried away two priestesses from that place, one of which they sold into Libya, the other into Greece; that each of these had erected the first oracle in those nations, the one of Jupiter Hammon, the other of Jupiter Dodonæus. The other account was given him by the priestesses at Dodona, and confirmed by all those that ministered in the temple, viz. that two black pigeons taking their flight from Thebes in Egypt, one of them came to Libya, where she commanded that an oracle should be erected to Hammon; the other to Dodona, where she sat upon an oak tree, and speaking with an human voice, ordered that there should be in that place an oracle of Jupiter. Afterwards, Herodotus delivers his own opinion about the matter, which was this: that if the Phœnicians did really carry two women from Thebes, and sell one of them in Libya, and the other in Greece, it might be probable that she that was transported into Greece was sold to the Thesprotians,

in that country, which in his time was called Hellas, but formerly named Pelasgia, where she instituted the oracle to Jupiter, and gave instructions after what manner he was to be worshipped. To confirm this conjecture, he adds, that those two oracles have a near resemblance to each other. Moreover, he tells us, the two women were said to be black, because they came from Egypt, and were called doves, because their language was barbarous, and as unintelligible as that of birds; afterwards, when they had learned the Greek tongue, they were said to speak with a human voice. Eustathius[k] gives two reasons more for this appellation; the first is, that they were called Πέλειαι, or *doves*, q. Πελειομάντεις, because they made their predictions by the observation of those birds; as they who made use of crows in divination were named Κορακομάντεις. The other reason is, that, in the Molossian language, old women were called Πέλειαι, and old men Πέλειοι, and that those prophetesses being old women, either by a mistake of the word, or a poetical equivocation were called doves; and why aged persons should be thus termed, the old scholiast upon Sophocles[l] informs us; for, saith he, the three old prophetesses were called Πέλειαι, *q.* Πεπολιωμέναι, *because of their gray hairs.* Servius gives another reason in his comment upon Virgil's ninth eclogue[m], viz. that in the Thessalian tongue, the word πελειὰς is used to signify a prophetess as well as a dove; and it seems also no unusual thing amongst the ancient Greeks for prophetesses to have the name of doves; whence the enigmatical poet calls Cassandra by that name twice in one sentence[n];

> Τῆμος βιαίως φάσσα πρὸς τόργυ λέχος
> Γαμφαῖσιν ἅρπης οἰνὰς ἑλκυσθήσομαι.
>
> As when a rav'nous vulture first espies
> A trembling pigeon, straightway down he flies
> Through liquid air, to bear the wish'd-for prize
> To his ethereal nest; so I, forlorn,
> Shall, as a weak and tim'rous dove, be borne
> To a loath'd foreign bed, thence never to return. H. H

Lastly, others give this account: that in the hieroglyphical way of writing, according to Herapollo, γυναῖκα χήραν ἐπιμείνασαν ἄχρι θανάτου θέλοντες σημῆναι, περιστερὰν μέλαιναν ζωγραφοῦσι· *they signify a widow, who remains unmarried till death, by a black pigeon:* which very well agrees with the fore-mentioned relation of Herodotus. Others say, that this oracle was founded by the Pelasgians, who were the most ancient of all the nations that inhabited Greece. Of this opi-

[k] Odyss. ξ'. p. 544, 545. edit. Basil. [l] Trachin. v. 176. [m] Ver. 13.
[n] Cassandr. v. 357.

nion is Strabo [o], being led hereunto by the testimony of Homer, who calls the same Jupiter by the two names of Dodonæus and Pelasgicus, in this verse [p];

> Ζεῦ, ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ———
> Pelasgian Jove, that far from Greece resides,
> In cold Dodona.

Hesiod, whose testimony also Strabo makes use of, is yet more express;

> Δωδώνην, φηγόν τε Πελασγῶν ἕδρανον ἧκεν.
> He to Dodona came, and th' hallow'd oak,
> The seat of the Pelasgi.———

And this seems somewhat more probable; especially if what is commonly reported of Deucalion deserve any credit, viz. that he saved himself from the deluge, not on the top of the mountain at Dodona, but on Parnassus, where was the oracle of Themis, consulted by him after his deliverance. Strabo relates another fabulous opinion concerning the foundation of this oracle, out of Suidas's Thessalica, who (saith my author) out of a design to gratify the Thessalians with a new invented fable, hath reported that the oracle of Dodona was translated into Epirus out of Pelasgia, a country of Thessaly, being accompanied by a great number of women, from whom the prophetesses in after ages were descended; and that Jupiter received from them the appellation of Pelasgicus.

The persons that delivered the oracles, were at the first, men, as Strabo [q] and Eustathius [r] have observed out of Homer, who calls them in the masculine gender, Ὑποφήτας, and Σελλὲς [s];

> Ζεῦ, ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικὲ, τηλόθι ναίων,
> Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρε· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
> Σοὶ ναίεσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.
> O thou Supreme! high-throned all height above!
> O great Pelasgic, Dodonean Jove!
> Who midst surrounding frosts and vapours chill,
> Presid'st on bleak Dodona's vocal hill;
> Whose groves, the Selli, race austere! surround,
> Their feet unwash'd, their slumbers on the ground. POPE.

Where some, as we are there informed by Eustathius, read ἀμφὶ δὲ σ' Ἕλλοι, making those priests to be called *helli*; but the former lection, he tells, is generally received. The Selli, are so called from Sellæ, a town in Epirus; or, according to Eustathius, from the river called by Homer [t] Selleis;

> Ηγάγεν ἐξ Ἐφύρης, ποταμὲ ἀπὸ Σελλήεντος;
> Whom he from Ephyra and Selleis brought.

[o] Geogr. lib. vii. [p] Il. π'. ver. 235. [q] Loc. cit. [r] Loc. cit.
[s] Loc. cit. [t] Iliad. ό. v. 531.

But herein he contradicts Strabo, who affirms, that this river doth not belong to Ephyra in Thesprotia; for that neither there nor yet in Molossia was ever any river of that name, but to another Ephyra, which is a city of Elis in Peloponnesus. The same were called Elli, or Helli, from Ellus the Thessalian, from whom Ellopia, a country about Dodona, received its name: and Philochorus in Strabo is of opinion, that these priests were named Elli from this region; but Pliny will have the Selli, and the inhabitants of Ellopia, to have been a different people. Apollodorus in Strabo, thinks they were called Ἑλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑλῶν, from the fens and marshes near the temple of Dodona. We are informed by Aristotle, that the country of the Selli was inhabited by the Græci, who were νῦν Ἕλληνες, *in his time called Hellenes.* And Hesychius reports, that Διὸς ἱερὸν, ἐν Δωδώνῃ, *Jupiter's temple in Dodona,* was called Ἑλλά. Whence it is probable that these men were first called Helli, and not Selli. The same is farther proved by the scholiast upon Homer [u] from Pindar, who derives the name from one Hellus, τοῦ πρώτου καταδείξαντος τὸ μαντεῖον· *who first discovered the oracle.* Afterwards, either by a confusion of the words σ' Ἑλλοι, in Homer, which might easily happen, when it was customary to write *continuo ductu,* without distinction of words or sentences; or by changing the aspiration into the letter σ, which grammarians have observed to be a common variation, they were called Selli. However that be, from the two epithets of ἀνιπτόποδες, and χαμαιεῦναι, given them by Homer, Strabo concludes they were barbarous and uncivilized. Eustathius [v] tells us, they were named χαμαιεῦναι, because they slept upon the ground in skins, and in that posture expected prophetical dreams from Jupiter. Others, he tells us, would have them called χαμαιεῦναι, because they did not lie in beds, but upon the bare ground; and ἀνιπτόποδες, because they never went out of the temple, and therefore had no occasion to wash their feet; whence Euripides in his Erectheus [w] saith of them;

> Πηγαῖσι δ' οὐχ ὑγραίνουσι πόδας.——
> Nor bath'd their feet in any purling stream.

Lastly, others will have these names to be understood in a symbolical and figurative sense, thus: Χαμαιεῦναι μὲν, ἀνιπτόποδες δὲ, τουτέστι χαμαὶ μὲν εὐναζόμενοι, ἀνιπτάμενοι δὲ τῶν κάτω ταῖς διανοίαις, διὰ τὴν ἐν μαντείαις φιλοσοφίαν· i. e. *their bodies indeed did lie upon the ground, but their minds, by the assistance of prophetical philosophy, mounting higher, soared above these lower regions.* The same, with other

[u] Iliad. π'. ver. 234. [v] Iliad. π'. p. 1074. edit. Basil. [w] Ver. 127

accounts of these titles, are also given by the old scholiast upon that passage of Homer.

There is a report, grounded upon the testimony of Pherechydes, that before the time of the Selli, the temple of Dodona was inhabited by the seven daughters of Atlas, that were the nurses of Bacchus, and from this temple called Dodonides. Their names were these: Ambrosia, Eudora, Pasithoë, Coronis, Plexaure, Pytho, and Tyche, or Tythe. However that be, it is certain that in later ages the oracles were pronounced by three old women; and Strabo tells us this change was made, that Jupiter admitted Dione to cohabit with him, and receive divine honours in this temple; nor was it strange or unusual that the same temple should belong to two deities; for Apollo and Bacchus were worshipped in the temple at Delphi, Apollo and Branchus, or, as Stephanus [x] affirms, Jupiter and Apollo at Miletus.

Strabo [y], in his description of Bœotia, reports, that of the people who consulted this oracle, all others received answers from women, but the Bœotians received theirs from men; and the reason of this custom we have in the same place, which was this: in a war between the Bœotians and Pelasgians, the Bœotians coming to Dodona, to enquire of Jupiter the event of the war, received answer, that their enterprise should have success, if they would act wickedly. Upon this, the Bœotians, suspecting that the prophetess spoke in favour of the Pelasgians (they being the first founders of that oracle), seized her, and cast her into the fire, justifying the lawfulness of the fact. On the other hand, they that ministered in the temple, thinking it impious to put to death (especially in so sacred a place) persons uncondemned, would have had them refer the matter to the two surviving prophetesses; but the Bœotians alleging that no laws in the world permitted women to do judgment, it was agreed that two men should be in joint commission with them. When the time to pass sentence was come, they were condemned by the women, and absolved by the men; whereupon (as was usual when the number of voices was equal on both sides) the Bœotians were acquitted and dismissed. Ever after, it was established that men only should give answers to the Bœotians.

The prophets of this temple were commonly called tomuri, the prophetesses tomuræ, from Tomurus, a mountain in Thesprotia, at the foot of which stood the temple. So commonly was this word made use of, that it came at last to be a general name for any pro-

[x] Voce Δίδυμα.

[y] Geogr. lib. ix.

phet; for so Hesychius expounds it, and Lycophron[z] in this sense applies it to Prylis the son of Mercury;

> Τόμουρι πρὸς τὰ λῷστα νημερτίσατι.
> The best of prophets, and the truest too.

Some are of opinion that all the oracles were here delivered by women, and that the Selli were only inhabitants of the neighbouring country, who had some employment in the temple, and published the oracles received from the prophetesses to other men. Hence they will have them to be called by Homer, not προφῆτας, but ὑποφήτας· ὑποφήτας γὰρ λέγουσι τοὺς περὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ἀσχολουμένους καὶ τὰς μαντειας τὰς γιγνομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐκφέροντας. That name signifying *men who lived in the temple and published the answers made by the priests.*

Near the temple there was a sacred grove full of oaks or beeches, in which the dryades, fauni, and satyri, were thought to inhabit, and were frequently seen dancing under the shade of the trees. Before sowing was invented, when men lived upon acorns, those of this wood were very much esteemed; insomuch that Virgil hath mentioned them by way of eminence[a];

> *Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus*
> *Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit aristâ.*
>
> Bacchus and fostering Ceres! powers divine!
> Who gave us corn for mast, for water, wine. DRYDEN.

And again in the same book[b];

> *Prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere terram*
> *Instituit: cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacræ*
> *Deficerent silvæ, et victum Dodona negaret.*
>
> Ceres first taught the ground with grain to sow,
> And arm'd with iron shares the crooked plough,
> When now Dodonian oaks no more supplied
> Their mast, and trees their forest-fruits denied. DRYDEN.

These oaks or beeches were endued with a human voice and prophetical spirit, for which reason they were called Προσηγόροι, and μαντικαὶ δρύες, i. e. *speaking and prophesying oaks.* And Argo, the ship of the Argonauts, being built with the trees of this wood, was endued with the same power of speaking, whence Lycophron[c] calls it λάληθρον κίσσαν, *a chattering magpie.* The reason of which fiction some think was this: the prophets, when they gave answers, placed themselves in one of these trees (for some will only allow this vocal faculty to one of them), and so the oracle was thought to be uttered by the oak, which was only pronounced out of its hollow stock, or from amongst its branches. And some are of

[z] Cassandr. v. 223. [a] Georg. i. v. 7. [b] Ver. 146. [c] Cassandr. v. 1319.

opinion, that the oracles were delivered from the branches of the tree, because the prophetical pigeon is by Herodotus reported ἐπὶ φηγȣ̃ ἵζεσθαι, *to have sat upon the tree*: and the scholiast upon Sophocles[d] affirms, that ὑπεράνω τȣ̃ μαντείȣ δύο ἦσαν πέλειαι, *above the oracle there were two pigeons.* But others rather think that oracles were pronounced from the hollow stock, both because the prophetess could best be concealed there, and because it is expressed and affirmed in the following fragment of Hesiod's Eoa:

Τὴν Ζεὺς φίλησεν, ϗ τὴν χρηςήριον εἶναι
Τίμιον ἀνθρώποις, ναῖεν δ' ἐν πυθμένι φηγοῦ
Ενθεν ἐπιχθόνιοι μαντεύματα πάντα φέρονται.

I must not omit the brazen kettles of this place, which some affirm, and others again deny, to have been used in delivering oracles. However that be, Demon in Suidas reports, they were so artificially placed about the temple, that by striking one of them the sound was communicated to all the rest. But Aristotle, cited by the same author, or Aristides, as he is called by Stephanus the Byzantian, describes the matter thus: that there were two pillars, on one of which was placed a kettle, upon the other a boy holding in his hand a whip, with lashes of brass, which being by the violence of the wind struck against the kettle, caused a continual sound; whence came the proverb Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον, ἐπὶ τῶν μικρολογȣ́ντων, or rather ἐπὶ τῶν μακρολογȣ́ντων, for it was applied to talkative persons. Another saying we have, not much different from the former, viz. Κερκυραίων μάςιξ, which (as some are of opinion) was taken from this whip, which, together with the boy and kettle, were all dedicated by the Corcyreans[e]. About what time, or upon what account this oracle came to cease, is uncertain; but Strabo[f], who flourished under Augustus Cæsar, saith, that in his time the gods had, in a manner, deserted that and most other oracles.

The same author[g], in his description of Elis, makes mention of an oracle of Olympian Jupiter, which was once famous, but did not continue long in repute; yet the temple in which it stood still preserved its ancient splendour, and was adorned with magnificent structures, and enriched with presents from every part of Greece. Pindar also hath taken notice of an altar dedicated to Jupiter at Pisa, where answers were given by the posterity of Janus[h].

There was another very ancient oracle of Jupiter in Crete, men-

[d] Trachin. ver. 174.
[e] Epitom. Strab. lib. vii.
[f] Dib. vii.
[g] Lib. viii.
[h] Olymp. initio, Od. vi.

tioned by Strabo, from which Minos is said to have received a platform of the laws afterwards enacted by him; whence Homer saith of him;

> Εννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής.
> Minos, that counsels dar'd with Jove to mix,
> Nine years Crete's sceptre sway'd.———

hat is (as Plato in Strabo expounds it), he descended into the sacred cave of Jupiter (for this oracle was under ground), and received from him those precepts which he afterwards made public for the common benefit of mankind. The will of the gods was revealed in this place by dreams, in which the gods came and conversed familiarly with the enquirers; as we learn from the story of Epimenides[i], who lay asleep in this place many years. Pythagoras also descended into this cave to consult the gods, as Diogenes Laertius hath related in the life of that philosopher. There was a temple in the same place dedicated to Jupiter, from which to the city Cnossus * there was a high road, very pleasant. It stood upon mount Ida, and though Maximus Tyrius, in the forementioned place, calls it Δικταίου Διὸς ἄντρον, yet in his twenty-second dissertation, he saith it was placed on Ida, to which Diogenes Laertius and others agree. It was sometimes called Αρκέσιον, from the word ἀρκέσαι, which signifies to help or defend; because the sons of Titan, being vanquished by Saturn, fled into this cave, and there escaped the fury of their pursuing conqueror[j].

CHAP. IX.

Of the Oracles of Apollo.

I COME, in the next place, to speak of the oracles of Apollo, who was thought more peculiarly to preside over prophets, and inspire into them the knowledge of future events; whence the enigmatical poet calls him Κερδῷος, or *gainful*, from κέρδος, *gain*, because of the profit which mankind received by his predictions, saith Tzetses[k] upon that place.

The oracles of Apollo were not only the most numerous, but of the greatest repute; and amongst them the Delphian challenged the first place, as well for its antiquity (wherein it contended even

i Maximus Tyrius Diss. xxvii.
j Etymolog. Auctor.
* Plato de Leg. lib. i.
k Cassandr. v. 208.

with that of Dodona), as for the truth and perspicuity of its answers, the magnificence of its structures, the number and richness of the sacred ἀναθήματα, or presents, dedicated to the god, and the multitudes which from all parts resorted thither for counsel; in which respects it surpassed not only all the oracles of other gods, but even those sacred to Apollo himself.

The place in which the oracles were delivered was called Pythium, the priestess Pythia; the sports also instituted in honour of Apollo were named Pythian, and Apollo himself Pythius; either from Python, a serpent, or a man for his cruelty so called, who possessed this place, and was overcome by Apollo: or ἀπὸ τȣ͂ πύθειν, i. e. *to putrify;* because the carcase of Pytho was suffered to lie there and putrify; which reason is given us by Homer[l]: or ἀπὸ τȣ͂ πυθέσθαι, *to enquire;* because the oracle was there consulted and enquired of; and this is Strabo's[m] opinion; or from Pytha, another name of Delphi, the place of this oracle, given it from Pythis, the son of Delphus, the son of Apollo.

The city Delphi, as Strabo[n] reports, was by some thought to be placed in the middle of the world; and the poets feign that Jupiter, being desirous to know the middle part of the earth, sent forth two eagles (or crows, as Pindar, or swans, as others relate), one from the east, the other from the west, and that they met in this place. However that be, Strabo telleth us, it was placed in the middle of Greece; whence it is by the poets commonly called Ομφάλος, which word signifieth a *navel,* because that is the middle part of man's body; and therefore Sophocles calls this oracle μεσόμφαλον μαντεῖον; and in allusion to that name, Strabo and Pausanias say, there was to be seen in the temple the figure of a navel, made of white stone, with a riband hanging from it, instead of the navel string, and upon it were placed two eagles, in memory of the eagles sent forth by Jupiter. But Lactantius and Phurnutus are of opinion, that this name was not derived from the situation of the place, but from the divine answers given there, which are in Greek called Ομφαὶ, and Varro herein agrees with them.

Concerning the original of this oracle, there are various reports: Diodorus the Sicilian[o] tells us, it first belonged to Earth, by whom Daphne, one of the mountain nymphs, was constituted priestess; the same author afterwards saith, that in a Greek poem,

[l] Hymn. in Apollinem, v. 372.
[m] Geogr. lib. ix.
[n] Lib. ix.
[o] Lib. xvi. cap. 16. et Pausan. Phoc.

called Eumolpia, it is reported to have been sacred both to Earth and Neptune; and that Earth gave answers herself, but Neptune had an interpreter named Pyrco, and that afterwards Neptune resigned his part to Earth. This goddess was succeeded by Themis, who gave oracles about the time of Deucalion's deluge, and was consulted by him, as it is very well known from Ovid's Metamorphosis. Some there are that will have Themis to have possessed this oracle from the beginning; which is the less to be wondered at, since Themis and the Earth were commonly reputed the same goddess under different names, *πολλων ὀνομάτων μοςφὴ μία,* according to Æschylus[p]; whence Themis is called by Aristides[q], *Θεῶν πρεσϐυλάτη, the oldest of the gods.* Yet Æschylus, in another place[r], reports, that this oracle was first possessed by the Earth, then by Themis, daughter of the Earth, who resigned it to her sister Phœbe, by whom it was at length given to Apollo. Pindar, and from him the scholiast upon Æschylus, tells us, that Apollo having seized this oracle by force, the Earth endeavoured to precipitate that god into the infernal regions. And Euripides[s] reports, that Apollo having expelled Themis, was himself expelled by the Earth, but recovered the oracle by the assistance of Jupiter. Agreeable to which relation is that of Apollodorus, that Apollo having learned the art of divination from Pan, came to Delphi, where oracles were then given by Themis, and having killed Python, the serpent which guarded the mouth of the sacred cavern, seized the oracle. It must not be omitted, that when this oracle was possessed by the Earth, she returned answers by dreams. Thus Euripides;

> ———νύχια
> Χθὼν ἐτεκνώσατο φάσματα[t].

The Earth brought forth nocturnal spectres. And afterwards, Apollo being deprived of the oracle, prays Jupiter[u];

> Πυθίων δόμων
> Χθονίαν ἀφελεῖν
> Θεᾶς μῆνιν, νυχίυς τ' ἐνοπάς.

To expel the Earth with her nocturnal oracles, from the Pythian temples. And this goddess was reputed the author of dreams in other places, as will appear in the chapter concerning that sort of divination. Others will have the Delphian oracle to have belonged to Saturn[v]; and that the Grecians received that celebrated an-

[p] Prometh. ver. 208. [q] Orat. de concordia ad Rhodios. [r] Eumenidum initio.
[s] Iphigeniæ, ver. 1259. [t] Loco cit. [u] Ibid. ver. 1271.
[v] Cœl. Rhodig. Lect. Antiq. lib. xvi.

swer, ὅτι τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τὸ Ἴλιον πορθήσουσι, *that Troy should be taken by them in the tenth year*, from this god, we are informed by the scholiast upon the following verse of Lycophron [w], which likewise relates to this purpose;

Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ βωμὸν τοῦ προμάντιος Κρόνου.

However that be, at length it came into the hands of Apollo: nor did he long enjoy it alone; for in the war against the sons of Titan, Bacchus being mangled and torn in pieces by them, was afterwards restored to his brother Apollo, who received him into his temple, and ordered that divine honours should be paid him there. This fable is related out of Callimachus and Euphorion, by Isaac Tzetzes, in his comment upon Lycophron [x], where Agamemnon is brought in sacrificing to Bacchus in the temple of Delphian Apollo. Hence some say, the city Delphi was so called, *q.* Ἀδελφοὶ, which word signifieth *brethren,* because Apollo and Bacchus were both sons of Jupiter.

We find it related by Diodorus the Sicilian [y], that this oracle was first discovered by goats, in memory whereof, the Delphians, when they asked counsel of the god, for the most part offered a goat. The manner of the discovery was thus: upon mount Parnassus, where goats were wont to feed, there was a deep cavern, with a small narrow mouth, to which, when any of the goats approached, they began immediately to leap after an unusual and antic manner, uttering strange and unheard-of sounds. The goatherd (Plutarch calls him *Coretas*), observing this, and wondering what should be the cause of it, went himself to view the cavern, whereupon he was also seized with a like fit of madness, leaping, and dancing, and foretelling things to come. This being noised abroad, vast multitudes of people flocked to the place, where as many as looked in were inspired after the same manner. At length, when many were possessed with such a degree of divine phrenzy, as to throw themselves headlong into the vorago, there was an edict put out, whereby it was made unlawful for any man to approach it; and a tripus was placed upon the mouth of it, upon which a virgin was appointed to sit, and there deliver the answers of the god. This is the most common account of the original of the oracle: Pausanias hath given some others, which I shall forbear to mention. Thus much, however, is certain (if any thing at such a distance may be called so), viz. that this oracle

[w] Cassandr. ver. 202. [x] Ver 209. [y] Biblioth. Hist. lib. xvi.

was very ancient, and flourished above an hundred years before the Trojan war.

Concerning the tripus placed upon the mouth of the cavern, there are different opinions; some say it was a pot filled with dust, through which the afflatus passed into the virgin's belly, and thence proceeded out of the mouth. The scholiast upon Aristophanes[z] saith, it was a wide-mouthed brass pot, filled with ψῆφοι, or *pebbles*, by the leaping of which the prophetess made her conjectures. Others are of opinion, that it was a large vessel supported by three feet, into which the prophetess plunged herself, when she expected an inspiration. But, according to the more common opinion, Cœlius[a] hath proved at large, that it was not a vessel, but a table, or seat, on which the Pythia leaned or sat. The cover of the tripus, or, as some say, the tripus itself, they called Ὅλμος, which word properly denotes a *mortar*, or round stone, according to Hesychius; whence Apollo is called in Sophocles, Ἐνολμος, and his prophetess, Ἐνολμις. And this, as some are of opinion, gave occasion to the proverb, Ἐν ὅλμῳ εὐνάσω, which is applied to those that speak prophetically; but others derive it from a certain diviner, called Holmus; and others (amongst whom is Aristophanes the grammarian in Zenodotus) refer it to the old superstitious custom of sleeping in these ὅλμοι, when they desired a prophetical dream. Phurnutus will have the tripus to have been sacred to Apollo, either because of the perfection of the number three, or in allusion to the three celestial circles, two of which the sun toucheth, and passeth over the third in his annual circuit. And the scholiast upon Aristophanes[b] will have the three legs of the tripus to signify the knowledge of the god, as distinguished by the three parts of time, viz. present, past, and future;

Ὅς τ' ᾔδει τά τ' ἐόντα, τά τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρό τ' ἐόντα.
Who knew things past, and present, and to come.

The same tripus was not always used; the first was placed there by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country; afterwards, when Pelops married Hippodamia, the daughter of Oenomaus, king of the Eleans, he presented to Apollo a tripus, wrought by Vulcan, which seems to have been that made of brass, so famous amongst the poets. There was also another tripus of gold, as the scholiast upon Aristophanes[c] reports, dedicated to Apollo on this account; certain fishermen at Miletus having sold their next draught to

[z] Lysistrate. [a] Lect. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 15. [b] Initio Pluti.
[c] Loc. citat.

some persons that stood by, cast their net into the water, and drew up a golden tripus; whereupon there arose a very hot contention between the fishermen and their chapmen; the fishermen alleging that they sold nothing but the fish they were to take, and that therefore the tripus belonged to them; the buyers, on the other hand, replied that they had bought the whole draught, and therefore laid a just claim to whatever came to the net. At length, when neither side would yield, they agreed to submit the matter to Apollo's determination; whereupon they came to Delphi, and there received this answer;

Εκγόνε Μιλήτου, τρίποδος πέρι Φοῖβον ἐρωτᾷς;
Ὅς σοφίῃ πάντων πρῶτος, τούτῳ τρίποδα δός.

Art thou a native of Miletus, come
To ask what must be with the tripod done?
Give it to him whose wisdom claims a right
Above all others.———— H. H.

This oracle was given at the time when the seven wise men flourished in Greece; the tripus, therefore, was presented to one of them (which that was, is not agreed on by ancient writers); he modestly refusing it, they offered it to another, and so on to the rest, till it had been refused by them all; whereupon it was determined to consecrate it to Apollo himself, as being the fountain of all wisdom. The tripus was called by the Latins *cortina,* of which appellation there are several reasons assigned, for which I refer you to the grammarians. Others say *cortina* was only the cover of the tripus, and therefore derive it from the word *corium,* i. e. a skin, because it was made, as they say, of Python's skin. Lastly, others more probably think it signified the tent within which was kept the sacred tripus, and that because of its figure, which was like that of a cauldron, round; upon the same account *cortina* was used to signify the tiring-room in the theatre, or the curtains, or hangings, out of which the players used to be ushered on to the stage; whence also the celestial hemisphere is by Ennius called *cœli cortina;* and the tholus or round compass at the top of a theatre, is by another named *cortina theatri.*

The person that delivered the oracles of the god was a woman, whom they called Pythia, Pythonissa, and Phœbas: the most celebrated of these, saith Pausanias [d], was Phœmonoe, who is remarkable not only as being the first priestess of that oracle, but more especially because she was the first (as most say) that clothed the oracles with heroic verse. But Bœo, a Delphian lady, in one of

[d] Phocicis.

her hymns, reports, that Olen, with the Hyperboreans, first instituted this oracle, and returned answers in heroic verse, of which he was the first inventor; her words we find in Pausanias to be thus:

> Ενθα τοι εὔμνηστον χρηστήριον ἐκτελέσαντο
> Παῖδες Ὑπερβορέων, Πάγασος, · δῖος Αγυιεὺς, &c.
>
> Where Hyperboreans to thy lasting praise
> Eternal oracles did consecrate.

Then she proceeds to enumerate some others of the Hyperboreans, and in the end of the hymn adds,

> Ωλὴν θ' ὃς γένετο πρῶτος Φοίβοιο προφάτας,
> Πρῶτος δ' ἀρχαίων ἐπέων τεκτήνατ' ἀοιδήν.
>
> No Grecian yet warm'd with poetic fire
> Could fit th' unpolish'd language to the lyre,
> Till the first priest of Phœbus, Olen, rose,
> And chang'd for smoother verse their stunning prose. H. H.

But herein she contradicts (saith my author) the common opinion, which is grounded on the testimony of ancient writers, who unanimously agree in this, that never any but women were the interpreters of this god. Yet several prophets are spoken of by Ælian [e]. There is mention in Herodotus [f] of a certain προφήτης, *prophet*, in this place, whose name was Aceratus. And Apollo is said in Homer to choose the men of Crete to publish his oracles [g];

> Κρῆτες ἀπὸ Κνωσσοῦ Μινωΐου, οἵ ῥα τ' ἄνακτι
> Ἱερά τε ῥέζουσι, καὶ ἀγγέλλουσι θέμιστας
> Φοίβου Απόλλωνος χρυσαόρου, ὅττι κεν εἴπῃ
> Χρείων ἐκ δάφνης γυάλων ὑπὸ Παρνησοῖο.

But perhaps these men are to be accounted priests and ὑποφῆται, who published to others the answers first by them received from the Pythia, rather than inspired persons, and prophets strictly so called.

Venerius [h] is of opinion that there were more than one Pythia at the same time; which he proves out of Herodotus, who in the sixth book of his history reports, that Cleomenes corrupted with bribes the prophetess Perialla, who was *vaticinantium mulierum antistes*, the president of the prophetesses: but though these words are in the Latin version, yet no such thing is said, or can be inferred from the Greek, where Perialla is only called πρόμαντις, which, word (however it may seem to signify a prophet superior to the rest), according to its common acceptation, implies no more than μάντις. Thus Euripides [i] hath used it, when he saith, πρόμαντις κακῶν, i. e. *one that fortelleth evils to come*; in which sense Hero-

[e] De Animal. lib. x. cap. 26.
[f] Lib. viii. cap. 37.
[g] Hymn. in Apollinem, v. 393.
[h] De Divination. et Orat. Antiq.
[i] Helena.

dotus himself in another place hath used the verb προεμαντεύσατο· more instances would be needless.

These women were at the first virgins, till one of them was deflowered by Echecrates, a Thessalian; after which time, choice was made of women above fifty years of age, that so they might either be secured from the attempts of lust, or if they should be at any time forced to the violation of their chastity, having passed the time of child-bearing, they might remain undiscovered, and not bring the oracles or religion into contempt. Nevertheless they wore the habit of virgins, thereby to signify their purity and virginal modesty [j]. They were obliged to observe the strictest laws of temperance and chastity; not being allowed to wear rich and costly apparel, or use fantastical dresses; and Plutarch [k] hath told us, they neither anointed themselves, nor wore purple garments. The Pythia, before she ascended the tripus, used to wash her whole body, especially her hair, in Castalis, a fountain at the foot of Parnassus, where the poets, men inspired by the same deity, used to wash and drink. At her first sitting down upon the tripus, she used to shake the laurel tree that grew by it, and sometimes to eat the leaves. Herself also, and the tripus were crowned with garlands of the same plant, as we learn from the scholiast upon Aristophanes [l] at this verse, where one asketh,

> Τί δῆθ' ὁ Φοῖβος ἔλακεν ἐκ στεμμάτων;
> What from the oracle with garlands trimm'd
> Has Phœbus utter'd?———

Nor did the Pythia only make use of laurel in this manner, but other prophets also, it being thought to conduce to inspiration; whence it was peculiarly called μαντικὸν φυτὸν, *the prophetic plant.* The Pythia being placed upon the tripus, received the divine *afflatus* in her belly: whence she is called ἐγγαστρίμυθος, or στερνόμαντις. She was no sooner inspired but she began immediately to swell and foam at the mouth, tearing her hair, cutting her flesh, and in all her other behaviour appearing like one frantic and distracted. But she was not always affected in the same manner; for, if the spirit was in a kind and gentle humour, her rage was not very violent; but if sullen and malignant, she was thrown into extreme fury; insomuch that Plutarch [m] speaks of one enraged to such a degree, that she affrighted not only those that consulted the oracle, but the priests themselves, who ran away and left her; and so violent was the paroxysm, that in a little time after she died.

j Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvi.
k Lib. De Pyth. Orac.
l In Pluto.
m De Defect. Orac.

Some say, that under the tripus sometimes appeared a dragon, that returned answers, and that the Pythia was once killed by him. And Eusebius reports, δράκοντα εἱλεῖσθαι περὶ τὸν τρίποδα, *that a serpent rolled himself about the tripod.*

The time of consulting the oracle was only one month in the year. This month Plutarch[n] tells us, was called Βύσιος, which, as many are of opinion, was so named, *q.* φύσιος, from φύειν, i. e. *to spring up*, because it was in the beginning of spring, when all things flourish and put forth buds: but this (saith he) is not the true reason, for the Delphians do not use Β for Φ (as the Macedonians, who for Φίλιππος, Φαλακρὸς, and Φερονίκα, say Βίλιππος, Βαλακρὸς and Βερονίκα), but instead of Π; for they usually say βατεῖν, for πατεῖν, and βικρὸν, for πικρὸν: Βύσιος therefore is put for Πύσιος, so called διὰ τὴν πύσιν, because in that month they were allowed to enquire of Apollo's oracle, and this is their genuine and country way of speaking. The seventh day of this month they called Apollo's birth-day, naming it Πολύφθος, (not πολύφθονος, as some read it), not because they baked a sort of cakes called φθόϊς, but because the god did then return a great many answers; and at the first the Pythia gave answers only on this day, as Callisthenes and Anaxandridas report. Thus Plutarch. And even in later ages oracles used only to be given once every month.

Whoever went to consult the oracle was required to make large presents to the god, whereby it came to pass, that this temple, in riches, splendour, and magnificence, was superior to almost all others in the world. And *aphetoriæ opes* (so called from Ἀφήτωρ, a name of Apollo, given him, as some say, from sending forth oracles), have been proverbially used for abundance of wealth. Another thing required of those that desired answers, was, that they should propound their questions in as few words as might be, as we are informed by Philostratus[o], in the life of Apollonius. It was the custom also to offer sacrifices to Apollo, in which, except the omens were favourable, the prophetess would not give any answer. At these sacrifices there were five priests, saith Plutarch[p], named Ὅσιοι, i, e. *holy*, that assisted the prophets, and performed many other offices with them, being supposed to be descended from Deucalion; there was one also who presided over these, called Ὁσιωτὴρ, or *purifier*; though Plutarch saith, that the sacrifice slain when any of the Ὅσιοι were declared was called by that name; unless instead of τὸ θυόμενον ἱερεῖον, or the sacrifice killed, we might

[n] Quæst. Græc. 9. [o] Lib. vi. cap. 5. [p] Loc. cit.

be allowed to read τὸν θυόμενον ἱερεῖον, or the person that killed the sacrifice. There was another priest also that assisted the prophetess in managing the oracle, whom they called Αφήτωρ, upon the same account that Apollo was so named.

The answer was always returned in Greek, as appears from Cicero [q], who, speaking of the oracle, reported by Ennius to be given to Pyrrhus the Epirote, by Apollo, viz.

Aio, te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse,
Go, Pyrrhus, go, engage with warlike Rome,
Fate has decreed th' irrevocable doom,
And you the valiant Romans shall o'ercome, H. H.

concludes it was not genuine, because the Pythia never used to speak in Latin; and in Pyrrhus's time had left off giving answers in verse, which had been the custom in all former ages, from the first foundation of the oracle, deriving (as hath been said already) its original from Phœmonoe the first Pythia. The ancient Greeks delivered their laws in verse, whence it came to pass, as Aristotle witnesseth, that νόμος, which properly signifies a *law*, is often used to signify *verses* or *songs*. The first philosophers, as oft as they thought fit to communicate their mysteries to the world, clothed them in verse, and the primitive ages scarce seem to have written any thing curious or excellent, nor any thing of weight or moment, but in verse. The verses of the Pythia were, for the most part, saith Plutarch [r], rude and unpolished, and not comparable to those of Homer or Hesiod; yet, saith he, this is no reflection upon Apollo, the patron of poets, because he only communicated the knowledge to the Pythia, which she delivered in what dress she pleased; the sense therefore was his, the words her own. In the same book he tells us, that some were of opinion, that there were poets maintained in the temple, to catch the oracles as they were given, and wrap them up in verse. The verses were for the most part hexameter, insomuch that this oracle was thought to be none of Apollo's, because it was not heroic:

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης,
Ανδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.
To wisdom Sophocles makes just pretence,
Yet does to sage Euripides give place,
As he and all men must to Socrates. H. H.

In later ages, when oracles began to grow into disrepute, this custom of versifying was left off, the reason whereof hath been copiously disputed by Plutarch, in a treatise on that subject, to which I refer the reader. I shall only add one thing more to be observed, that as the custom of giving answers in verse never ob-

q Lib. ii. de Divinatione

r Lib. de Pythiæ Orac.

tained so universally but that sometimes they were delivered in prose, as Plutarch hath proved by a great many instances, so neither was it ever so wholly left off, but that sometimes oracles were pronounced in verse; an instance whereof he giveth in his own time. The oracle concerning the birth of our Saviour Christ, which was delivered in heroic verse to the emperor Augustus, is mentioned by Eusebius, Zonaras, and others; and another, which was returned in the same sort of verse to Julian the apostate, shall be repeated hereafter.

The Delphian oracles, if compared with some others, might justly be called plain and perspicuous; and, as Hermeas the philosopher tells us, it was usual for those that had received an obscure answer at Dodona to desire Apollo at Delphi to explain the meaning of it: he adds also, that Apollo had interpreted a great many of them. Nevertheless, they were generally very obscure and ambiguous; insomuch that Apollo, as some say, was called Λοξίας, because his answers were Λοξὰ καὶ σκολιὰ, i. e. *crooked, and* hard to be understood. And Heraclitus in Plutarch, speaking of Apollo, saith, οὔτε λέγει, οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει· i. e. *he doth not speak the truth plainly, nor yet wholly conceal it, but only gives small hints of it;* so that if the event happened contrary to any man's expectation, he might rather find fault with his own interpretation of the oracles, than call in question either the knowledge or veracity of Apollo. The reason of this affected obscurity is said to have been this, viz. Οὐ καθαρῷ καθαροῦ ἐφάπτεσθαι θεμιτὸν, &c. *that impure persons ought not to be admitted to sacred things*[6]: being a profanation of the mysteries, and other things relating to religion, to communicate them to the vulgar and ignorant.

The veracity of this oracle was so famous, that Τὰ ἐκ Τρίποδος, i. e. *the responses given from the tripus*, came to be used proverbially for certain and infallible truths; and as Cicero rightly argues, it is impossible the Delphian oracle should ever have gained so much repute in the world, or have been enriched with such vast presents from almost all kings and nations, had not the truth of its predictions been attested by the experience of all ages. But in later times the case was altered; and so Cicero tells us, it was a long time before his days; Demosthenes, who flourished three hundred years before him, complained the Pythia did Φιλιππίζειν, or speak as Philip the Macedonian would have her. Before that time, she was said to receive a bribe of Clisthenes, to persuade the

[6] Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. v.

Lacedæmonians to free the Athenians from the tyrants that were imposed on them. Perialla the Pythia was deprived of her office for being corrupted by one of Cleomenes's agents, to say that Demaratus, Cleomenes's colleague, was not the true son of Aristo, king of Sparta, to the end it might be thought he was not his lawful successor, and upon that account be dethroned

At what time, or upon what account, this oracle came to cease, is uncertain; Strabo [t] hath told us, that in his time it had lost its ancient reputation. Dio will have it to have been extinct from the time that it was polluted by Nero, who killed men εἰς τὸ στόμιον ἐξ οὗ ἱερὸν τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνήει *in the cavern's mouth, out of which the sacred inspiration ascended.* In Juvenal's [u] time the gods had quite forsaken it, if any credit may be given to the following words:

Delphis oracula cessant,
The Delphian oracles are now no more.

Minutius Felix reports, that *cautum illud et ambiguum defecit oraculum, cum et politiores homines et minus creduli esse coeperunt* [v]; this cautious and ambiguous oracle gave over speaking, when men began to be more polite and less credulous. Lucan [w] telleth us that it had ceased a long time before the battle at Pharsalia:

————*Non ullo secula dono*
Nostra carent majore deûm, quam Delphica sedes
Quod siluit.————

Of all the wants with which this age is curst,
The Delphic silence surely is the worst. ROWE.

But this must not be understood of a total defect, or a perpetual silence; for this oracle, as Van Dale [x] hath abundantly proved, did several times lose its prophetic faculty, and again recover it. Lucian [y] reports that answers were given in his time, which was about the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus: but he is at a loss whether those oracles were indeed Apollo's, or only supposititious. And farther, it is certain that this, and those at Delos, and Dodona, with some others, continued till the reign of Julian the apostate, and were consulted, saith Theodoret, by him: and he is said to have received from Apollo Delphicus the following answer:

Εἴπατε τῷ βασιλῆϊ, χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλὰ,
Οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μαντίδα δάφνην,
Οὐ πάγαν λαλέουσαν, ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον ὕδωρ.

t Lib. ix. u Sat. vi. v. 554. w Lib. v. x Dissert. de Orac.
v Octavii p. 241, 242. edit. Lugd. Bat. y Alexandro Pseudomant.

By which it appears this oracle was then in a very low and declining condition; but at what time it was finally extinct, is uncertain; whoever desireth to be more particularly informed, may consult Van Dale's treatise on that subject.

When the god forsook Delphi, he betook himself to the Hyperborean Scythians, as we learn from Claudian:

——pulcher Apollo
Lustrat Hyperboreas Delphis cessantibus aras.

The fair Apollo leaves his Delphic home
O'er distant Hyperborean climes to roam.

And in former times, he was thought to be a lover of that nation, and at certain seasons to remove thither out of Greece. Abaris, one of that country, and priest to Apollo, who travelled into Greece about the time of Pythagoras, is said to have written a book concerning Apollo's oracles, καὶ ἄφιξιν εἰς Ὑπερβορέους, *and removal to the Hyperboreans*[z]. And the Athenians, at a time when the plague raged over all Greece, received an oracle from thence, commanding them to make vows and prayers in behalf of the rest; and they continued to send gifts and offerings thither, as they had formerly done to Delphi.

I might enlarge about the magnificence and splendour of the Delphian temple, but I fear I have already trespassed too far upon the reader's patience; if any one, therefore, have curiosity and leisure, he may have a large and exact description of all the magnificent structures, rich presents, curious pieces of art, and other rarities belonging to that place in Pausanias. There was another of Apollo's oracles at Cirrha, a sea-port belonging to Delphi, from which it was distant about sixty stadia. This is mentioned in Statius's Thebais[a];

Tunc et Apollineæ tacuere oracula Cirrhæ.

Where Lutatius observes, that *in Cirrha tantum prospera deorum dabantur oracula; nam cui exitium imminebat, taciturnitate templi penitus damnatur.* At Cirrha, none but prosperous oracles were pronounced; and if any calamity was to befal them who came for advice, that was declared by the god's silence. Several others have mentioned this oracle, though neither taken notice of by Strabo nor Pausanias; the latter of whom hath left us a particular account of the temple, sacred field of Apollo, and other remarkable things in Cirrha. Some speak of this oracle in such a manner as doth make it probable that it was the same with the oracle at Delphi. Thus Seneca will have it become Apollo's, by his

[z] Suidas, v. Ἄβαρις, Diodorus Siculus, aliique. [a] Lib. vii. v. 411.

victory over Python, whereby he is known to have obtained the Delphian [b]:

> *Cirrhæa Pæan templa, et ætheriam domum*
> *Serpente cæso meruit.*

And a prophetess is reported by the same author to have delivered oracles at Cirrha, as was done in the Delphian temple [c]:

> *Et ipse nostris vocibus testis veni*
> *Fatidicæ vatis ora Cirrhææ movens.*

Lastly, there was a cavern at Cirrha, as in the other place. This appears from Statius [d]:

> ———*Non Cirrha promiserit anno*
> *Certius, aut frondes lucis, quas fama Molossis*
> *Chaonia sonuisse tibi.*———
>
> Not Cyrrha's cave with more unerring skill,
> Unfolds the king of heav'n's eternal will;
> Nor the fam'd oaks from whence the dark decrees
> Of fate are heard, low-whisper'd in the breeze. LEWIS.

Next to this oracle, may justly follow that at Delos, the most celebrated of all the Cyclades, which were a knot of islands in the Ægean sea. It is famous among the poets for having been the birth-place of Apollo and Diana, and was therefore accounted so sacred and inviolable, that the Persians, when they pillaged or destroyed almost all the other Grecian temples, durst not attempt any thing upon the temple in this island, which was seated on the sea-shore, looking towards Eubœa, in the very place where Apollo was feigned to be born. He had an image erected in this place, in the shape of a dragon; and gave answers, for their certainty and perspicuity, not only not inferior to those at Delphi, but, as some report [e], far exceeding them, and all other oracles of Apollo; being delivered in clear plain terms, without any ambiguity or obscurity. But these answers were not to be expected all the year; Apollo only kept his summer's residence in this place, and in winter retired to Petara, a city of Lycia, as Servius hath observed in his comment upon these words of Virgil:

> *Qualis ubi hybernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta*
> *Deserit, ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo* [f].
>
> As when from Lycia bound in wint'ry frost,
> Where Xanthus' streams enrich the smiling coast,
> The beauteous Phœbus in high pomp retires,
> And hears in Delos the triumphant quires. PITT.

One of the altars was by some reckoned among the seven wonders of the world. It was erected by Apollo at the age of four years, and composed of the horns of goats killed by Diana, upon mount

[b] Hercul. Oet. ver. 92. [c] Oedip. ver. 269. [d] Thebaid. lib. iii. ver. 474.
[e] Alexand. ab Alex. [f] Æneid. iv. ver. 143.

Cynthus, which were compacted together in a wonderful manner, without any visible tie or cement; whence Ovid saith of it[g];

> *Miror et innumeris structam de cornibus aram.*
>
> With wonder here the altar I survey,
> Form'd of unnumber'd horns, Diana's prey.

To sacrifice any living creature upon this altar was held unlawful, and a profanation of the place, which it was the god's will to have preserved pure from blood, and all manner of pollution. Thucydides[h] reports that no dogs were permitted to enter into this island: and it was unlawful for any person to die, or be born in it; and therefore, when the Athenians were by the oracle commanded to purify it, they dug up the dead bodies out of their graves, and wafted them over the sea to be interred in one of the adjacent islands; this done, the better to preserve it from pollution, they put forth an edict, commanding, that whoever lay sick of any mortal and dangerous disease, and all women great with child, should be carried over to the little isle called Rhena.

I must not omit in this place the annual procession made by the Athenians to this place. The author of this custom was Theseus, who being sent with the rest of the Athenian youths into Crete, to be devoured by the Minotaur, made a vow to Apollo, that if he would grant them a safe return, they would make a solemn voyage to his temple at Delos every year. This was called Θεωρία, the persons employed in it Θεωροὶ, and Δηλιασταὶ, from the name of the island, the chief of them Αρχιθέωρος, and the ship in which they went, Θεωρὶς, or Δηλιὰς, which was the very same that carried Theseus and his companions to Crete; being (saith Plutarch) preserved by the Athenians till Demetrius the Phalerean's time, they restoring always what was decayed, and changing the old rotten planks for those that were new and entire, insomuch that it furnished the philosophers with matter of dispute, whether, after so many reparations and alterations, it might still be called the same individual ship; and served as an instance to illustrate the opinion of those, that held the body still remained the same numerical substance, notwithstanding the continual decay of old parts, and acquisition of new ones, through the several stages of life. For which reason Callimachus[i] calls its tackle *ever-living* (ἀειζώοντα):

> ——— ἀειζώοντα Θεωρίδος, ἱερὰ Φοίβου,
> Κεκροπίδαι πέμπουσι τοπήϊα νηὸς ἐκείνης.

[g] Epistola Cydippes ad Acont. Conf. etiam Plutarch. de Solert. Animalium, Callimachi hymn. in Apollinem, ver. 58. Politiani Miscellanea, cap. 52.
[h] Lib. iv. [i] Hymno in Bellum.

To great Apollo's temple every year,
The sturdy Theoris the Athenians send,
Yet spite of envious time, and angry seas,
The vessel ever whole will be. E. D.

The beginning of the voyage was computed from the time that Apollo's priest first adorned the stern of the ship with garlands, saith Plato [j]; and from that time they began to cleanse and lustrate the city; and it was held unlawful to put any malefactor to death till its return, which was the reason that Socrates was reprieved thirty days after his condemnation, as we learn from the same author, and from Xenophon [k]. The Theori wore garlands of laurel upon their heads, and were accompanied by two of the family of the Κήρυκες, who were appointed to be Παράσιτοι at Delos for that year. Before them went certain men with axes in their hands, in show as if they designed to clear the ways of robbers; in memory that Theseus, in his journey from Trœzen to Athens, freed the country from all the robbers that infested those parts. To this custom Æschylus [l] seems to allude, when he saith;

Πέμπουσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ σεβίζουσι μέγα
Κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ηφαίστου, χθόνα
Ανήμερον τίθεντες ἡμερωμένην.

Mov'd with the sense of piety
To him the men of Athens run,
And as they on their journey go,
Whatever parts infested be
With robbers' cruel outrages,
They set them free.——— E. D.

When they went thither, they were said ἀναβαίνειν, *to ascend*; when they returned, καταβαίνειν, *to descend.* When they arrived, they offered sacrifice, and celebrated a festival in honour of Apollo: this done, they repaired to their ship, and sailed homewards. At their return, all the people ran forth to meet them, opening their doors, and making obeisance as they passed by; the neglect of which respect makes Theseus complain in Euripides [m]:

Οὐ γάρ τις μ' ὡς Θεωρὸν ἀξιοῖ δόμος
Πύλας ἀνοίξας εὐφρόνως προσεννέπειν.

The scornful citizens, I find, neglect
Rushing to crowd about the op'ned doors,
And pay me that respect which is decreed
For one that from an embassy returns. E. D.

The next oracle I shall speak of, is that of Apollo Didymæus, so named [n] from the double light imparted by him to mankind; the one directly and immediately from his own body, and the other by reflection from the moon. The place of it was also called Didyma, and belonged to the Milesians, whence Apollo is called

j In Phædone.
k Memorab. lib. iv.
l Eumenid. initio.
m Hippolyto.
n Macrob. lib. i. cap. 17.

Milesius. It was also called the oracle of the Branchidæ, and Apollo himself was called Branchides, from Branchus, who was reputed the son of Macareus, but begotten by Apollo; for it was no unusual thing for the ancient heroes to be called the sons of two fathers, the one mortal, who was always their mother's husband, the other some lascivious deity that had fallen in love with her: so Hercules was reputed the son of Jupiter and Amphitryon; Hector of Priamus and Apollo, with many others. The original of this oracle is thus described by Varro, where speaking of Branchus's mother, he reports, 'that being with child, she dreamed the sun entered into her mouth and passed through her belly; whence her child was named Branchus, from βρόγχος, the *throat*, through which the god had penetrated into the womb. The boy afterwards having kissed Apollo in the woods, and received from him a crown and sceptre, began to prophecy, and presently after disappeared.' Whereupon a magnificent temple was dedicated to him and Apollo Philesius, so called from φιλεῖν, to *kiss*; whence Statius saith, he was

> ———*patrioque æqualis honori.*
> In honour equal to his father Phœbus.

Others derive the name from Branchus, a Thessalian youth, beloved by Apollo, who received him into his own temple, and commanded that divine honours should be paid him after death. But Stephanus the Byzantian [o] telleth us, that this oracle was sacred to Jupiter and Apollo, and perhaps it might belong to all three. However that be, we are assured by Herodotus, that this oracle was ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυμένον, τῷ Ἴωνές τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες εἰώθεσαν χρέεσθαι· *very ancient and frequented by all the Ionians and Æolians:* and are farther told by Conon in Photius's Bibliotheca, that it was accounted χρηστηρίων Ἑλληνικῶν μετὰ Δελφοὺς κράτιστον· *the best of all the Grecian oracles except the Delphian.*

In the time of the Persian war [p], this temple was spoiled and burned, being betrayed into the hands of the barbarians by the Branchidæ, or priests, who had the care of it; but they, conscious of their own wickedness, and fearing lest they should meet with condign punishment, desired of Xerxes, that, as a requital of their service, he would grant them a habitation in some remote part of Asia, whence they might never return into Greece, but live secure, being placed beyond the reach of justice. Xerxes granted their request: whereupon, notwithstanding a great many unlucky omens

[o] Voce Δίδυμα.

[p] Strabo, lib. xiv. et Suidas in Voce Βραγχίδαι.

appeared to them, they founded a city, and called it after their ancient name, Branchidæ. But for all this, they could not escape divine vengeance, which was inflicted on their children by Alexander the Great, who, having conquered Darius, and possessed himself of Asia, utterly demolished their city, and put all its inhabitants to the sword, as detesting the very posterity of such impious wretches.

The Persians being vanquished, and peace restored to Greece [q], the temple was rebuilt by the Milesians, with such magnificence, that it surpassed almost all the other Grecian temples in bigness, being raised to such a bulk, that they were forced to let it remain uncovered; for the compass of it was no less than that of a village, and contained at least four or five stadia.

Another of Apollo's oracles we read of in Abæ, a city of Phocis, mentioned by Herodotus [r], and Stephanus the Byzantian [s], by the latter of whom we are told it was more ancient than the Delphian. Sophocles [t] also hath taken notice of it;

Οὐκέτι τὸν ἄθικτον εἶμι
Γᾶς ἐπ' ὀμφαλὸν σέβων,
Οὐδ' ἐις τὸν Αβαῖσι ναόν.

Such deeds if glory waits, in vain
  I lead this choral train.
No more at Delphi's central cell,
  At Abæ, or Olympia's hallow'd shrine
Attendant pay I rites divine,
  Till the god deigns this darkness to dispell. POTTER.

The scholiasts on this place are of opinion, that Abæ was a city in Lycia, but are sufficiently refuted by the testimonies already cited. We are told by Pausanias [u], that the temple of this oracle was built by Xerxes.

At Claros, a city of Ionia, not far from Colophon, there was another oracle sacred to Apollo, first instituted by Manto, the daughter of Tiresias, who fled thither in the second Theban war, when the Epigoni, *i. e.* the sons of those that were slain in the former war, invaded Thebes, under the conduct of Alcmæon, in revenge of their father's death. The person that delivered answers, was a man generally chosen out of some certain families, and for the most part out of Miletus [v]; he was usually unlearned, and very ignorant, yet returned the oracles in verses wonderfully satisfactory, and adapted to the intention of the enquirers; and this by the virtue of a little well, feigned to have sprung out of the tears

[q] Strabo, loc. cit. [r] Lib. i cap. 46. [s] Voce Αβαι. item Hesych. et Phavor. [t] Oedip. Tyr. v. 908. [u] Phoc. [v] Cœl. Rhod. Ant. Lect. lib. xxvii. cap. 5.

of Manto, when she bewailed the desolation of her country. Into this he descended when any man came to consult him; but paid dear for his knowledge, water being very prejudicial to his health; and as Pliny [w] hath told us, a means to shorten his life. By this oracle, the untimely death of Germanicus was foretold, as we are informed by Tacitus [x], by whom also the fore-mentioned account of Pliny is confirmed.

At Larissa, a fort of the Argives, there was an oracle of Apollo, surnamed Δειραδιώτης, from Diras, a region belonging to Argos. The answers in this place were returned by a woman, who was forbidden the company of men. Every month she sacrificed a lamb in the night, and then, having tasted the blood of the victim, was immediately seized with a divine fury [y].

Apollo had another famous oracle at Eutresis, a village in Bœotia [z], seated in the way between the Thespians and the Platæans.

Oropæan Apollo delivered oracles at Orope, a city of Eubœa, as we are informed by Stephanus.

At Orobæ in Eubœa, there was ἀψευδέστατον μαντεῖον, *a most infallible oracle* of Apollo Selinuntius, as we find in the beginning of Strabo's tenth book.

Another oracle of Corypæan Apollo, at Corypæ in Thessaly, is mentioned in Nicander's Theriaca:

Μαντείας Κορυπαῖος ἐθήκατο, ϗ θέμιν ἀνδρῶν.

It is reported by Athenæus [a], that the Carians, on a certain time, consulted Apollo's oracle at Hybla, which Casaubon would have to be read Abæ, but for no better reason than that he finds no mention of the Hyblæan oracle in any other author.

There was an oracle of Apollo Ichnæus at Ichnæa in Macedonia [b].

At Tegyræ, a city in Bœotia, there was an oracle sacred to Tegyræan Apollo, which was frequented till the Persian war; but after that remained for ever silent [c].

No less famous was Ptous, a mountain in Bœotia, for the oracles given by Apollo, surnamed Ptous, from that place, where was a temple dedicated to him. This oracle ceased when Thebes was demolished by Alexander [d].

Apollo, surnamed Δαφναῖος, from Daphne, his beloved mistress, or the laurel, into which she was transformed, had an oracle near

[w] Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 103.
[x] Annal. lib. ii. cap. 54.
[y] Pausan. Corinth.
[z] Stephan. in voce Εὔτρησις.
[a] Lib. xv. cap. 4.
[b] Hesych. v. Ἰχναίην. [c] Plut. Pelop.
[d] Pausan. Bœot.

the Castalian fountain, the waters of which were also endued with a prophetic virtue [e].

Apollo was called Ismenius, from Ismenus, a river and mountain in Bœotia, in which he had a temple, and gave answers to those that came to enquire of him.

Pausanias [f] hath told us of another place in Bœotia where Apollo returned answers, viz. a stone called Σωφρονιςὴς, upon which he had an altar, erected out of the ashes of victims offered to him; whence he was called Spodius, from Σποδὸς, i. e. *ashes*; whence, for Σπόνδιος in Pausanias, must be read Σπόδιος. He did not here, as in other places, signify his will by inspired prophets, but by ἀληδόνες, *ominous sounds*, in the observation of which he instructed persons appointed for that purpose; for this way of divination also was in use among the Grecians, especially at Smyrna, saith my author, where was a temple built on the outside of the city wall for that purpose. Thus much of the oracles of Apollo.

CHAP. X.

Of the Oracle of Trophonius.

Trophonius, the son of Eresinas, and brother of Agamedes [g], being possessed with an immoderate thirst of glory, built himself a mansion under ground, at Lebadea, a city of Bœotia, into which, when he entered, he pretended to be inspired with an extraordinary knowledge of future events; but at length, either out of design to raise in men an opinion that he was translated to the gods, or being some way necessitated thereto, perished in his hole [h]. Cicero [i] giveth us a very different account of his death, when he tells us, that Trophonius and Agamedes, having built Apollo's temple at Delphi, requested of the god, that, as a recompence for their labour, he would give them the best thing that could happen to man. Apollo granted their petition, and promised them that it should be effected the third day after; accordingly, on that day, in the morning, they were found dead. Several other fables concerning him, and the manner of his death, are related in the scholiast upon the Clouds of Aristophanes.

e Clem. Protrept. f Pausan. ibid. g Suidas voce Τροφώνιος. h Phavorin. i Tusc. Quæst. lib. .

However that be, Trophonius had divine honours paid him after death, and was worshipped by the name of Jupiter Trophonius [j]. Nor was it a thing unusual for men deified to be honoured with the name of a god, several instances whereof might be produced, but one shall suffice for all, viz. that of Agamemnon, who was worshipped at Sparta, by the name of Jupiter Agamemnon, as Lycophron witnesseth [k];

> *Ἐμὸς δ' ἀκοίτης, δμωίδος νύμφης ἄναξ,*
> *Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις αἱμύλοις κληθήσεται,*
> *Τιμὰς μεγίστας παρ' Οἰβάλου τέκνοις λαχών.*
>
> Then shall my husband, whom, a captive bride,
> I now obey as my superior lord,
> By subtle crafty Spartans Jove be call'd,
> And worship'd so, from their posterity
> Receiving greatest honours. ——— E. D.

Which words Cassandra speaks of Agamemnon, whose captive and concubine she was after the destruction of Troy.

This oracle came first into repute on this account; on a time when, for the space of two years, there had been no rain in Bœotia, all the cities of that country, with a joint consent, appointed chosen persons to go to Delphi, there to pay their devotions to Apollo, in the name of their country, and desire his advice and assistance: the god accepted their piety, but returned them no other answer than that they should go home and consult Trophonius at Lebadea. The ambassadors immediately obeyed, and repaired to Lebadea, still remaining as much in the dark as at first; there being not the least sign or footstep of any oracle in that place: at length, when they had searched a long time to no purpose, and began to despair of success, one Saon, an Acrephian, the senior of all the ambassadors, espied a swarm of bees, and immediately took up a resolution to follow them; by this means he came to a cave, into which he had no sooner entered, but, by some evident tokens, perceived, that in that place was the oracle Apollo had commanded them to enquire of. Upon this he paid his devotion to Trophonius, and received from him a welcome and satisfactory answer, together with instructions in what manner, and with what rites and ceremonies, he would have those that should come for advice, to approach him [l].

The place of this oracle was under the surface of the earth, and therefore it was commonly called *καταβάσιον*, and the persons that consulted it *καταβαίνοντες*, because the way to it was a descent. Concerning it there are innumerable fables, which it would not be

j Strabo, lib. ix. k Cassandr. v. 1123. l Pausanias Bœoticis

worth the while to mention in this place; I shall therefore pass them by, only giving you the accounts Pausanias and Plutarch have left of it; the former of whom consulted it in person, and thereby had opportunity of being an eye-witness of what he reports. His words are thus translated by Mr Abel:

'Whosoever's exigencies oblige him to go into the cave, must, in the first place, make his abode for some set time in the chapel of Good Genius and Good Fortune; during his stay here he abstains from hot baths, and employs himself in performing other sorts of atonement for past offences; he is not wholly debarred bathing, but then it must be only in the river Hercynna, having a sufficient sustenance from the leavings of the sacrifices. At his going down he sacrificeth to Trophonius and his sons, to Apollo, Saturn, and Jupiter (who hath the title of king), to Juno Heniocha, and Ceres, called Europa, reported to be Trophonius's nurse. There is a priest stands consulting the bowels of every sacrifice, who, according to the victim's aspects, prophesies whether the deity will give an auspicious and satisfactory answer. The entrails of all the sacrifices confer but little towards the revealing of Trophonius's answer, unless a ram, which they offer in a ditch, to Agamedes, with supplication for success, that night on which they descend, presents the same omens with the former; on this depends the ratification of all the rest, and without it their former oblations are of none effect: if so be this ram doth agree with the former, every one forthwith descends, backed with the eagerness of good hopes; and thus is the manner: immediately they go that night along with the priests to the river Hercynna, where they are anointed with oil, and washed by two citizens' boys, aged about thirteen years, whom they call Ἑρμᾶς, i. e. Mercurys: these are they that are employed in washing whoever hath a mind to consult; neither are they remiss in their duty, but, as much as can be expected from boys, carefully perform all things necessary. Having been washed, they are not straightway conducted by the priests to the oracle, but are brought to the river's rises, which are adjacent to one another: here they must drink a dose of the water of it, called Lethe, or Oblivion, to deluge with oblivion all those things which so lately were the greatest part of their concerns. After that, they take the water of Mnemosyne, viz. Remembrance, to retain the remembrance of those things that shall be exhibited to them in their descent; amongst which is exposed a statue, adorned with such admirable carving, that it is set up by the peo-

ple for Dædalus's workmanship; whereupon they never exhibit it, unless to descendants: to this, therefore, after some venerable obeisance, having muttered over a prayer or two, in a linen habit set off with ribands, and wearing pantoffles, agreeable with the fashion of the country, they approach the oracle, which is situated within a mountain near a grove, the foundation of which is built spherical-ways, of white stone, about the size, in circumference, of a very small threshing floor, but in height scarce two cubits, supporting brazen obelisks, encompassed round with ligaments of brass, between which there are doors that guide their passage into the midst of the floor, where there is a sort of cave, not the product of rude nature, but built with the nicest accuracy of mechanism and proportion. The figure of this workmanship is like an oven, its breadth diametrically (as nigh as can be guessed) about nine cubits, its depth eight, or thereabouts; for the guidance to which there are no stairs, wherefore it is required that all comers bring a narrow and light ladder with them, by which when they are come down to the bottom, there is a cave between the roof and the pavement, being in breadth about two σπιθαμαὶ, and in height not above one; at the mouth of this, the descendant, having brought with him cakes dipped in honey, lies along on the ground and shoves himself feet foremost into the cave; then he thrusts in his knees, after which the rest of his body is rolled along, by a force not unlike that of a great and rapid river, which overpowering a man with its vortex, tumbles him over head and ears. All that come within the approach of the oracle have not their answers revealed the same way: some gather their resolves from outward appearances, others by word of mouth: they all return the same way back with their feet foremost. Among all that have descended, it was never known that any was lost, except one of the life-guard of Demetrius; and besides, it is credible the reason proceeded from the neglect of the rituals in his descent, and his ill design; for he went not out of necessity to consult, but out of an avaricious humour, for the sacrilegious conveyance back of the gold and silver, which was there religiously bestowed; wherefore it is said, that his carcase was thrown out some other way, and not at the entrance of the sacred shrine. Among the various reports that fly abroad concerning this man, I have delivered to posterity the most remarkable. The priests, as soon as the consultant is returned, place him on Mnemosyne's throne, which is not very far from the shrine; here they enquire of him, what he

had seen or heard; which when he hath related, they deliver him to others, who (as appointed for that office) carry him stupified with amazement, and forgetful of himself, and those about him, to the chapel of Good Genius and Good Fortune, where he had made his former stay at his going down; here, after some time, he is restored to his former senses, and the cheerfulness of his visage returns again. What I here relate was not received at second hand, but either as by ocular demonstration I have perceived in others, or what I have proved true by my own experience; for all consultants are obliged to hang up, engraved on a tablet, what they have seen or heard.'

Thus far Pausanias. Plutarch's relation concerns the appearances exhibited to consultants; which, though they were various, and seldom the same, seeing it is a remarkable story, I will give it you, as it is translated by the same hand:

'Timarchus being a youth of liberal education, and just initiated in the rudiments of philosophy, was greatly desirous of knowing the nature and efficacy of Socrates's demon: wherefore, communicating his project to no mortal body but me and Cebes, after the performance of all the rituals requisite for consultation, he descended Trophonius's cave: where having staid two nights and one day, his return was wholly despaired of, insomuch, that his friends bewailed him as dead: in the morning he came up very brisk, and, in the first place, paid some venerable acknowledgments to the god: after that, having escaped the staring rout, he laid open to us a prodigious relation of what he had seen or heard, to this purpose: in his descent, he was beset with a caliginous mist, upon which he prayed, lying prostrate for a long time, and not having sense enough to know whether he was awake or in a dream, he surmises, that he received a blow on his head, with such an echoing violence, as dissevered the sutures of his skull, through which his soul migrated; and being disunited from the body and mixed with bright and refined air, with a seeming contentment, began to breathe for a long time, and being dilated like a full sail, was wider than before. After this, having heard a small noise, whistling in his ears a delightsome sound, he looked up, but saw not a spot of earth, only islands reflecting a glimmering flame, interchangeably receiving different colours, according to the different degrees of light. They seemed to be of an infinite number, and of a stupendous size, not bearing an equal parity betwixt one another in this, though they were all alike, viz. glo-

bular: it may be conjectured, that the circumrotation of these moved the ether, which occasioned that whistling, the gentle pleasantness of which bore an adequate agreement with their well-timed motion. Between these there was a sea or lake, which spread out a surface glittering with many colours, intermixed with an azure; some of the islands floated on its stream, by which they were driven on the other side of the torrent; many others were carried to and fro, so that they were well nigh sunk. This sea, for the most part, was very shallow and fordable, except towards the south, where it was of a great depth; it very often ebbed and flowed, but not with a high tide: some part of it had a natural sea colour, untainted with any other, as miry and muddy as any lake: the rapidness of the torrent carried back those islands from whence they had grounded, and situating them in the same place as at first, or bringing them about with a circumference; but in the gentle turning of them, the water makes one rising roll: betwixt these, the sea seemed to bend inwards about (as near as he could guess) eight parts of the whole. This sea had two mouths, which were inlets to boisterous rivers, casting out fiery foam, the flaming brightness of which covered the best part of its natural azure. He was very much pleased at this sight, until he looked down, and saw an immense hiatus, resembling a hollow sphere, of an amazing and dreadful profundity. It had darkness to a miracle; not still, but thickened, and agitated: here he was seized with no small fright, by the astonishing hubbubs, and noises of all kinds, that seemed to arise out of this hollow, from an unfathomable bottom, viz. he heard an infinity of yells and howlings of beasts, cries and bawlings of children, confused with the groans and outrages of men and women. Not long after, he heard a voice invisibly pronounce these words:'———

What follows is nothing but a prolix and tedious harangue upon various subjects. One thing there is more especially remarkable in this account, viz. that he makes Timarchus to return from consultation with a brisk and cheerful countenance, whereas, it is commonly reported that all the consultants of this oracle became pensive and melancholy; that their tempers were soured, and their countenances, however gay and pleasant before, rendered dull and heavy; whence, of any person dejected, melancholy, or too serious, it was generally said εἰς Τροφωνίȣ μεμάντευται, i. e. *he has been consulting the oracle of Trophonius.* But this is only to be under-

stood of the time immediately ensuing consultation; for, as we learn from Pausanias, all enquirers recovered their former cheerfulness in the temple of Good Genius and Good Fortune.

CHAP. XI.

Of other Grecian Oracles.

Amphiaraus was the son of Oïcleus, and married Eriphyle the sister of Adrastus, king of Argos: he was an excellent soothsayer, and by his skill foresaw that it would prove fatal to him if he engaged himself in the Theban war. Wherefore, to avoid inevitable destruction, he hid himself, but was discovered by his wife Eriphyle, whom Polynices had corrupted with a present of a golden chain. Being discovered, he was obliged by Adrastus to accompany the army to Thebes, where, as he had foretold, together with his chariot and horses, he was swallowed up by the earth, whence Ovid saith of him:

Notus humo mersis Amphiaraus equis.

Some say this accident happened in the way betwixt Thebes and Chalcis: and for that reason the place is called Ἅρμα, i. e. *a chariot*, to this day, saith Pausanias [m].

After his death, he was honoured with divine worship; first by the Oropians, and afterwards by all the other Grecians: and a stately temple, with a statue of white marble, was erected to him in the place where he was swallowed up, saith my author, being about twelve stadia distant from Oropus, a city in the confines of Attica and Bœotia, which for that reason, is sometimes attributed to both countries. There was also a remarkable altar dedicated to him in the same place. It was divided into five parts; the first of which was sacred to Hercules, Jupiter, and Pæonian Apollo; the second, to the heroes and their wives; the third, to Vesta, Mercury, Amphiaraus, and the sons of Amphilochus (for Alcmæon, the son of Amphiaraus, was not allowed to partake of any of the honours paid to Amphilochus, or Amphiaraus, because he slew his mother Eriphyle); the fourth to Venus, Panacea, Jason, Hygia, and Pæonian Minerva; the fifth part to the Nymphs, Pan, and the rivers Achelous and Cephisus.

Answers were delivered in dreams: Jophon the Gnosian, who

[m] Atticis.

published the ancient oracles in heroic verse, reports, that Amphiaraus returned an answer to the Argives in verse; but my author herein contradicteth him, and reports farther, that it was the general opinion, that only those who were inspired by Apollo gave answers after that manner; whereas, all the rest made predictions either by dreams or the flight of birds, or the entrails of beasts. He adds, for a confirmation of what he had said before, viz. that these answers were given in dreams, that Amphiaraus was excellently skilled in the interpretation of dreams, and canonized for the invention of that art.

They that came to consult this oracle, were first to be purified by offering sacrifice to Amphiaraus, and all the other gods, whose names were inscribed on the altar [n]: Philostratus adds, they were to fast twenty-four hours, and abstain three days from wine. After all, they offered a ram in sacrifice to Amphiaraus; then went to sleep, lying upon a victim's skin, and in that posture expected a revelation by dream. In the same manner did the people of Apulia Daunia expect answers from Podalirius, who died there, and returned prophetic dreams to those that came to enquire of him. Whoever consulted him, was to sleep upon a sheep's skin at his altar, as we learn from these words of Lycophron [o];

Δοραῖς δὲ μήλων τύμβος ἐγκοιμωμένοις
Χρήσει καθ' ὕπνον πᾶσι νημερτῆ φάτιν.

They, whose aspiring minds, curious to pry
Into the mystic records of events,
Ask aid of Podalirius, must sleep
Prostrate on sheep-skins, at his hallow'd fane,
And thus receive the true prophetic dreams. H. H.

To return: all persons were admitted to this oracle, the Thebans only excepted, who were to enjoy no benefit from Amphiaraus in this way; for, as Herodotus [p] reporteth, he gave them their option of two things, viz. his counsel and advice, to direct them in time of necessity, or his help and protection, to defend them in time of danger, telling them they must not expect both: whereupon they chose the latter, thinking they had a greater need of defence than counsel, which they could be sufficiently furnished with by Delphian Apollo.

This oracle was had in very great esteem: Herodotus [q] reckons it amongst the five principal ones of Greece, consulted by Crœsus, before his expedition against Cyrus, viz. the Delphian, Dodonean, Amphiaraus's, Trophonius's, and the Didymæan; and Valerius

[n] Vita Apollonii Tyanæi, Lib. ii.
[o] Cassandra, v. 1050.
[p] Lib. viii. cap. 134.
[q] Lib. i. cap. 46.

Maximus [r] saith, it was not inferior either to the two first of those already mentioned, or that of Jupiter Hammon.

Near the temple was the fountain, out of which Amphiaraus ascended into heaven, when he was received into the number of the gods, which, for that reason, was called by his name; it was held so sacred, that it was a capital crime to employ the waters of it to any ordinary use, as washing the hands, or purification; nay, it was unlawful to offer sacrifice before it, as was usual at other fountains: the chief use it was employed in was this, viz. they that by the advice of the oracle had recovered out of any disease, were to cast a piece of coined gold or silver into it: and this Pausanias [s] tells us was an ancient custom, and derived from the primitive ages.

At Pharæ, a city of Achaia, answers were given by Mercurius Αγοραῖος, so named from ἀγορὰ, i. e. *the market place*, where was a statue of stone erected to him, having a beard, which seems to have been a thing unusual in his statues; before it was placed a low stone altar, upon which stood brazen basons soldered with lead. They that came for advice, first offered frankincense upon the altar, then lighted the lamps, pouring oil into them; after that, they offered upon the right side of the altar a piece of money, stamped with their own country impression, and called Χαλκοῦς; then proposed the questions they desired to be resolved in, placing their ear close to the statue; and after all, departed, stopping both their ears with their hands, till they had passed quite through the market place; then they plucked away their hands, and received the first voice that presented itself as a divine oracle. The same ceremonies were practised in Egypt, at the oracle of Serapis, as Pausanias [t] reports.

At Bura [u] in Achaia, there was an oracle of Hercules, called from that city Buraicus. The place of it was a cave, wherein was Hercules's statue: predictions were made by throwing dice. They that consulted the god, first addressed themselves to him by prayer; then taking four dice out of a great heap that lay ready there, they threw them upon the table: all the dice had on them certain peculiar marks, all which were interpreted in a book kept for that purpose; as soon, therefore, as they had cast the dice, they went to the book, and there every man found his doom.

At Patræ [v], a city on the sea-coast of Achaia, not far from the sacred grove of Apollo, there was a temple dedicated to Ceres, in

[r] Lib viii. cap. 15. [s] Atticis. [t] Achaicis. [u] Ibidem. [v] Pausanias.

which were erected three statues, two to Ceres and Proserpina, standing; the third to Earth, sitting upon a throne. Before the temple there was a fountain, in which were delivered oracles, very famous for the truth of their predictions. These were not given upon every account, but concerned only the events of diseases. The manner of consulting was this: they let down a looking-glass by a small cord into the fountain, so low that the bottom of it might just touch the surface of the water, but not be covered by it: this done, they offered incense and prayers to the goddess; then looked upon the glass, and from the various figures and images represented in it, made conjectures concerning the patient.

At Trœzen [w], a city of Peloponnesus, there was an old altar dedicated to the Muses and Sleep, by Ardalus, one of Vulcan's sons, who was the first inventor of the flute, and a great favourite of the Muses, who from him were called Ardalides. They that came for advice were obliged to abstain certain days from wine: afterwards they lay down by the altar to sleep, where, by the secret inspiration of the Muses, proper remedies for their distempers were revealed to them.

At Epidaurus [x], a city of Peloponnesus, there was a temple of Æsculapius, famed for curing diseases; the remedies of which were revealed in dreams. When the cure was perfected, the names of the diseased persons, together with the manner of their recovery, were registered in the temple. This god was afterwards translated to Rome, by the command of Delphian Apollo, who told them that was the only way to be freed from the plague, which at that time raged exceedingly amongst them: whereupon they sent ambassadors to Epidaurus, to desire the god of them; but the Epidaurians being unwilling to part with so beneficial a guest, Æsculapius, of his own accord, in the shape of a great serpent, went straight to the Roman ship, where he reposed himself, and was with great veneration conveyed to Rome, where he was received with great joy; and having delivered them from the distress they lay under, was honoured with a temple in the little island, encompassed by the river Tiber, and worshipped in the same form he had assumed. This story is related by Pliny [y], and Ovid [z].

At Amphiclea, called by Herodotus, Ophitea, by Stephanus, Amphicæa, there was a temple sacred to Bacchus, but no image, at least none exposed to public view. To this god, saith Pausa-

[w] Pausanias. [x] Idem Corinthiac. [y] Lib. iv. [z] Met. xv.

nias [a], the Amphicleans ascribe both the cure of their diseases, and the foretelling of future events: the former he affected by revealing proper remedies in dreams; the latter by inspiring into his priests divine knowledge.

Strabo, in his description of Corinth, telleth us, Juno had an oracle in the Corinthian territories, in the way between Lechæum and Pagæ.

There was also in Laconia, a pool sacred to Juno, by which predictions were made after this manner: they cast into it cakes made of bread-corn; if these sunk down, good, if not, something dreadful, was portended.

Cælius Rhodiginis [b] telleth us out of Philostratus, that Orpheus's head at Lesbos, gave oracles to all enquirers, but most especially to the Grecians, and told them that Troy could not be taken without Hercules's arrows. He adds, that the kings of Persia and Babylon often sent ambassadors to consult this oracle, and particularly Cyrus, who being desirous to know by what death he was to die, received this answer, Τὰ ἐμὰ, ὦ Κῦρε, τὰ σά· *my fate, O Cyrus, is decreed you.* Whereby it was meant he should be beheaded; for Orpheus suffered that death in Thrace, by the fury of the women, because he professed an hatred and aversion to the whole sex: his head being thrown into the sea, was cast upon Lesbos, where it returned answers in a cavern of the earth. There were also persons initiated into Orpheus's mysteries, called Ὀρφεοτελεσταὶ, who assured all those that should be admitted into their society of certain felicity after death; which when Philip, one of that order, but miserably poor and indigent, boasted of, Leotychidas, the Spartan, replied, 'why do not you die then, you fool, and put an end to your misfortunes, together with your life?' At their initiation, little else was required of them besides an oath of secrecy.

An oracle of the Earth is said to have been in the country of Elis [c].

An oracle of Pan, which was consulted by the inhabitants of Pisa, seems to be meant in the following words of Statius [d]:

——— licet aridus Ammon
Invideat, Lyciæque parent contendere sortes,
Niliacumque pecus, patrioque æqualis honori
Branchus, et undosæ qui rusticus accola Pisæ
Pana Lycaonia nocturnum exaudit in umbra.

Ammon to them must yield the prophet's bays,
And Lycian lots resign their share of praise.

[a] Phocicis.
[b] Antiquitat. Lib. xv. Cap. 9.
[c] Pausanias Eliac. α.
[d] Thebaid. iii. v. 476.

No more let Apis cheat his servile train,
Nor Branchus, honoured with a Lybian fane.
No more Arcadia's trembling swains adore
The shades of Pan, or his advice implore. LEWIS.

Seneca speaks of an oracle at Mycenæ [c]:

——— *Hinc orantibus*
Responsa dantur certa, cum ingenti sono
Laxantur adyto fata, et immugit specus
Vocem Deo solvente.

An oracle of the night is mentioned by Pausanias [f].

In Laconia, in the way betwixt Oebylus and Thalamiæ [g], Pausanias saith, there was a temple and oracle of Ino, who gave answers by dreams to those that enquired of her.

Plutarch [h] maketh mention of another famous oracle in Laconia, at the city Thalamiæ, which was sacred to Pasiphaë, who, as some say, was one of the daughters of Atlas, and had by Jupiter a son called Ammon. Others are of opinion it was Cassandra the daughter of king Priamus, who dying in this place, was called Pasiphaë, *παρὰ τὸ πᾶσι φαίνειν τὰ μαντεῖα*, from *revealing oracles to all men.* Others will have it, that this was Daphne the daughter of Amyclas, who flying from Apollo, was transformed into a laurel, and honoured by that god with the gift of prophecy. This oracle, when Agis, king of Sparta, endeavoured to reduce the Spartans to their ancient manner of living, and put in force Lycurgus's old laws, very much countenanced and encouraged his undertaking, commanding the people to return to the former state of equality. Again, when Cleomenes made the like attempt, it gave the same advice, in this manner, as my author relates the story [i]; ' About that time,' saith he, ' one of the ephori sleeping in Pasiphaë's temple, dreamed a very surprising dream; for he thought he saw the four chairs removed where the ephori used to sit and hear causes, and only one placed there; and whilst he wondered, he heard a voice out of the temple, saying, *this is the best for Sparta.*'

Upon the top of Cithæron, a mountain in Bœotia, was a cave called Sphragidium, where many of the inhabitants of that country were inspired by the nymphs called Sphragitides, and thence named Νυμφόληπτοι [j], i. e. *inspired by the nymphs.*

Ulysses had an oracle amongst the Eurytanes, a nation of Æto-

c Thyeste, v. 677.
f Atticis, p. 75. edit. Hanov.
g Laconicis.
h Agide.
i Cleomene.
j Pausanias Bœotic,

lia, as Aristotle[k] is said to report by Tzetzes, in his comment upon Lycophron, who hath these words concerning Ulysses;

> [l] Μάντιν δὲ νεκρὸν Εὐρυτὰν στέψει λεὼς,
> Ὁ, τ' αἰπὺ ναίων Τραμπύας ἐδέθλιον.
> Ætolian people, the dead prophet crown.

Several other oracles we read of in authors, as that of Tiresias and Ægeus, with others of less repute, which for that reason I shall forbear to mention.

CHAP. XII.

Of Theomancy.

HAVING given you an account of the most celebrated oracles in Greece, which make the first and noblest species of natural divination, I come now to the second, called in Greek Θεομαντεία, which is a compound word, consisting of two parts, by which it is distinguished from all other sorts of divination; by the former, (viz. Θεὸς) it is distinguished from artificial divination, which, though it may be said to be given by the gods, yet does not immediately proceed from them, being the effect of experience and observation. By the latter (viz. μαντεία), it is opposed to oracular divination; for though Μαντεία be a general name, and sometimes signify any sort of divination, yet it is also used in a more strict and limited sense, to denote those predictions that are made by men; and in this acceptation it is opposed to Χρησμὸς as the scholiast upon Sophocles has observed[m].

Thus much for the name. As to the thing, it is distinguished from oracular divination (I mean that which was delivered by interpreters, as the Delphi, for in others the difference is more evident), because that was confined usually to a fixed and stated time, and always to a certain place; for the Pythia could not be inspired in any other place but Apollo's temple, and upon the sacred tripus; whereas the Θεομάντεις were free and unconfined, being able, after the offering of sacrifices, and the performance of the other usual rites, to prophesy at any time, or in any part of the world.

As to the manner of receiving the divine inspiration, that was not always different; for not only the Pythia, but the Sibyls also, with many others, were possessed with divine fury, swelling with rage

k Ithacor. Politeia. l Vers. 799. m In Oedipi Tyr.

like persons distracted and beside themselves. Virgil [n] describes the Sibyl in this hideous posture;

—— Cui talia fanti
Ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comtæ mansêre comæ, sed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans: afflata est numine quando
Jam propiore Dei ———

While yet she spoke, enlarged her features grew,
Her colour changed, her locks dishevelled flew;
The heavenly tumult reigns in every part
Pants in her breast and swells her rising heart;
Greater than human kind she seems to look,
And with an accent more than mortal spoke;
Her staring eyes with sparkling fury roll
When all the god came rushing on her soul. DRYDEN AND PITT.

Few that pretended to inspiration but raged after this manner, foaming, and making a strange, terrible noise, gnashing with their teeth, shivering and trembling, with other antic motions; and therefore some will have their name (viz. μάντις), to be derived ἀπὸ τȣ̃ μαίνεσθαι, i. e. *from being mad.*

Other customs there were, common to them with the Pythia; I shall only mention those about the laurel, which was sacred to Apollo, the god of divination, being sprung from his beloved Daphne, and thought to conduce very much to inspiration, and therefore called μαντικὸν φυτὸν, *the prophetic plant*; whence Claudian saith of it;

—— Venturi præscia laurus.
The laurel skilled in events.

With this they used to crown their heads. Thus Cassandra is described by Euripides [o]. And Æschylus [p] speaks thus of her;

Καὶ σκῆπτρα, καὶ μαντεῖα περὶ δέρῃ στέφη.
Her hand a laurel sceptre grasps, her neck
The same prophetic plants with garlands deck.

Where, by σκῆπτρον, he means a staff of laurel, which prophets usually carried in their hands; it was called in Greek ἰθυντήριον, as we learn from Hesychius. It was also usual to eat the leaves of this tree; whence Lycophron [q] saith of Cassandra;

Δαφνηφάγων φοίβαζεν ἐκ λαιμῶν ὄπα.
The mouth with laurel morsels oft replete,
In mystic words unriddle future fate.

And the Sibyl in Tibullus speaks of it as one of her greatest privileges, placing it in the same rank with that of virginity, a thing held by her very sacred, though not always observed by other prophets; for Cassandra was Agamemnon's concubine; and though

[n] Æn. lib. vi. ver. 47.
[o] Androm.
[p] Agamemn. ver. 1273.
[q] Cassandr. ver. 6.

the condition of a captive might lay some force upon her, yet it is agreed by all, that Helenus married Andromache; and that blind Tiresias was led up and down by his daughter Manto. But to return to the Sibyl, whose words in Tibullus are these;

——— Sic usque sacras innoxia laurus
Vescor et æternùm sit mihi virginitas.
With holy laurel may I e'er be fed,
And live and die an unpolluted maid.

It was also customary for diviners to feed upon the κυριώτατα μόρια ζόων μαντικῶν, *principal parts of the prophetical beasts;* such were the hearts of crows, vultures, and moles, thinking that by these they became partakers of the souls of those animals, which by a natural attraction followed the bodies, and by consequence received the influence of the god, who used to accompany the souls. Thus we are informed by Porphyry [r].

Thus much of these prophets in general. I shall only add, that they, as also other diviners, were maintained at Athens at the public charge, having their diet allowed in the Πρυτανεῖον, or *common hall,* as the scholiast upon Aristophanes observes.

Of the Θεομάντεις there were three sorts among the Grecians, distinguished by three distinct manners of receiving the divine afflatus.

One sort were possessed with prophesying dæmons, which lodged within them, and dictated what they should answer to those that enquired of them, or spoke out of the bellies or breasts of the possessed persons, they all the while remaining speechless, and not so much as moving their tongues or lips, or pronounced the answers themselves, making use of the members of the demoniac. These were called Δαιμονόληπτοι, i. e. *possessed with dæmons;* and because the spirits either lodged or spoke within their bodies, they were also named Εγγαστρίμυθοι (which name was also attributed to the dæmons), Εγγαστριμάντεις, Στερνομάντεις, Εγγαστρῖται, &c. This way of prophesying was practised also in other countries, and particularly amongst the Jews; as also necromancy; for the prophet Isaiah denounced God's judgments upon those that made use of either of them [s]. His words, as they are translated by the Seventy, run thus: Καὶ ἐὰν εἴπωσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ζητήσατε τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας, τοὺς κενολογοῦντας, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνοῦσιν· οὐκ ἔθνος πρὸς θεὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκζητήτουσι; τί ἐκζητοῦσι περὶ τῶν ζώντων τοὺς νεκρούς; *and if they say unto you, seek unto them whose speech is in their belly, and those that speak out of the earth, those that utter vain words, that speak*

[r] Lib. ii. de Abstinent. ab animal.

[s] Cap. 8. v. 19.

out of their belly: shall not a nation seek unto their god? Why do they enquire of the dead concerning the living? These diviners were also named Εὐρυκλεῖς and Εὐρυκλεῖται, from Eurycles, the first that practised this art at Athens, as the scholiast upon Aristophanes hath informed us, at these words;

> Μιμησάμενος τὴν Εὐρυκλέυς μαντείαν ϗ διάνοιαν
> Εἰς ἀλλοτρίας γαστέρας ἐνδὺς, κωμῳδικὰ πολλὰ χέασθαι [t].
>
> Like that fantastic divination,
> Which Eurycles of old did first invent,
> When from his bowels he contrived to bring
> Words of ridiculous import. H. H.

They were also called Πύθωνες, and Πυθωνικοὶ, from Πύθων, a prophesying demon, as Hesychius and Suidas have told us: the same is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles [u], Εγένετο δὲ πορευομένων ἡμῶν εἰς προσευχὴν, παιδίσκην τινὰ ἔχουσαν πνεύμα Πύθωνος, ἀπαντῆσαι ἡμῖν. Our translators have rendered it thus: *and it came to pass, as we went to prayer, a certain damsel, possessed with a spirit of divination, met us.* But the margin reads python, instead of divination, which is a general name, and may be used in that place, as more intelligible by the common people. Plutarch, in his treatise concerning the cessation of oracles, saith these familiar spirits were anciently called Εὐρυκλεῖς, and only Πύθωνες in later ages: 'it is absurd (saith he) and childish to suppose, that the God himself, like the Εγγαστρίμυθοι, which were formerly called Εὐρυκλεῖς, but are now named Πύθωνες, should enter into the bodies of prophets, and make use of their mouths and voices in pronouncing their answers.'

As to the original of this name (python) there are various conjectures; the most probable of which seems to be, that it was taken from Apollo Pythius, who was thought to preside over all sorts of divination, and afterwards appropriated by custom to this species; for so we find a great many words of a general signification, in time made peculiar to some one part of what they signified before. To give one instance, Τύραννος, by the ancient Greeks, was applied to all kings, as well the just and merciful, as the cruel, and whom we now call tyrannical; but in more modern ages, was appropriated to that latter sort, and became a name of the greatest ignominy and detestation. On the contrary, words of a narrow and limited sense, have sometimes passed their bounds, and taken upon them a more general and unconfined one: so Μαντεία, which at first signified only that sort of prophesying which was inspired with rage and fury, being derived (as Plato and

[t] Vespis. [u] Cap. 16. v. 16.

others after him will have it), ἀπὸ τῦ μαίνεσθαι, *from being mad*, and by Homer [v] in that sense opposed to some other ways of divination, as that by dreams and entrails, came at length to be a general name for all sorts of divination.

The second sort of Θεομάντεις, were called Ενθυσιαςαὶ, Ενθεαςικοὶ, and Θεοπνευςαὶ, being such as pretended to what we also call enthusiasm; and different from the former, who contained within them the deity himself; whereas these were only governed, actuated, or inspired by him, and instructed in the knowledge of what was to happen. Of this sort were Orpheus, Amphion, Musæus, and several of the Sibyls.

A third sort were the Εκςατικοὶ, or those that were cast into trances or ecstasies, in which they lay like men dead, or asleep, deprived of all sense and motion; but after some time (it may be days, or months, or years, for Epimenides the Cretan is reported to have lain in this posture 75 years), returning to themselves, gave strange relations of what they had seen and heard. For it was a vulgar opinion, that man's soul might leave the body, wander up and down the world, visit the place of the deceased, and the heavenly regions, and by conversing with the gods and heroes, be instructed in things necessary for the conduct of human life. Plato, in the tenth book of his Politics, speaks of one Pamphilus, a Phærean, that lay ten days amongst the carcases of slain men, and afterwards being taken up, and placed upon the funeral pile to be burned, returned to life, and related what places he had seen in heaven, earth, and hell, and what was done there, to the astonishment of all that heard him. And Plutarch, in his discourse concerning Socrates's demon, saith, it was reported of the soul of Hermodorus the Clazomenian, that for several nights and days it would leave his body, travel over many countries, and return after it had viewed things, and discoursed with persons at a great distance, till at last, by the treachery of a woman, his body was delivered to his enemies, who burned the house while the inhabitant was abroad. Several other stories of the same nature are recorded in history; which, whether true or false, it matters not much, since they were believed and received as such.

Hither may also be reduced another sort of divination. It was commonly believed that the souls of dying men, being then in a manner loosed from the body, could foresee future events. Whence

[v] Iliad. α.

Hector is introduced by Homer [w], foretelling to Achilles the authors and place of his death. In imitation of whom Virgil brings in Orodes foretelling the death of Mezentius [x]. I will only mention one example more, which is related by Cicero [y], concerning Calanus the Indian philosopher, who being asked by Alexander, whether he had a mind to speak any thing before his death, replied, *optime, propediem te videbo:* yes, I shall see you shortly. *Quod ita contigit:* which accordingly (saith Cicero) came to pass.

Thus much for natural divination. I come in the next place to speak something of that which is called artificial. In doing which, because divination, or prediction by dreams, seems to bear a more near affinity to the natural than the rest, and is by some reckoned amongst the species of it, I shall, therefore, in the first place, give you an account of the custom practised in it.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Divination by Dreams.

I SHALL not in this place trouble you with the various divisions of dreams, which do not concern my present design, which is only to speak of those by which predictions were made, commonly called divine; and of these there were three sorts.

The first was χρηματισμὸς, when the gods or spirits in their own, or under any assumed form, conversed with men in their sleep: such an one was Agamemnon's dream at the beginning of the second Iliad; where the god of dreams, in the form of Nestor, adviseth him to give the Trojans battle, and encouraged him thereto with the promise of certain success and victory. Such an one also was the dream of Pindar, in which, as Pausanias [z] reports, Proserpina appeared to him, and complained he dealt unkindly by her, for that he had composed hymns in honour of all the other gods, and she alone was neglected by him: she added, that when he came into her dominions, he should celebrate her praises also. Not many days after the poet died, and in a short time appeared to an old woman, a relation of his, that used to employ a great part of

w Iliad. ί. v. 355.
x Æneid. x. 739.
y De Divinat. lib. ii.
z Bœoticis.

her time in reading and singing his verses, and repeated to her an hymn made by him upon Proserpina.

The second is Ὅραμα, wherein the images of things which are to happen are plainly represented in their own shape and likeness: and this is by some called Θεωρηματικός. Such an one was that of Alexander the Great, mentioned by Valerius Maximus[a], when he dreamed that he was to be murdered by Cassander; and that of Crœsus, king of Lydia, when he dreamed that his son Atys, whom he designed to succeed him in his empire, should be slain by an iron spear, as Herodotus[b] relateth.

The third species, called Ὄνειρος, is that in which future events are revealed by types and figures; whence it is named Ἀλληγορικός, an *allegory*, being, according to Heraclides[c] of Pontus, *a figure by which one thing is expressed, and another signified.* Of this sort was Hecuba's, when she dreamed she had conceived a firebrand; and Cæsar's, when he dreamed he lay with his mother; whereby was signified he should enjoy the empire of the earth, the common mother of all living creatures. From this species, those whose profession it was to interpret dreams have desumed their names, being called in Greek Ὀνειροκρίται, Ὀνειράτων ὑποκριταὶ, from *judging* of dreams; Ὀνειροσκόποι, from *prying* and *looking* into them; and Ὀνειροπόλοι, because they were *conversant* about them. To one of these three sorts may all prophetical dreams be reduced; but the distinction of their names is not always critically observed.

The first author of all dreams, as well as other divinations, was Jupiter, as I have already intimated:

——καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν.
For dreams too come from Jove:

saith Homer[d]. But this must not be understood as if dreams were thought immediately to proceed from Jupiter: it was below his dignity to descend to such mean offices, which were thought more fit for inferior deities.

To omit therefore the apparitions of the gods, or spirits in dreams, upon particular occasions, such as was that of Patrocles's ghost to Achilles[e], to desire his body might be interred; the Earth was thought to be the cause of dreams, saith Euripides[f]:

——ὦ πότνια Χθὼν,
Μελανοπτερύγων μᾶτερ ὀνείρων.
Hail, reverend Earth, from whose prolific womb
Sable wing'd dreams derive their birth.

a Lib. i. cap. 7.
b Lib. i. cap. 34.
c De Allegor. Homericis.
d Iliad. α.
e Iliad. ψ'.
f Hecub. v. 70.

Where the scholiast gives this reason for it, viz. that the Earth, by obstructing the passage of the light of the sun, causeth the night, in which dreams present themselves, which are upon this account imputed to the Earth as their mother. Or, that out of the earth proceeds meat, meat causeth sleep (sleep being nothing but the ligation of the exterior senses, caused by humid vapours ascending from the stomach to the brain, and there obstructing the motion of the animal spirits, which are the instruments of sensation, and all other animal operations), and from sleep come dreams; but these were esteemed mere cheats and delusions, as Eustathius telleth us, in his comment upon the nineteenth book of Homer's Odysses, not far from the end; and such as these he saith the poet speaks of, when he makes dreams to inhabit near the ocean, the great receptacle of the humid element:

> Πὰρ' δ' ἴσαν Ὠκεανῦ τε ῥοὰς, ϗ Λευκάδα πέτραν,
> Ηδὲ παρ' ἠελίοιο πύλας, ϗ δῆμον ὀνείρων.
>
> Near to that place, where, with impetuous force
> The rolling ocean takes his rapid course,
> Near Phœbus' glitt'ring gates, and that dark cell,
> Which dreams inhabit.——— H. H.

Others were inscribed to infernal ghosts. Thus Virgil at the end of his sixth Æneid:

> *Altera, candenti perfecta nitens elephanto;*
> *Sed falsa ad cœlum mittunt insomnia Manes.*
>
> The other shines with polished ivory bright,
> Through which the Manes send false dreams to light.

Hence Sophocles brings in Electra, saying, that Agamemnon, out of a concern for Orestes and his designs, haunted Clytæmnestra with fearful dreams:

> Οἶμαι μὲν ἦν, οἶμαί τι κἀκείνῳ μέλον,
> Πέμψαι τάδ' αὐτῇ δυσπρόσοπτ' ὀνείρατα [g].
>
> For he, solicitous of those affairs,
> In frightful dreams doth Clytæmnestra haunt.

Others were imputed to Hecate, and to the Moon, who were goddesses of the night, and sometimes taken for the same person; they were also supposed to have a particular influence, and to preside over all the accidents of the night, and therefore invoked at incantations, and other night-mysteries, as shall be shewn afterwards.

But the chief cause of all was the god of sleep, whose habitation as Ovid [h] describes it, was among the Cimmerii, in a den dark as hell, and in the way to it; around him lay whole swarms of dreams of all sorts and sizes, which he sent forth when and whither he

[g] Electra. v. 480. [h] Metam. lib. xi. fab. 10.

pleased; but Virgil assigns to the false and deluding dreams another place, upon an elm at the entrance of hell:[i]

In medio ramos annosaque brachia pandit
Ulmus opaca, ingens; quam sedem Somnia vulgò
Vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus hærent.

Full in the midst of this infernal road,
An elm displays her dusky arms abroad:
The god of sleep there hides his heavy head
And empty dreams on every leaf are spread. DRYDEN.

It may be, he supposes this to have been the receptacle of some part of them, and the rest to accompany the god of sleep. Ovid tells us, he had three attendants, more ingenious than the rest, which could transform themselves into any form; their names were Morpheus, Phobetor or Icelos, and Phantasus: the employment of the first was to counterfeit the forms of men, the second imitated the likeness of brutes, and the last that of inanimate creatures:

At pater è populo natorum mille suorum
Excitat artificem, simulatoremque figuræ
Morphea; non illo jussos solertior alter
Exprimit incessus, vultumque, sonumque loquendi:
Adjicit et vestes, et consuetissima cuique
Verba. Sed hic solos homines imitatur: et alter
Fit fera, fit volucris, fit longo corpore serpens.
Hunc Icelon superi, mortale Phobetora vulgus
Nominat. Est etiam diversæ tertius artis
Phantasòs; ille in humum, saxumque, undamque, trabemque,
Quæque vacant animâ feliciter omnia transit [j].

The god against his custom call'd aloud,
Exciting Morpheus from the sleepy crowd;
Morpheus of all his num'rous train express'd
The shape of man, and imitated best;
The walk, the words, the gesture could supply,
The habit mimic, and the mien bely;
Plays well, but all his action is confin'd,
Extending not beyond our human kind.
Another birds, and beasts, and dragons, apes,
And dreadful images and monster shapes;
This demon Icelos, in heaven's high hall
The gods have named, but men Phobetor call.
A third is Phantasus, whose actions roll
On meaner thoughts, and things devoid of soul,
Earth fruits and flowers, he represents in dreams,
And solid rocks unmov'd, and running streams. GARTH.

In Virgil, the god of sleep descended from heaven upon Palinurus; which is not to be understood as if heaven was his proper seat, but that he was sent thence by some of the ethereal gods, by whom he had been called thither; or else he is to be supposed to rove up and down through the heavens, or air, to disperse his dreams among men as he sees convenient: the poet's words are these[k]:

———*levis æthereis delapsus Somnus ab astris*
Aëra dimovit tenebrosum, et dispulit umbras,
Te, Palinure, petens, tibi tristia somnia portans
Insonti:———

[i] Æneid. vi. v. 283. [j] Ovid. loc. citat. [k] Æneid. v. ver. 838.

Now thro' the parting vapour swiftly flies
The god of slumbers from th' etherial skies;
To thee, poor Palinure, he came and shed
A fatal sleep on thy devoted head. PITT.

There was another deity also, to whom the care of dreams was committed, called Brizo, from the old Greek word *βρίζειν*, to sleep: Cœlius[l] saith she was worshipped in the island Delos, and that boats full of all sorts of things were offered to her, except fish. But she was thought rather to assist at the interpretation of dreams, than to be the efficient cause of them, and is therefore by Hesychius called Βριζόμαντις. This account Cœlius hath taken out of the eighth book of Athenæus, who adds farther, that they used to pray to her for the public safety and prosperity; but more particularly, that she would vouchsafe to protect and preserve their ships.

Lastly, it was believed that hawks, or vultures (ἱέρακες) when they were dead, did *μαντεύεσθαι, καὶ ὀνείρατα ἐπιπέμπειν*, *prophecy and send dreams*; being then divested of their bodies, and become *γυμναὶ ψυχαί*, *naked souls*[m].

Having treated of the reputed authors of dreams, I shall, in the next place, describe the ways by which they were supposed usually to come. These were two, one for delusive dreams, which passed through a gate of ivory, another for the true, which passed through a gate of horn. Descriptions of these two gates occur both in the Greek and Latin poets, one of which I shall give in each tongue; the first shall be that of Homer[n], where, speaking of dreams, he saith:

Τῶν οἳ μέν κ' ἔλθωσι διὰ πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος,
Οἵ δ' ἐλεφαίρονται, ἔπε' ἀκράαντα φέροντες·
Οἳ δὲ διὰ ξεστῶν κεράων ἔλθωσι θύραζε,
Οἵ ῥ' ἔτυμα κραίνουσι βροτῶν ὅτε κέν τις ἴδηται.

Immured within the silent bow'r of sleep,
Two portals firm the various phantoms keep:
Of ivory one; whence fit to mock the brain,
Of winged lies a light fantastic train:
The gates opposed pellucid valves adorn,
And columns fair incased with polish'd horn:
Where images of truth for passage wait,
With visions manifest of future fate. POPE.

The second shall be that of Virgil[o], imitated from the former.

Sunt geminæ Somni portæ, quarum altera fertur
Cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris:
Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto;
Sed falso ad cœlum mittunt insomnia Manes.

Two gates the silent courts of Sleep adorn,
That of pale ivory, this of lucid horn;

[l] Antiq. Lect. lib. xxvii. cap. 10.
[m] Ælianus de Animal. lib. xi. cap. 39.
[n] Odyss. xix. v. 564.
[o] Æneid. vi. v. 893.

Thro' this true visions take their airy way,
Thro' that, false phantoms mount the realms of day. PITT.

In allusion to these gates, we are told by Philostratus, that it was customary to represent any dream in a white garment, wrapped over a black one, with a horn in his hand. And Eustathius, in his comment upon the fore-mentioned passage of Homer, hath made several conjectnres concerning it, most of which are so frivolous that to mention them would be lost labour. Such as desire farther satisfaction may consult the author.

The time in which true dreams were expected was Νυκτὸς ἀμολγὸς· and therefore Homer telleth us, that Penelope having an auspicious dream concerning her son Telemachus, who was travelling in search of his father Ulysses, rejoiced the more, because it appeared to her at that time:

————ἡ δ' ἐξ ὕπνυ ἀνόρυσε
Κύρη Ικαρίοιο, φίλον δέ οἱ ἦτορ ἰάνθη,
Ὡς οἱ ἐναργὲς ὄνειρον ἐφαίνετο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ[p].

————upsprang
From sleep Icarius' daughter, and her heart
Felt heal'd within her, by that dream impress'd
Distinctly in the noiseless night serene. COWPER.

What time that was grammarians do not agree: some derive it (saith Eustathius) from the private particle α and μολέω, to *walk*, or μογέω, to *labour* and *toil*, as though it were ἄμολος, or ἄμογος, and by Epenthesis, ἀμολγὸς, as though it should signify the *dead of the night*, in which people neither labour nor walk abroad. Others also think it may signify the *middle*, or *depth* of the night, but for a different reason: for ἀμολγὸς (say they) is the same with πυκνὸς, i. e. *thick*, or *close compacted*; and Hesiod hath used the word in this sense, when he saith,

Μάζα τ' ἀμολγαίη————

That is, as Athenæus expounds it, ποιμενικὴ ἀμμιαία, *a thick cake*, such as the shepherds and labouring men eat. Others allow it the same signification, but for a third reason: Αμολγὸς (say they), according to the glossographers, amongst the Achæans, is the same with ἀκμὴ, which signifies the *midst* or *height* of any thing, as ἀκμὴ θέρυς, that part of summer, when the heat is most violent, *midsummer*; and men are said to be ἐν ἀκμῇ, when they are in their *full* strength; and therefore ἀμολγὸς, or ἀκμὴ νυκτὸς, must be the *depth* or *midst* of the *night*. But this signification concerns not our present purpose, for I nowhere read that dreams had more credit because they came in the dead of the night. It must there-

[p] Fine Odyss. iv.

fore be observed, that ἀμολγὸς was used in another sense; for the time in which they used to milk cattle being derived from ἀμέλγω, to *milk*; and then ἀμολγὸς νυκτὸς must signify the *morning*, in opposition to ἡμέρας ἀμολγὸς, or the *evening milking-time*. That it was used in this sense is evident from Homer's twenty-second Iliad, where he saith the dog-star (which riseth a little before the sun) appears ἐν νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ· His words are these;

Παμφαίνονθ' ὥς' ἀςέρ' ἐπισσύμενον πεδίοιο,
'Ος ῥά τ' ὀπώρης εἶσιν· ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαὶ
Φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ' ἄςρασι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ·
'Ον τε κύν' Ὠρίωνος ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσι·[q]

Him first the ancient king of Troy perceived
Scouring the plain, resplendent as the star
Autumnal, of all stars in dead of night
Conspicuous most, and named Orion's dog. COWPER.

And that this was the time in which dreams were thought to deserve the greatest regard, Horace[r] assures us;

Ast ego quum Græcos facerem natus mare citra
Versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,
Post mediam noctem visus, quum somnia vera.

———— Now, being a Roman born,
And Grecian numbers once resolv'd to try,
Quirinus kindly did my wish deny;
Methought the night near spent, when dreams are true,
'Twas at the dawn of day he came unto my view,
And spoke such words as these.——— E. D.

Ovid appears of the same opinion, from the following words:

Namque sub auroram jam dormitante lucernâ,
Tempore quo cerni somnia vera solent.

Near morn, when lamps are dwindling out their light,
And seem to nod for sleep, that part of night,
When dreams are truest offer'd to our sight. E. D.

Theocritus also agrees with them;

————ἔγγυθι δ' Ἠώς
Εὖτε κ̓ ἀτρεκέων ποιμαίνεται ἔθνος ὀνείρων.

And now Aurora's just about t' appear,
When surest dreams do most excuse our fear. E. D.

The reason of which opinion was this, viz. they thought all the remainders of the meat upon their stomachs might by that time be pretty well digested and gone; for till then, dreams were believed rather to proceed from the fumes of the last night's supper than any divine or supernatural cause; and therefore Pliny tells us, a dream is never true presently after eating or drinking; and Artemidorus farther observes, that small credit is to be given to a morning dream, if you have eaten too plentifully the night before; because all the crudities cannot then be carried off.

For that reason, they who desired a prophetic dream, used to

[q] Iliad, χ'. v. 26. [r] I. Sat. x. 31.

take a special care of their diet, so as to eat nothing hard of digestion, as particularly beans, or raw fruit. Some, that they might be sure to be free from fumes, fasted one day before, and abstained from wine for three. Fish is not soon or easily digested, and, therefore, it is probable, was thought to obstruct true dreams, which seems to have been the reason why such quantities of other things being offered in sacrifice to the goddess Brizo, fish only were excepted, as appears from the fore-mentioned passage of Athenæus. Plutarch [s] observes, that the polypus's head was prejudicial to those who desired prophetical dreams;

> Πουλύποδος κεφαλῇ ἓν μὲν κακὸν, ἓν δὲ καὶ ἐσθλόν.
>
> ———In the polypus's head
> Something of ill, something of good is bred.

Because it is sweet and pleasant to the taste, but disquieteth men in their sleep, and maketh them restless, causing troublesome and anxious dreams: and therefore he compares poetry to it, which containeth many things, both profitable and pleasant to those that make a right use of it; but to others is very prejudicial, filling their heads with vain, if not impious notions and opinions. In short, all things apt to burden the stomach, to put the blood into a ferment, and the spirits into too violent a motion; all things apt to create strange imaginations, to disturb men's rest, or any way hinder the free and ordinary operations of the soul, were to be avoided; that so the mind and fancy being pure, and without any unnatural or external impressions, might be the fitter to receive divine insinuations. Some choice there was also in the colour of their clothes; Suidas hath told us, it was most proper to sleep in a white garment, which was thought to make the dreams and visions the clearer.

Besides all this, (to omit those that expected dreams from Amphiaraus or other deities, in an oracular way, of which I have spoken in another place), before they went to bed, they used to sacrifice to Mercury. The Calasiris in Heliodorus, after he had prayed to all the rest of the gods, calls upon Mercury to give him εὐόνειρον νύκτα, i. e. *a night of good dreams.* Mercury was thought to be ὕπνȣ δοτὴρ, *the giver of sleep*, as Eustathius telleth us; and therefore they usually carved his image upon the bed's feet, which were for that reason called ἑρμῖνες, which word Homer hath made use of, when he saith that Vulcan caught Mars in bed with Venus;

[s] Initio Libelli de Audiendis Poëtis.

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἑρμῖσιν χέε δέσματα κύκλῳ ἁπάντῃ·[t]
Above, below, around, with art dispread,
The sure inclosure folds the genial bed. POPE.

Again, in the twenty-third book of his Odysses;

——— καὶ ἐπὶ στάθμην ἴθυνα,
Ἑρμῖν' ἀσκήσας· ———[u]
Then posts, capacious of the frame, I raise,
And bore it, regular, from space to space. POPE.

Others will have ἑρμῖς to be derived from ἕρμα, i. e. *a prop*, or *support*, because by it the bed was upheld or supported. However that be, certain it is, that one of Mercury's employments was to preside over sleep and dreams, and the night also, with all things which belong to it. Thus we are informed by Homer, in his hymn upon this god, wherein he calls him,

Ληϊστῆρ', ἐλατῆρα βοῶν, ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων,
Νυκτὸς ὀπωπητῆρα, πυληδόκον[v].———
A thieving god, a cattle-stealer, one
Whose care are dreams and noises in the night.

After all this preparation, they went to sleep, expecting to discover whatever they were solicitous about before the morning: but if their fate was revealed in obscure or allegorical terms, so that themselves could not dive into their meaning, then an interpreter was consulted. The first of this kind, as Pliny[w] reports, was Amphictyon, Deucalion's son. Pausanias (as hath been mentioned before) would have it to be Amphiaraus, who had divine honours paid him, for the invention of that art. Others ascribe it to the inhabitants of Telmissus[x]; but whoever was the author of it, it is certain, that amongst the ancient Grecians it had very great credit, as appears from the number of books written concerning it. Germinus Pyrius composed three books upon this subject; Artemon the Milesian two and twenty; beside Panyasis the Halicarnassean, Alexander the Myndian, Phœbus the Antiochian, Demetrius the Phalerean, Nicostratus the Ephesian, Antipho the Athenian, Artemidorus, Astramsychus, Philo Judaeus, Achines the son of Scyrimus, Nicephorus, &c. Yet it was never in so great request as the other species of divination. The many false and frivolous dreams which happen to every man, cast a suspicion upon all the rest; and those which were nothing but delusions, made the truly διόπεμπτοι, *prophetical*, to be called in question; and, therefore, when the hero in Homer[y] adviseth the Grecians to enquire of some prophet, what means they should use to ap-

[t] Odyss. θ'. v. 278. [u] Ver. 198. [x] Clemens Alexand. Strom. i. p. 306.
[v] Ver. 14. [w] Lib. vii. cap. 5. [y] Iliad. α'.

pease the anger of the gods, he speaks boldly, and without hesitation, of μάντις, or *the inspired prophet*; and ἱερεὺς, or *him that consultsd the entrails of victims offered to sacrifice,* (for so ἱερεὺς must signify in that place); but when he comes to ὀνειροπόλος, or the *interpreter of dreams,* he is forced to make a sort of an apology, in this manner:

Αλλ' ἄγε δή τινα μάντιν ἔρείομεν, ἢ ἱερῆα,
Η ϰ̀ ὀνειροπόλον, ϰ̀ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐςίν.
But let some prophet, or some sacred sage,
Explore the cause of great Apollo's rage;
Or learn the wasteful vengeance to remove,
By mystic dreams, for dreams descend from Jove. POPE.

Whereby he anticipates a question, which he foresaw might be proposed to him, thus:—Why should we ask counsel of one whose business is only to expound these delusions? why should we trust the safety of the whole army in the hands of a cunning impostor? To this he answers, that indeed there were many false and deceitful dreams; yet some also were true, and came from Jupiter, the common father of all prophetical predictions, and therefore might be depended upon. After this manner Eustathius has paraphrased the poet's words. In later ages, dreams came to be little regarded, except by old doating women, who were very superstitious in observing them; as Propertius[z] intimates in the following verse:

Quæ mea non decies somnia versat anus?
A hundred times old women have I told
My frightful dreams.

In more remote ages, the people who lived near the Gades, and Borysthenes, and the inhabitants of Telmissus and Hybla Gereatis, a city belonging to the Cataneans, in Sicily, were famed for their skill in this art. The signs by which they made conjectures would be two tedious to mention in this place; and whosoever has leisure, may consult Artemidorus.

When any frightful or obscure dream appeared, the dreamer used to disclose his fears to some of the gods, offering incense, or some other oblation; and praying, that if good was portended, it might be brought to pass: if the contrery, that the gods would avert it. This telling of dreams was not appropriated to any particular deity. Some discovered them to Hercules, others to Jupiter, as one doth in Plautus: however, because the household gods were nearest at hand, and thought to have peculiar concern and care for the family in which they were worshipped, it was most

[z] Lib. ii. ep. 4.

usual to declare dreams to them, and particularly to Vesta, as appears from Propertius[a]:

Vadit et hinc castæ narratum Somnia Vestæ,
Quæ sibi, quæque mihi non nocitura forent.

To Vesta chaste my dreams she did relate,
Though nor to her nor me foreboding evil fate.

Apollo also had a peculiar title to this worship, under the name of Ἐξακεστήριος ἀποτρόπαιος, or *Averruncus*; so called from averting evils, and προστατήριος because he presided over, and protected houses; and therefore, as the old scholiast upon Sophocles informs us, had images erected to him in the porches. Whence in Sophocles's Electra, Clytemnestra having seen a terrible dream, calls upon her woman thus:

Ἐπαίρε δὲ σὺ θύμαθ', ἡ παροῦσά μοι,
Πάγκαρπ', ἄνακτι τῷν δ' ὅπως λυτηρίους
Εὐχὰς ἀνάσχω δειμάτων ἃ νῦν ἔχω [b].

Thou, my attendant, the oblations bring
Of the earth's various fruits, that I may pour
My pray'rs to royal Phœbus, from my soul
To chase the terrors that appal me now. POTTER.

And then she begins her prayer:

Κλύοις ἂν ἤδη, Φοῖβε προστατήριε,
———ὧδ' ἄκουε· τῇδε γὰρ κἀγὼ φράσω.
Α γὰρ προσεῖδον νυκτὶ τῇδε φάσματα
Δισσῶν ὀνείρων, ταῦτά μοι, Λύκει' Ἄναξ,
Εἰ μὲν πέφηνεν ἐσθλὰ, δὸς τελεσφόρα·
Εἰ δ' ἐχθρὰ, τοῖς ἐχθροῖσιν ἔμπαλιν μέθες.

O thou, who holdst thy guardian station here,
Now, Phœbus, hear the whispers of my voic
The nightly visions of this doubtful dream,
If they portend me good, Lycean king,
Bring thou to good effect: if ill, avert
That ill from me, and turn it on my foes. POTTER.

But before that she had discovered her fears to the sun, whence Chrysothemis learned the dream from one that overheard her:

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ παρόντος, ἡνίχ' Ἡλίῳ
Δείκνυσι τοὔναρ, ἔκλυον ἐξηγουμένου [c].

This from one present, when she told her dream
To the bright Sun, I heard. POTTER.

Both the Scholiasts upon that place tell us that it was done conformably to the ancient custom of relating dreams to the sun; and Triclinius giveth this reason for it, viz. that the sun being contrary to the night, did avert or expel all the evils which proceeded from it. The same we find done by Iphigenia[d] in Euripides, with this difference, that she discloses her thoughts to the heavens, whereas Clytæmnestra had done it to the sun alone. Her words are these:

[a] Lib. i. ep. 29. [b] Ver. 635. [c] Ibid. ver. 427. [d] Taur. ver. 43.

Α καινὰ δ' ἥκει νὺξ φέρουσα φάσματα,
Λέξω πρὸς αἰθέρ', εἴτι δὴ τόδ' ἐστ' ἄκος.

But what new dreams this present night affords,
If that will profit, to the sky I'll tell.

The doing this they called ἀποπέμπεσθαι, ἀφοδιοπομπεῖσθαι, and ἀποτρέπεσθαι ἔννυχον ὄψιν, or ἀποτροπιάζεσθαι τῷ ἡλίῳ, &c.

But before they were permitted to approach the divine altars, they were obliged to purify themselves from all the pollutions of the night; whence, in Æschylus[e], one saith

Επεὶ δ' ἀνέστην, καὶ χεροῖν καλλιῤῥόου
Εψαύσα πηγῆς, σὺν θυηπόλῳ χερὶ
Βωμῷ προσέστην, ἀποτροπαίοις δαίμοσι
Θέλουσα θῦσαι πέλανον.

As first I rose, I to the river went,
And wash'd away those foul impurities
Which had my body stain'd; this being done,
The holy fanes I sought, and offer'd up
A sacrifice to the deliv'ring gods. E. D.

Æneas, in Virgil, is purified after the same manner, taking water out of the river in his hands[f]:

——— *rite cavis undam de flumine palmis*
Sustulit.———

Then water in his hollow palm he took
From Tiber's flood. DRYDEN.

But Silius has introduced one washing his whole body[g]:

——— *sub lucem ut visa secundent*
Oro cœlicola et vivo purgor in amne.

I cleanse myself in running streams, and pray
My dreams may lucky prove.

It appears from Persius[h], that it was usual amongst the Romans to dip their heads five times in water before morning prayer.

Hæc sanctè ut poscas Tiberino in gurgite mergis,
Manè caput bis terque, et noctem flumine purgas.

And lest your pray'r should speak a sinful mind,
You purge away the filthiness you find
Procur'd by night; you to the Tiber go,
And down into the flood you flouncing bow
Five times your head.———

CHAP. XIV.

Of Divination by Sacrifices.

Divination by sacrifices, called Ἱερομαντεία, or ἱεροσκοπία, was divided into different kinds, according to the diversity of the mate-

[e] Persis.
[f] Æneid. lib. viii. ver. 69.
[g] Lib. viii.
[h] Sat. ii. ver. 16.

rials offered to the gods. They first made conjectures from the external parts and motions of the victim; then from its entrails, from the flame in which it was consumed, from the cakes and flour, from the wine and water, with several other things, of which in their order.

The art, which made observations in killing, and cutting up the victim, was called Θυτική. Unlucky omens were, when the beast was drawn by force to the altar, when it escaped by the way, and avoided the fatal blow, did not fall down quietly, and without reluctance, but kicked, leaped up, or bellowed, bled not freely, was long a dying, shewed any tokens of great pain, beat upon the ground, expired with convulsions, or did any thing contrary to what usually happens in the slaughter of beasts; especially if the beast prevented the knife, and died suddenly. Whence Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, being about to make a league with two other kings, Theodotus forbade him to proceed, and withal foretold the speedy death of one of the kings, when one of the three victims, which were brought to the altar, suddenly fell down dead[i]. But, on the contrary, the gods were judged to be propitious, and kindly to receive the devotions paid to them, when every thing was carried on with ease: when the victim went voluntarily, and without compulsion, to the slaughter, endured the blow patiently, fell down quietly, bled freely, and expired without groaning, then the victim seemed willingly to submit to death: any sign of this was a most fortunate omen. Such an one is that mentioned by Seneca[j]:

> *Stat ecce ad aras hostia, expectat manum*
> *Cervice pronâ.*
> Lo at the altar stands the willing victim,
> And with submissive neck, expects the blow.

Hence it was customary to pour water into its ear, ὡς ἐπινεύῃ ταῖς τελεταῖς, *that it might by a nod consent to be sacrificed*[k]. Somewhat also was observed in the wagging of the tail; whence the poet saith,

> ———Κέρκος ποιεῖ καλῶς.
> The victim kindly wags his tail.

On this account it was usual to draw a knife from the victim's head to its tail. Other predictions were made from the tail, when cast into the fire: when it was curled by the flame, it portended misfortunes; when it was extended out in length and hung down-

i Plutarchus Pyrrho. j In Hercule Furente. k Myrt. lib. i, Lesbicor.

ward, it was an omen of some overthrow to be suffered ; but when erected, it signified victory [l].

After this, the victim being cut open, they made observations from its entrails ; these were termed ἔμπυρα, from the fire, wherein they were burned. The omens were called by Plato τὰ ἔμπορα σήματα, and the divination was distinguished by the name of ἡ δι' ἐμπύρων μαντεία. By some it was feigned to have been first occasioned, or very much improved, by the death of the Delphian Sybil, whose body being reduced to earth, imparted first to the herbs, and by their means to the beasts which fed on them, a power of divining : as also those other parts of her, which mixed with the air, are said to have occasioned the divination by ominous words [m]. If the entrails were whole and sound, had their natural place, colour, and proportion, then all was well ; but if any part was decayed, or wanting ; if any thing was out of order, or not according to nature, evil was portended. Hereof Seneca hath furnished the example [n] :

> *Mutatus ordo est, sede nil propriâ jacet :*
> *Sed acta retro cuncta. Non animæ capax*
> *In parte dextrâ pulmo sanguineus jacet,*
> *Non læva cordis regio.*——————
>
> All order was inverted ; nothing fill'd
> Its proper place. Upon the right side lay
> And gorged with blood, the lungs unfit for breathing ;
> Nor on the left was found the beating heart. C. S.

The palpitation of the entrails was a very unfortunate omen, as appears from the same author [o], who there enumerates several other direful passages :

> ———— *non levi motu, ut solent,*
> *Agitata trepidant exta, sed totas manus*
> *Quatiunt.*——————
>
> Not with their usual gentle motion beat
> The intestines, but every member shook.

The first and principal part to be observed, was the liver : if this was corrupted, they thought that both the blood, and by consequence all the body, must be so too ; and therefore, if it was found very bad, they desisted immediately, not caring what the other parts might promise : these signs were called ἀκέλευθα, as hindering them from going any farther [p]. This observing the liver was called Ἡπατοσκοπία, which also became a general name for divination by entrails, being the chief part of it. If the liver had a pleasing and natural redness ; if it was sound, without spot or ble-

[l] Eurip. Scholiast. Phœnissis.
[m] Clemens Alex. Strom. i. p. 304.
[n] Oedip. ver. 367.
[o] Ibidem, ver. 353.
[p] Hesychius.

mish; if its head was large, if it had two heads, or there were two livers; if its lappets were turned inwards, then prosperity and success were expected. On the other hand, nothing but dangers, disappointments, and misfortunes were to be looked for, if there was διψὰς, too much dryness, or δεσμὸς a tie between the parts, especially if it was ἄλοβος, without a lappet, or the liver itself was altogether wanting. Pythagoras the soothsayer foretold Alexander's death, ὅτι ἄλοβόν οἱ τὸ ἧπαρ ἦν ἱερεῖον, because *his victim's liver had no lobos.* And his friend Hephæstion's death was prognosticated by the same omen [q]. Bad signs also were accounted such as these; if there appeared upon it any blisters, wheals, or ulcers; if it was parched, thin, hard, or of an ugly blackish colour; had any corrupt and vitiated humours; was any way displaced; or, lastly, if in boiling it did not conspicuously appear amongst the rest of the entrails, was polluted with any nasty corrupt matter, became very soft, and, as it were, melted into a jelly. The concavous part of the liver was called ἑστιὰς, i. e. belonging to the family, because the signs observed there concerned themselves and their friends; the gibbous side ἐπίβολις, or ἀντιστάτις, because the tokens in it concerned their enemies: if either of these parts was shrivelled, corrupted, or any way changed for the worse, it boded ruin to the person concerned in it; but if large and sound, or bigger than usual, it was a prosperous omen. To this Seneca alludes, when he introduces Manto, the daughter of Tiresias, thus describing the liver's heads [r]:

Et capita paribus bina consurgunt toris,
Sed utrumque cæsum tenuis abscondit caput
Membrana, latebram rebus occultis negans.
Hostile valido robore insurgit latus,
Septemque venas tendit ———

And that the Romans also used this method, appears from Lucan, who tells us that Cæsar's victory over Pompey was foretold this way. His words are these:

Quodque nefas nullis impune apparuit extis,
Ecce videt capiti fibrarum increscere molem,
Alterius capiti pars ægra et marcida pendet,
Pars micat, et celeri venas movet improba pulsu.

One prodigy superior threatned still,
The never-failing harbinger of ill:
Lo! by the fibrous liver's rising head
A second rival prominence is spread;
All sunk and poor the friendly part appears,
And a pale, sickly, withering visage wears, ROWE.

The place or seat where all the parts of the liver lay, was called δέξις, and δοχή. The place between the parts in the middle was termed

[q] Arrianus Exped. Alex. lib. vii.

[r] Oedip. v. 360.

πυλαία, and *εὐρυχωρία* [s]; by Hesychius *ὁδοὶ*, or *ἐκτροπαὶ*; by Euripides *πύλαι*.

> ————————πύλαι ϗ δοχὴ πέλας
> Κακὰς ἔφαινον τῷ σκοποῦντι προσβολάς.

This was an unfortunate omen, when found compressed or closed; whence Dio [t] relates, that the soothsayers warned Caracalla to take care of himself, *ὅτι αἱ τοῦ ἥπατος πύλαι κέκλεινται*, *because the gates of the liver were closed.*

The next thing to be taken notice of, was the heart, which, if it was very little, palpitated much, leaped, was shrivelled or wrinkled, or had no fat at all, portended bad fortune; if there was no heart to be found, it was a most deadly omen.

Next to the heart, they observed the gall, the spleen, the lungs, and the membranes in which the bowels were inclosed. If there were two galls; if the gall was large, and ready to burst out of its skin; then sharp and bloody, but yet prosperous, fights were expected. If the spleen lay in its own place, was clear and sound, of its natural colour, without wheals, hardness, or wrinkles, it boded nothing but success; as the contrary signs presaged misfortunes. So did also the entrails, if they chanced to slip out of the hands of him that offered the sacrifice; if they were besmeared with blood, of a livid colour, or spotted; were full of blisters or pimples, filled with corrupt or salt matter, broken or torn in pieces, or stunk like putrified bodies. Lastly, if serpents crawling, or any thing else terrible and unusual was found in them. If the lungs were cloven, the business in hand was to be deferred; if whole and entire, it was to be proceeded in with all possible speed and vigour.

Other parts of the victim did sometimes presage things to come, especially if any thing happened extraordinary, and contrary to the common course of nature. For instance, on the day that king Pyrrhus was slain at Argos, his death was foretold by the heads of the sacrifices, which being cut off, lay licking their own blood, as Pliny [u] reports. Another unlucky omen happened to Cimon, the Athenian general, a little before his death; for when the priest had slain the sacrifice according to custom, the blood that ran down, and congealed upon the ground, was by a great many pismires carried to Cimon, and placed all together at his great toe. They were a long time in doing this before any man perceived them;

[s] Demosth. Interpret. in Orat. de Corona.

[t] Caracalla.

[u] Lib. xi. cap. 37.

but Cimon had no sooner espied them out, but the augur brought him word that the liver had no head; and in a very short time after, that famous captain died.

Hither are to be reduced some other ways of divination, by things made use of at sacrifices; as first, Πυρμαντεία, *divination by the fire of the sacrifice.* Good signs were such as these: if the flames immediately took hold of, and consumed the victim, seizing at once all the parts of it; on which account they usually prepared τὰ φρύγανα, *dry sticks,* which would easily take fire. Also, if the flame was bright and pure, and without noise or smoke; if the sparks tended upward in the form of a pyramid; if the fire went not out till all was reduced to ashes. Contrary signs were, when it was killed with difficulty, when the flame was divided, when it did not immediately spread itself over all the parts of the victim, but creeping along, consumed them by little and little; when, instead of ascending in a straight line, it whirled round, turned sideways, or downwards, and was extinguished by winds, showers, or any other unlucky accident; when it crackled more than ordinary, was black, casting forth smoke or sparks, or died before all the victim was consumed. All these, and such like omens, signified the displeasure of the gods. Some of these signs Tiresias speaks of in Sophocles[v] as very fatal and pernicious:

———————ἐκ δὲ θυμάτων
Ἥφαιστος οὐκ ἔλαμπεν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σποδῷ
Μυδῶσα κηκὶς μηρίων ἐτήκετο
Κἄτυφε, κἀνέπτυε· καὶ μετάρσιοι
Χολαὶ διεσπείροντο, καὶ καταῤῥυεῖς
Μηροὶ καλυπτῆς ἐξέκειντο πιμελῆς.

But from the sacrifice no flame shone bright,
Nor vapour from the humid flesh arose;
It wasted on the ashes, and roll'd low
A dull black smoke, exsuding on the fire;
The entrails swell'd and burst; the melting thighs
Shrunk from the involving crawls, lay bare. POTTER.

Sometimes, when the entrails foretold nothing certain by dissection, the priest made observations from them in the fire: in order hereto he took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wool (for which reason Sophocles calls the bladders μαλλοδέτοις κύστεις), put it into the fire, to observe in what place it would break, and which way it would dart the urine[w]. Sometimes they took pitch off the torches, and threw it into the fire; whence, if there arose but one entire flame, it was taken for a good omen. In matters of war, or enmity, they took notice of the ἄκρα λαμπὰς, or *uppermost*

[v] Antigon. ver. 1122.

[w] Euripides Scholiastes Phœnissis.

part of the *flames*, and the gall: πικροὶ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ, *enemies* being *bitter* like gall.

Καπνομαντεία, *divination* by the *smoke* of sacrifices, in which they observed what windings and turnings it made, how high it ascended, and whether in a direct or oblique line, or in wreaths; also how it smelled, whether of the flesh that was burned, or any thing else.

Λιβανομαντεία, *divination* by *frankincense*, which, if it presently catched fire, and sent forth a grateful odour, was esteemed an happy omen; but if the fire would not touch it, or any nasty smell, contrary to the nature of frankincense, proceeded from it, it boded ill.

Οἰνομαντεία, and Ὑδρομαντεία, *divination by wine* and by *water*, when conjectures were made from the colour, motion, noise, and other accidents of the wine of the libations; or the water in which the victims were washed, and some parts of them boiled. Virgil[x] hath made mention of them both in the story of Dido.

Vidit, thuricremis cum dona imponeret aris,
Horrendum dictu! latices nigrescere sacros:
Fusaque in obscœnum se vertere vina cruorem.

Strange to relate! when full before the shrine,
She pours, in sacrifice, the purple wine,
The purple wine is turn'd to putrid blood,
And the pure element congeals to mud.

Κριθομαντεία, and Ἀλευρομαντεία, *divinations* by which predictions were made from the flour with which the victim was besprinkled.

Hither also may be referred Ἰχθυομαντεία, *divination* by the entrails of *fishes*; for which Tiresias and Polydamas are said to have been famous: as also Ὠοσκοπία, which made predictions by *eggs*, and several others.

Who was the first inventor of this divination is uncertain. By some it is attributed to Prometheus, the great father of most arts. Clemens of Alexandria[y] ascribes it to the Hetrurians; and Tages, one of that nation, whom they feigned to have sprung out of a furrow in the Tarquinian fields, was commonly thought by the Italians to have been the first who communicated this divination to mankind[z], as appears from Cicero. The same is mentioned by Lucian[a]:

Et fibris sit nulla fides, sed conditor artis
Finxerit ista Tages.———

Arts may be false by which our sires divined,
And Tages taught them to abuse mankind. ROWE.

[x] Æneid iv, 453.
[y] Strom. i. pag. 306.
[z] Lib. ii. de Divinatione.
[a] Lib. i.

It was certainly very ancient, and obtained so great credit amongst the Grecians, that they would desist from the greatest, and seemingly most advantageous undertakings, and attempt things most hazardous, and unlikely to be attained, if the entrails of victims dissuaded them from the former, or encouraged them to the latter. Whereof we have this remarkable instance in Plutarch's life of Aristides: 'when Mardonius the Persian made an assault upon the Grecians, Pausanias the Lacedæmonian, at that time general of all the Grecian forces, offered sacrifice, and finding it not acceptable to the gods, commanded the Lacedæmonians, laying down their shields at their feet, to abide quietly and attend his directions, making no resistance to any of their enemies. Then offering a second time (for if the first victim afforded not auspicious omens, it was usual to offer on till they obtained what they desired) as the horse charged, one of the Lacedæmonians was wounded; at this time also Callicrates, who, by report, was the most comely proper man in the army, being shot with an arrow, and upon the point of expiring, said, that he lamented not his death (for he came from home to lay down his life in the defence of Greece), but that he had died without action. The cause was heard, and wonderful was the forbearance of the men; for they repelled not the enemy that charged them, but expecting their opportunity from the gods and their general, suffered themselves to be wounded, and slain in their ranks; and so obstinate they continued in this resolution, that though the priests offered one victim after another without any success, and the enemy still pressed upon them, they moved not a foot, till the sacrifices proved propitious, and the soothsayers foretold the victory.'

CHAP. XV.

Of Divination by Birds.

I come, in the next place, to speak of divination by birds; the invention of which is by some ascribed to Prometheus, or Melampus, the son of Amythaon and Dorippe; Pliny[b] reports, that Car, from whom Caria received its name, was the first that made

[b] Lib. vii. cap. 55.

predictions by birds ; and Orpheus by other animals : Pausanias[c] telleth us, that Parnassus, after whose name the mountain Parnassus was called, first observed the flight of birds. The same Clemens of Alexandria[d] reports concerning the Phrygians. This art was very much improved by Calchas, who, as Homer tells us, was

——— οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος.

Of augurs far the best.

At length it arrived at such perfection, and gained so much credit in the world, that seldom any thing of moment was undertaken, either in time of war or peace, seldom any honours conferred, any magistrates created, without the approbation of birds ; nay, other divinations were sometimes passed by unregarded, if not confirmed by them. At Lacedæmon, the king and senate had always an augur attending upon them to advise with[e] ; and Cælius reports, that kings themselves used to study the art. The birds, because they were continually flying about, were thought to observe, and pry into men's most secret actions, and to be acquainted with all accidents ; whence that verse of Aristophanes[f] ;

Οὐδεὶς εἶδε τὸν θησαυρὸν τὸν ἐμὸν, πλὴν εἴτις ἄρ' ὄρνις.

None, but perhaps some bird, knows any thing
About my treasure.———

And the scholiast quotes such another saying out of him ;

Οὐδείς με θεωρεῖ πλὴν ὁ παριπτάμενος ὄρνις.

None sees me, but the bird that flieth by.

There is a proverb also much to the same purpose ; for when they thought themselves secure from the knowledge of all persons, they used to say, Οὐδεὶς οἶδε τί ὡμίλησα, πλήν γε εἴτις ὄρνις· *none is conscious to what I have been conversing about, except perchance some bird*[g]. Aristophanes hath introduced the birds themselves, telling what religious observance was paid them ;

Εσμὲν δ' ὑμῖν Ἄμμων Δελφοὶ, Δωδώνη, Φοῖβος Απόλλων,
Ελθόντες γάρ πρωτὸν ἐπ' ὄρνεις, ὕτω πρὸς ἅπαντα τρέπεθε.

For we to you instead of Hammon are,
Instead of Delphi, and Dodona's oak,
Instead of Phœbus ; for our oracles
You first consult, then prosecute designs.

The omens given by birds were by the Greeks called ὄρνιες, ὀρνεοσκοπικὰ, αἴσιμα, οἰωνοὶ, οἰωνισμάτα, &c. and the observers of them, ὀρνεοσκόποι, ὀρνιθομάντεις, ὀρνιθοσκόποι, οἰωνισαὶ, οἰωνοθέται, οἰωνοπόλοι, &c. ; but afterwards, these names were promiscuously used for almost all the species of artificial divination ; as *aruspicium*, and *augurium*,

c Phocicis.
d Strom. i. pag. 306.
e Antiq. Lect. lib. viii. cap. 1.
f Avibus.
g Loc. citat.

were among the Latins. The scholiast of Aristophanes hath observed, that οἰωνὺς καλῦσι κ̓ τὰ μὴ ὄρνεα· they called omens, which are not made by birds, by the name of οἰωνοί. And the same author affirms, that πᾶν σύμβολον ἐκφευκτικὸν, ἢ προτρεπτικὸν λέγεται ὄρνις· *every omen which either encourages to, or dissuades from any thing, was termed* ὄρνις. Plato is of opinion that οἰωνιστικὴ, was originally a general name, and written with an ὂ *micron*, οἰονιστικὴ, signifying any thing, δι' ὃ οἰόμεθα τὰ μέλλοντα, *by which we make conjectures of what is to come*; but now (saith Aristides) they write it with ῶ *mega*, τὸ ῶ σεμνύνοντες, *to give the better grace to it.*

The Grecian augurs were not, as the Latin, clothed in purple, or scarlet, but in white, having a crown of gold upon their heads when they made observations, as Alexander [h] ab Alexandro informs us. They had also οἰωνιστήριον, i. e. a *place* or *seat* appointed for that purpose, called sometimes by the general names of θᾶκος. and θῶκος, as in Sophocles's [i] Antigone, where Tiresias speaks thus;

> Εἰς γὰρ παλαιὸν θῶκον ὀρνιθοσκόπον
> Ἵζων, ἵν' ἦν μοι παντὸς οἰωνῦ λιμήν.
> For sitting in my wonted hallow'd place,
> Whither all birds of divination flock.

And the scholiast upon that place telleth us, this seat was peculiarly named θῶκος, and that Tiresias had power to assemble the birds from all quarters when he had occasion for them. They used also to carry with them writing tables, as the scholiast upon Euripides reports, in which they wrote the names and flights of the birds, with other things belonging thereto, lest any circumstance should slip out of their memory.

The omens that appeared towards the east were accounted fortunate by the Grecians, Romans, and all other nations; because the great principle of all light and heat, motion and life, diffuses its first influences from that part of the world. On the contrary, the western omens were unlucky, because the sun declines in that quarter.

The Grecian augurs, when they made observations, kept their faces towards the north, the east being upon their right hand, and the west upon their left: that they did so appears from Homer, who brings in Hector [j], telling Polydamas, that he regarded not the birds:

> Εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξί' ἴωσι πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε,
> Εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἠερόεντα.

[h] Gen. Dier. xv. cap. 40. [i] Ver. 1115. Iliad. μ'. v. 239.

Ye vagrants of the sky! your wings extend,
Or where the suns arise, or where descend;
To right, to left, unheeded take your way,
While I the dictates of high heaven obey. POPE.

The reason of this, as it is delivered by Plutarch, from Plato and Aristotle, was, that ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, *the beginning of the celestial motions*, was in the oriental parts of the world, and that therefore these were accounted δεξιὰ τοῦ κόσμου, *the right side of the world*; and the west, where the motion terminates, ἀριστερὰ, the *left*. Hence the signs that were presented to them on the right hand were accounted fortunate, and those on the left unlucky. On the contrary, the Romans making observations with their faces towards the south, had the east upon their left hand, and the west upon the right; of which there are innumerable proofs, which, for brevity's sake I shall pass by, remitting such as desire farther satisfaction to Varro and other Latin authors. For this reason, whatever was fortunate the Grecians called δεξιὸν, the Romans *sinistrum*, on what hand soever it appeared. And though the Roman poets do sometimes call things unlucky, *sinistra*, yet then they speak *Græco more:* and so doth Virgil[k], when he saith,

Sæpe sinistra cavâ prædixit ab ilice cornix.

Oft the hoarse raven, on the blasted bough,
By croaking from the left, presaged the coming blow. DRYDEN.

On the contrary, Statius, though the business in hand concerned the Grecians, speaks *more Romano*, when he saith in his Thebais,

Signa feras, lævumque tones.———

Hence it came to pass, that things awkward and foolish were called *sinistra* or *læva*; in which sense Virgil[l] has used this latter word;

Sæpe malum hoc nobis si mens non læva fuisset.
De cœlo tactas memini prædicere quercus:

This, had I not been blind, I might have seen,
And heaven-struck oaks, my monitors had been. C. S.

That is, my misfortunes were often presaged by the oaks torn in pieces by thunder, if I had but had *wit* or *foresight* enough to have understood the divine prodigies. In Sophocles[m], the word ἀριστερὸς has the same signification:

Οὔποτε γὰρ φρενόθεν γ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά,
Παῖ Τελαμῶνος, ἔβας———

He means, that if Ajax had been in his right wits, he would never have committed actions so foolish and ridiculous; and the old scholiast upon that place tell us, in express terms, that the right

k Eclog. i. ver. 18. l Ibid. ver. 16. m Ajace, ver. 181.

hand signified *prudence,* and the left *folly;* ἀριστερὰ (saith he) οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ μωρὰ ἐκάλουν, δεξιὰ δὲ τὰ συνετά.

Birds were fortunate, or unfortunate, either by their own nature, or by the place and manner of their appearance; for the same birds at different times have boded different and contrary events. The unlucky birds were called ἐξώλαιμοι, *pernicious;* ἀποθύμιοι, *hated,* or *ungrateful;* ἀεικέλιοι, *troublesome, ab* α *priv.* and εἴκω, *cedo, q. non sinistræ;* i. e. *non sinentes,* because they would not *permit* a man to proceed in his undertakings; so *sinistra* (if we may believe Festus) is rather derived *à sinendo,* than *à sinistrâ manu.* For the same reason, they were also named κωλυτικαὶ, and εἰρκτικαὶ, because they *restrained* men from what they had designed. Those that appeared out of their wonted place, or in any unlucky place, were called δίεδροι, and ἔξεδροι, which words are peculiar to the *soothsayers,* though they be sometimes applied to other things that are displaced; as when Euripides saith, ἔξεδροι χθονὸς, i. e. persons *banished,* and that had left their own *country:* and ἔξεδρος φρενῶν, a man distracted and *out of his wits.* In Hippolytus[n], the same phrase signifies a thing done contrary to right reason:

——————ἐκπλήσσουσί με
Φόνοι παραλάσσοντες ἔξεδροι φρενῶν.

On the contrary, lucky birds are called αἴσιοι, αἴσιμοι, ἐναίσιμοι, ὄδιοι, and συνέδροι. I shall give a brief account of some of both sorts, and the omens signified by them; only give me leave first to add, that there were two sorts of ominous birds: the τανυπτέρυγες, or *alites,* whose flight was observed by the augurs; and the ᾠδικαὶ, or *oscines* which gave omens by their voices and singing.

First, then, if a flock of all sorts of birds came flying about any man, it was an excellent omen, and portended some extraordinary felicity, or unexpected success; such as Diodorus Siculus observes happened to Gordius, who, from a poor country farm was exalted to a kingdom.

The eagle, if she appeared brisk, clapping her wings, sporting about in the air, and flying from the right hand to the left, was one of the best omens the gods could give; as Niphus[o] telleth us out of Appian. King Priamus, designing to go to the Grecian fleet to redeem Hector, begs of Jupiter that he would give him assurance of his protection, by sending his beloved bird the eagle:

Αἴτει δ' οἰωνὸν ταχὺν ἄγγελον, ὅς τε σοὶ αὐτῷ
Φίλτατος οἰωνῶν, καὶ εὖ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον,

[n] Ver. 934. [o] De Auguriis, lib. i. cap. 9.

Δεξιὸν· ὄφρα μιν αὐτὸς, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας,
Τῷ πίσυνος ἐπὶ νῆας ἴῃς Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων *.

If such thy will, dispatch from yonder sky,
Thy sacred bird, celestial augury!
Let the strong sovereign of the plumy race
Tower on the right of yon etherial space:
So shall thy suppliant, strengthen'd from above,
Fearless pursue the journey mark'd by Jove. POPE.

Aristander, observing an eagle to fly from Alexander's camp to the enemy's, foretold that Alexander should obtain the victory. Observations also were made from the manner of taking their prey; for instance [p], when Telemachus was at Sparta in search of Ulysses, an eagle came flying upon his right hand, bearing in her talons a tame goose, which she had caught in her roost; from which omen Helena then foretold, that Ulysses would return, surprise all Penelope's courtiers in his house, and inflict upon them the punishment they deserved. And Penelope is said to have made the same conjecture, from an eagle that seized upon twenty geese, whilst they were feeding in her house. When an eagle dragged a fawn by the feet, and cast it down upon Jupiter Panomphæus's altar, the Grecians, though before quite disheartened, took such courage, that they gave the Trojans a signal defeat. On the contrary, when Hector attempted to burn the Grecian fleet, an eagle appeared towards the left hand, carrying in her talons a serpent, which made such resistance, that she, not able to convey it to her nest, was forced to let it fall; whereupon Polydamas presently foretold that Hector would be constrained to desist from his enterprize. When Penelope's suitors way-laid Telemachus, there appeared an eagle on the left, with a dove in her talons; and Amphinomus concluded from that omen that their design would not succeed. When two eagles appeared, tearing each other with their talons, and hovering over the assembly wherein the suitors were, Halitherses foretold that they should be all slain by Ulysses. Lastly, to mention but one instance more, an eagle, which snatched a javelin out of the hand of a soldier of Dionysius the Syracusan, and cast it into the deep, portended the downfal and miseries that tyrant was to suffer [q].

The flight of vultures was very much observed, because (as some say) they do but seldom appear, and their nests are rarely or never found; wherefore a sight so unusual was thought to portend something extraordinary; or (according to Herodotus of Pontus), because vultures feed only upon carcases, not meddling

* Iliad. Ω'. v. 292. [p] Homer. Odyss. ο', v. 160. [q] Plutarchus Dion,

with living creatures: and therefore he tells us, Hercules was always well pleased when a vulture appeared to him at the undertaking of any enterprise; because he esteemed it the most just of all the birds of prey[r]. But Aristotle and Pliny reckon them among the unlucky birds; and add, that they were usually seen two or three days before any great slaughter; and it was the common opinion, that vultures, eagles, kites, and other birds of prey, if they followed an army, or continued for a considerable time in any place, were certain signs of death and bloodshed.

The hawk is a ravenous bird, and an unlucky omen, portending death (saith Niphus), if she appeared seizing upon her prey; but if the prey slipped from her, or made its escape, thereby was signified deliverance from dangers. The buzzard, called in Greek Τρίορχης, because he has three stones, was accounted by Phœmonoe a very ominous bird. The faulcon-hawk, in Greek, Κίρκος, as Pliny[s] reports, was very lucky to people that were about marriage, or any money-business. This bird was sacred to Apollo, as Homer[t] tells us; and when Telemachus was solicitous in mind about his mother's suitors, appeared in this manner:

> Ὣς ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις,
> Κίρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος, ἐν δὲ πόδεσσι
> Τίλλε πέλειαν ἔχων, κατὰ δὲ πτερὰ χεῦεν ἔραζε
> Μεσσηγὺς νηός τε, ϗ αὐτοῦ Τηλεμάχοιο.
>
> Thus speaking, on the right upsoar'd in air,
> The hawk, Apollo's swift-wing'd messenger;
> His deathful pounces tore a trembling dove;
> The clotted feathers scatter'd from above,
> Between the hero and the vessel pour
> Thick plumage, mingled with a sanguine shower. POPE.

By which Theoclymenus foretold that Telemachus should prevail over his enemies.

Swallows flying about, or resting upon a place, were an unlucky omen. In Darius's expedition against Scythia, the appearance of them presaged the total defeat of his army by the Scythians. The same birds sitting upon Pyrrhus's tent, and Anthony's ship, are said to have signified the overthrow of the armies of both those generals.

Owls were for the most part looked upon to be unlucky birds, but at Athens were omens of victory and success, being sacred to Minerva, the protectress of that city; and therefore the proverb, Γλαὺξ ἵπταται, was usually applied to persons whose undertakings met with success[u]. Plutarch reports, that when Themistocles was

[r] Plutarchus Romulo, pag. 23. edit. Paris.
[s] Lib. x. cap. 15.
[t] Odyss. ό, v. 525
[u] Themistocle.

consulting with the other officers upon the uppermost deck of the ship, and most of them opposed him, being unwilling to hazard a battle, an owl coming upon the right side of the ship, and lighting upon the mast, so animated them, that they unanimously concurred with him, and prepared themselves for the fight. But in other places, as we are told by Ælian [v], owls were unlucky omens when they appeared to men going about any serious business; an instance of which we have in king Pyrrhus, whose inglorious death at Argos was portended by an owl, which came and sat upon the top of his spear, as he held it in his hand. And for this reason, when Diomedes and Ulysses went as spies to the Trojan camp, though it was night, the most proper time for owls to appear in, yet Homer [w] reports, that Minerva gave them a lucky omen, by sending an ἐρωδιὸς, or *hern*;

> Τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἧκεν ἐρωδιὸν ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο
> Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη.———
>
> As they were marching on, a lucky hern
> Minerva sent.

Where Eustathius saith, that this bird was a token of success to men that lay in ambush, or were engaged in any such secret designs. Yet owls were not at all times esteemed inauspicious, as appears from Hieron, at whose first admission into military service, an eagle came and sat upon his shield, and an owl upon his spear; by which was signified, that he should be valiant in war, and wise in council, and at length arrive to the dignity of a king. This story you may find in Justin, at the end of his third book.

The dove in Homer is a lucky bird; so also was the swan, especially to mariners, being an omen of fair weather, for which we have a reason in Æmilius, as he is cited by Niphus:

> *Cygnus in auspiciis semper lætissimus ales:*
> *Hunc optant Nautæ, quia nunquam mergit in undis.*
>
> The mariner, when tost by angry seas,
> Straight for a swan, the luckiest omen, prays;
> For spite of tempests she upon the surface stays.

Ravens are very much observed, being thought to receive a power of portending future events from Apollo, to whom they were ἱεροὶ καὶ ἀκόλουθοι, *sacred, and companions* [x]. When they appeared about an army, they were dangerous omens: if they came croaking upon the right hand, it was a tolerable good omen; if on the left, a very bad one; as also the chattering of magpies seems to have been. When Alexander entered into Babylon, and Cicero fled from An-

[v] Histor. Anim. lib. xv. cap. 59. [w] Iliad, κ'.
[x] Ælianus de animal. lib. i. cap. 48.

thony, their deaths were foretold by the noise of ravens: and these birds alone were thought to understand their own predictions, because, as Pliny [y] affirms, the worst omens were given by them, when they made a harsh sort of noise, rattling in their throats, as if they were choaked.

Cocks were also accounted prophetical, especially in matters of war, for they were sacred to Mars, and therefore are called by Aristophanes Ἀρέος νεοττοὶ, and were usually offered in sacrifice to him, and pictured with him. The crowing of cocks was an auspicious omen, and presaged Themistocles's victory over the Persians; in memory whereof he instituted an annual feast, called Ἀλεκτρυόνων ἀγῶν, which was observed by fighting cocks in the theatre. And that signal victory, wherein the Bœotians overthrew the Lacedæmonians, was foretold by the crowing of cocks some whole nights before, which was interpreted to be an omen of success; because the cock, when he is overcome, sits silent and melancholy; but when he obtains the victory, struts and crows, and, as it were, triumphs over his vanquished enemy. On the contrary, if a hen was heard to crow, they thought some dreadful judgment was hanging over their heads.

Thus I have given you a short account of the principal birds that were esteemed ominous. There were several others, by which they made predictions, and several other ways of foretelling, from those I have already mentioned; but what I have said is, I think, sufficient; and therefore shall not be much farther tedious to you. Only I must not forget to add, that some pretended to understand the language of birds, and thereby to be privy to the most secret transactions; such an one was the famous magician Apollonius the Tyranean, of whom it is reported, that as he was sitting in a parlour with his friends, there came a sparrow, and chattered to a flock of birds that were before the window: Apollonius having heard the noise, said, she invited them to a feast, at such a certain place, where a mule loaded with corn had let his burden fall; the company, desirous to know the truth of the business, rose up immediately, went to the place, and found it as he had told them. Democritus also was a pretender to this art, and gave out, that he could teach others the method of attaining it; which he did by telling them the names of certain birds, out of a mixture of whose blood a serpent would proceed; which being eaten, would, with-

[y] Lib. x. cap. 12.

out any farther trouble, inspire into them this knowledge [z]. It is also feigned that Melampus arrived at this art by having his ears licked by dragons. Such another story Eustathius relates of Helenus and Cassandra, the children of Priamus, the Trojan king, viz. that being left in Apollo's temple, serpents came to them, and rounding themselves about their ears, made them so quick of hearing, that they could discover the counsels and designs of the gods. I must add one thing more, out of Apuleius, viz. that when any unlucky night birds, as owls, swallows, bats, &c. got into a house, to avert the bad omen, they took especial care to catch them, and hang them before their doors, that so the birds themselves might undergo, or atone for those evils, which they had threatened to the family.

Thus much for birds. It will be convenient, in the next place, to speak something concerning the predictions made by insects, beasts, and signs in the heavens. First, then, ants were made use of in divination, as may appear from the instance given in the last chapter, where I told you, Cimon's death was presaged by them. Another instance we have in Midas, the Phrygian king; for when he was a boy, and fast asleep, ants came, and dropt grains of wheat into his mouth; whereupon the soothsayers being consulted, foretold that he would be the richest man in the world.

Bees were esteemed an omen of future eloquence, as appears from the story of Plato; for as he lay in the cradle, bees are said to have come and sat upon his lips; whereupon the augurs foretold that he should be famous for sweetness of language and delightful eloquence. And Pindar is said to have been exposed, and nourished by bees with honey instead of milk. Other things also were foretold by them: but the Romans esteemed them an unlucky and very dreadful omen, as may be found in Plutarch's life of Brutus. Before Pompey's defeat, μελισσῶν ἑσμὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐκάθισε, *a swarm of bees sat upon the altar*, as we are told by Appian [a].

There was a locust, green, and slow in motion, called Μάντις, which was observed in soothsaying, as Suidas taketh notice. Toads were accounted lucky omens. Snakes also, and serpents, were ominous, as appears by the serpent that, in Homer's second Iliad, devoured eight young sparrows, with their dam; which was by Calchas interpreted to signify, that the siege of Troy should continue nine whole years. Boars were unlucky omens, boding an

[z] Plinius Nat. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 49.

[a] Lib. ii. Bell. Civil.

unhappy event to all the designs of persons that met them. I shall mention but one more, viz. the hare, a most timorous animal; and therefore appearing in time of war, it signified vanquishment, and running away: when Xerxes had prepared a vast army to invade Greece, it happened that a mare brought forth a hare; which prodigy was a presage of Xerxes's base and cowardly flight, after his fleet was destroyed by Themistocles.

I come, in the last place, to the omens from heaven. I do not mean those by which philosophers and astrologers made their predictions, but such as were usually observed by the common people; such were comets, which were always thought to portend something dreadful.

Such also were eclipses of the sun or moon, with which several armies have been so terrified, that they durst not engage their enemies, though upon never so great advantages. Plutarch, in his treatise of superstition, reports, that Nicias, the Athenian general, being surrounded on every side by his enemies, was struck into such a consternation by an eclipse of the moon, that he commanded his soldiers to lay down their arms, and so, together with a numerous army, tamely yielded up himself to the slaughter. For the true cause of them being unknown, they were imputed to the immediate operation of the gods, that were thought thereby to give notice of some signal and imminent calamity; and so strongly were the vulgar possessed with this opinion, that Anaxagoras brought himself into no small danger, by pretending to assign the natural reason for them.

Lightnings also were observed; and if they appeared on the right hand, accounted good omens, but if on the left, unlucky; as Eustathius hath observed in his comment upon the second Iliad; where Nestor tells the Grecians, earnestly desiring to return into their own country, that Jupiter had made a promise that they should take Troy, and confirmed it by lightning.

Ἀστράπτων ἐπὶ δέξι' ἐναίσιμα σήματα φαίνων.

By ominous lightning gave the lucky sign.

Other meteors also were observed by the soothsayers, as the *ignis lambens,* which was an excellent omen, presaging future felicity, as appears from Servius Tullius, whose promotion to the kingdom of Rome was foretold by it. The Argonauts, in their expedition to Colchos, were overtaken by a dangerous tempest, near the Sigean promontory; whereupon Orpheus made supplication to the gods for their deliverance: a little after, there appeared two lambent

flames about the heads of Castor and Pollux; and upon this ensued a gentle gale, the storm ceasing, and the sea becoming calm and still. This sudden alteration begot in the company a belief, that the two brethren had some divine power and efficacy, by which they were able to still the raging of the sea; insomuch that it became a custom for mariners, whenever they were in any dangerous storms, to invoke their assistance. If the two flames (which from this story are called by the names of the two heroes), appeared together, they were ever after esteemed an excellent omen, foreboding good weather; and therefore Theocritus, in his hymn upon the Dioscuri, praiseth them for delivering poor seamen, ready to be swallowed up by the deep.

Αλλ' ἔμπης ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ἐκ βυθοῦ ἕλκετε νᾶας
Αὐτοῖσιν ναύταισιν ὀϊομένοις θανέεσθαι.
Αἶψα δ' ἀπολήγοντ' ἄνεμοι, λιπαρὰ δὲ γαλάνα
Αμπέλαγος, νεφέλαι δὲ διέδραμον ἄλλυδις ἄλλαι,
Εκ δ' ἄρκτοι τ' ἐφάνησαν ὄνων τ' ἀνὰ μέσσον ἀμαυρὴ
Φάτνη, σημαίνοισα τὰ πρὸς πλόον εὔδια πάντα.

And when the gaping deep would fain devour
The tatter'd ship, you save her with your pow'r.
The stormy winds, that vex the troubled seas,
At your command, their roaring blusters cease;
The pil'd up waves are still'd, the quiet main,
In even calmness seems a wat'ry plain.
The clouds that had before obscur'd the sky,
Vanish away, and quickly scatter'd, fly.
The Bears, and other lucky stars appear,
And now the seaman knows he nothing has to fear. E. D.

Horace speaketh to the same purpose, calling these two meteors *stellæ*, or stars:

Dicam et Alciden, puerosque Ledæ;
Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
Nobilem; quorum simul alba Nautis
Stella refulsit,
Defluit saxis agitatus humor,
Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,
Et minax (quòd sic voluere) ponto
Unda recumbit [b].

Alcides' fame shall too be sung:
And both the boys from Leda sprung;
This on his steed a chief renown'd,
And that to combat on the ground.
Soon as their stars serenely shine,
Flows down the rocks the melted brine;
The winds are hush'd, the clouds divide,
And in its caverns sleeps the tide. HARE.

If one flame appeared single, it was called Helena, and was a very dangerous omen, portending nothing but storms and shipwrecks, especially if it followed Castor and Pollux by the heels, and, as it were, drove them away. Though Euripides, in his Orestes, makes

[b] Carm. lib. i.

them all prosperous and desirable signs, where speaking of Helena he saith,

> *Ζηνὸς γὰρ ὖσαν ζῆν νιν ἄφθιτον χρεὼν*
> *Κάστορί τε Πολυδεύκει τ' ἐν αἰθέρος πτυχαῖς*
> *Σύνθακος ἔσαι ναυτίλοις σωτήριος.*
>
> For being sprung from Jove, she needs must be
> Immortal too; and with her brethren share
> The heav'nly regions, where her glorious beams
> Will shine alike, to help the mariner. E. D.

Earthquakes were unfortunate omens. Hence Seneca, among other direful presages, mentions an earthquake [c];

> *Lucus tremiscit, tota succusso solo*
> *Nutavit aula, dubia quò pondus daret,*
> *Ac fluctuanti similis.*———

Earthquakes were commonly thought to be caused by Neptune, who is hence termed *ἐννοσίγαιος*, and *ἐννοσίχθων*, by the poets: and therefore it was usual to sing pæans, and to offer sacrifices on such occasions, to avert his anger. This we find to have been done by the Lacedæmonians in Xenophon [d]. A gulf being opened at Rome, Curtius leaped into it to appease the angry gods. And the same occasion happening at Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, King Midas cast many things of great value, and at length his own son, into the gulf, by the command of an oracle [e].

The winds also were thought to contain in them something prophetical, and were taken notice of in soothsaying; as appears from Statius [f], when he saith;

> ——— *Ventis, aut alite visa*
> *Bellorum proferre diem.*———
>
> And as the birds, or boding wings presage,
> Defer the fatal day of battle.

Many others might be added; but I shall only mention one more, viz. the thunder, the noblest and most observed of all the heavenly omens. It was good or bad, like other signs, according to its different position; for on the right hand, it was lucky; on the left, unfortunate. Thunder, in a clear and serene sky, was a happy sign, and given by Jupiter in Homer [g], as a confirmation that he granted the petitions made to him. The poet's words are these, where he speaks of Ulysses, who had prayed to the gods for some sign, to encourage him in his enterprise against Penelope's courtiers;

> *Ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε μητίετα Ζεύς·*
> *Αὐτίκα δ' ἐβρόντησεν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου.*
> *Ὑψόθεν ἐκ νεφέων· γήθησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.*

c Thyestis, ver. 693.
d Græc. Hist. lib. iv.
e Conf. Stob. Serm. i.
f Thebaid. iii.
g Odyss. *υ.* v. 102.

Whilst lowly thus the chief adoring bows,
The pitying God his guardian aid avows.
Loud from a sapphire sky his thunder sounds;
With springing hope the hero's heart rebounds. POPE.

It was an unfortunate omen to have any thing thunderstruck. The shepherd in Virgil[h] relates, that all his misfortunes were thus foretold:

Sæpe malum hoc nobis, si mens non læva fuisset,
De cœlo tactas memini prædicere quercus.

This, had I not been blind, I might have seen,
And heaven-struck oaks my monitors had been. C. S.

There is a parallel passage in Ovid's letter to Livia:

Jupiter ante dedit fati mala signa futuri,
Flammifera petiit cum tria templa manu.

Of future fate Jove's signals patent stand,
Three temples struck by his flame-darting hand. C. S.

To avert unlucky omens given by thunder, it was usual to make a libation of wine, pouring it forth in cups. And they stood in so much fear of lightning, that they adored it, as Pliny[i] observes. They endeavoured to avert its malignant influences, by hissing and whistling at it, which they called ποππύζειν, as appears from Aristophanes[j], when he saith, κἂν ἀναστράψω, *if I cast forth lightning,* ποππύσουσι, *they will hiss*; where the scholiast observes, that it was usual ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ποππύζειν, *to hiss at the lightning*. In places which had suffered by thunder, altars were erected, and oblations made, to avert the anger of the gods; and after that, no man adventured to touch or approach them. Hence Artemidorus[k] observes, that by the thunder obscure places were made ἐπίσημα, *remarkable,* by reason of the altars and sacrifices which were there presented to the gods; and that, on the contrary, places which had been frequented, became ἔρημα καὶ ἄβατα, *desert and solitary*; οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς διατρίβειν ἔτι θέλει· *because no man would,* after that accident, *stay there.* At Rome, places affected by thunder were inclosed by a public officer; and the fragments of the thunderbolt, if any such could be found, were carefully buried, lest any person should be polluted by touching them. And it was farther customary, to atone for any thing which was thunderstruck, by sacrificing a sheep, which being called *bidens,* the thing affected by thunder came to be termed *bidental,* as the scholiast observes from the following passage of Persius[l].

An quia non fibris ovium, Ergennâque jubente,
Triste jacet lucis, evitandumque bidental?

h Eclog. i. ver. 16.
i Lib. xxviii. cap. ii.
j Vespis.
k Oneirocrit. lib. ii.
l Satir. ii. ver. 26.

What makes thee a sad object of our eyes
Fit for Ergenna's prayer and sacrifice?
What well fed offering to appease the God,
What powerful present to procure a nod,
Hast thou in store? DRYDEN.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Divination by Lots.

Of lots there were four sorts, viz. political, military, lusorious, and divinatory: the three first do not at all concern my present purpose, however treated of by some in this place. Of the prophetical, there were divers sorts, two of which were most in use, viz. Στιχομαντεία and Κληρομαντεία.

Στιχομαντεία, was a sort of divination by *verses*, wherein it was usual to take fatidical verses, and having wrote them upon little pieces of paper, to put them into a vessel, and so draw them out, expecting to read their fate in the first draught. This was often practised upon the Sibylline oracles, which were dispersed up and down in Greece, Italy, and all the Roman empire: whence there is frequent mention in authors of the *Sortes Sibyllinæ*. Sometimes they took a poet, and opening in one, or more places, accepted the first verse they met with for a prediction. This was also called Ῥαψῳδομαντεία, from the *rhapsodies* of Homer; and, as some are of opinion, proceeded at the first, from the esteem which poets had amongst the ancients, by whom they were reputed divine and inspired persons. But, as Homer had of all the poets the greatest name, so also the *Sortes Homericæ* of all others were in the most credit; yet Euripides, and other poets, were not wholly neglected. Virgil also, and the Latin poets, were made use of in this way, as appears as well from other instances, as that remarkable one of Severus in Lampridius, whose promotion to the Roman empire was foretold by opening at this verse;

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
Remember, Roman, with imperial sway
To rule the people.————

The christians also practised the like on the Bible, according to that of Nicephorus Gregoras[m]. Ἀνοίξειν ἔκρινε δεῖν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ πρόβλημα τῶν οἰκείων ἀπορίων, i. e. he judged it necessary to dip into the

[m] Lib. viii.

psalter, that there he might find a support or defence against the distress he laboured under. And Heraclius is reported by Cedrenus to have asked counsel of the new testament, ϗ εὑρεῖν ἐπιτρέποντα ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ παραχειμάσαι, and to have been thereby persuaded to winter in Albania. And St. Augustine himself, though he disallows this practice in secular affairs, yet seems to approve of it in spiritual matters, as appears from his [n] epistle to Januarius.

Κληρομαντεία, was a sort of divination, wherein they made conjectures by throwing τοὺς κλήρους, *lots:* where you may observe, that lots were called in the plural number κλῆροι, and by the Latins, *sortes*; to distinguish them from κλῆρος, and *sors*, which, in the singular number, usually signified the hint, or occasion given to diviners, to make their conjectures by, as the scholiast upon Euripides reports. These κλῆροι were usually black and white beans; amongst the ancients little clods of earth; pebbles also, dice, or such like things, distinguished by certain characters: hence this divination was termed by several names, as ψηφομαντεία, ἀστραγαλομαντεία, κυβομαντεία, πεσσομαντεία, &c. They cast the lots into a vessel, and having made supplication to the gods to direct them, drew them out, and according to the characters, conjectured what should happen to them. All lots were sacred to Mercury, whom they thought to preside over this divination; and therefore the ancients, as Eustathius [o] observes, εὐεργμίας ἕνεκα, i. e. *for good luck's sake;* and, that Mercury might be propitious to them, used, with the rest of their lots, to put in one, which they called Ἑρμοῦ κλῆρον, *Mercury's lot,* which was an olive-leaf, and was drawn out before the rest. Sometimes the lots were not cast into vessels, but upon tables consecrated for that purpose [p]. This divination was either invented, or at least so much practised by the Thriæ, who were three nymphs that nursed Apollo, that at length the word Θρίαι came to be a synonymous term with κλῆροι· whence the proverb:

> Πολλοὶ Θριοβόλοι, παῦροι δέ τε μάντιες ἄνδρες.
> Crowds of your lot-diviners ev'rywhere,
> But few true prophets.———

To this species of divination we may reduce Ῥαβδομαντεία, or prophesying by rods, mentioned also in the holy writings, wherein [q] Hosea, amongst other abominable wickednesses committed by the Israelites, reckons this as none of the smallest, Ἐν συμβόλοις ἐπηρώτων, ϗ ἐν ῥάβδοις αὐτοῦ ἀπήγγειλον αὐτῷ, πνεύματι πορνείας ἐπλανήθησαν, ϗ ἐξεπόρ-

[n] Epist. 119.
[o] Il. ή. p. 548. ed. Basil.
[p] Pindari Scholiastes in Pythian. Od. iv. ver. 338.
[q] Cap. iv. v. 12.

νευσαν ἀπὸ τȣ̃ Θεȣ̃ αὐτῶν. Our translation renders it thus: *my people ask counsel of their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them; for the spirit of whoredom hath caused them to err, and they have gone a-whoring from under their god.* This divination, as it is described by St. Cyril of Alexandria and Thephylact[r], was thus performed: having erected two sticks, they murmured forth a certain charm, and then, according as the sticks fell backwards or forwards, towards the right or left, they gave advice in any affair. Not much different was Βελομαντεία, in which divination was made by arrows, shaken together in a quiver. Others are of opinion, that the arrows were cast into the air, and the man was to steer his course the same way that the arrow inclined in its descent. This seems to be the divination used by Nebuchadnezzar in Ezekiel, where he deliberates about invading the Israelites and the Ammonites: the words are these, as they are rendered by our translators[s]; *appoint a way, that the sword may come to Rabbath of the Ammonites, and to Juda in Jerusalem the defenced. For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of two ways, to use divination: he made his arrow bright* (the septuagint translation speaks not of βέλος, but ῥάβδος,) *he consulted with images, he looked into the liver. At his right hand was his divination for Jerusalem, to appoint captains, to open the mouth in the slaughter, to lift up the voice with shouting, to appoint battering rams against the gates, to cast a mount, and to build a fort.* But because the prophet speaks of making his arrows bright, some are of opinion that he divined by looking upon the iron heads of the arrows, and observing the various appearances in them; in the same manner as some in our days pretend to tell fortunes by looking upon their nails, saith Clarius upon that place. Another method of divination by rods was used by the Scythians, and is described in Herodotus[t]. From the Scythians it was derived, with some alteration, to the Germans, and is described by Tacitus[u]. Others you may also read of in Strabo[v], Athenæus[w], and Ammianus Marcellinus[x]; but these, and some others, I shall pass by, as not pertinent to my present design.

Another way of divination by lots was used in Greece and Rome, in this manner: the person that was desirous to learn his fortune, carried with him a certain number of lots, distinguished by several characters or inscriptions, and walking to and fro in

[r] In citatum Hoseæ locum.
[s] Cap. xxi. v. 20.
[t] Lib. iv.
[u] Lib. de Morib. German.
[v] Lib. xv.
[w] Lib. xii.
[x] Lib. xxix.

the public ways, desired the first boy that met him to draw; and if that which came forth agreed with what he had conceived in his mind, it was taken for an infallible prophecy. This divination is, by Plutarch, in his treatise about Isis and Osiris, said to be derived from the Egyptians, by whom the actions and words of boys were carefully observed, as containing in them something divine and prophetical; and for that reason no less absurd than the practice itself, all the grounds they had for it being only this, viz. that Isis having wandered up and down, in a fruitless search after Osiris, happened at last upon a company of boys at play, and was by them informed about what she had so long sought for in vain. To this custom of divining by boys, as some think, Tibullus [y] alludes, when he saith,

> *Illa sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit, illi*
> *Rettulit è triviis omina certa puer.*
>
> Thrice in the streets the sacred lots she threw,
> And thrice the boy a happy omen drew.

But I am rather of opinion, that the poet speaks of a different kind of lots, which was this: in the market, highways, and other places of concourse, it was usual for a boy, or a man, whom the Greeks called Αγύϱτης, to stand with a little tablet, called in Greek πίναξ ἀγυϱτικὸς, or ἀγυϱτικὴ σανὶς, upon which were written certain fatidical verses, which, according as the dice light upon them, told the consultants what fortune they were to expect. Sometimes, instead of tablets, they had pots or urns, into which the lots or fatidical verses were thrown, and thence drawn by the boys; and I am the rather inclined to think the poet's words are to be understood in this sense, because he saith, the woman herself, that had a mind to be instructed what was to befal her, took up the lots; which can never be meant of the boys drawing lots out of the woman's hand. Artemidorus, in his preface, speaks of τῶν ἐν ἀγοϱᾷ μάντεων, i. e. *diviners in the market-place*; and the *sortes viales* were very common at Rome: the circus was thronged with those, and a great many other diviners, which the poor silly women used to consult, as Juvenal [z] witnesseth. His words are these:

> *Si mediocris erit, spatium lustrabit utrumque*
> *Metarum, et sortes ducet: frontemque, manumque*
> *Præbebit vati crebrum poppysma roganti.*
> *Divitibus responsa dabit Phryx augur, et inde*
> *Conductus, dabit astrorum, mundique peritus;*
> *Atque aliquis senior qui publica fulgura condit.*

[y] Lib. i. eleg. 3.

[z] Sat. vi. v. 581.

Plebeium in circo positum est, et in aggere fatum;
Quæ nudis longum ostendit cervicibus aurum,
Consulit ante phalas, Delphinorumque columnas
An saga vendenti nubat caupone relicto.

The middle sort, who have not much to spare,
Into the crowded circus straight repair,
And from the cheaper lots their fortunes hear,
Or else to cunning chiromancers go,
Who clap the pretty palm, and thence their fortunes know.
But the rich matron, who has more to give,
Her answers from the brachman will receive.
Skil'd in the globe and sphere, he gravely stands
And with his compass measures seas and lands.
The poorest of the sex have still an itch
To know their fortunes, equal to the rich:
The dairy-maid enquires if she may take
The trusty tailor, and the cook forsake. DRYDEN.

Whereby it appears, that lots had very small credit in Juvenal's days, being consulted only by the meaner sort, and such as were not able to be at the charge of more reputable divination. Didymus tells us, this was brought to pass by Jupiter, who being desirous that Apollo should preside in chief over divination, brought lots, which are said to have been invented by Minerva, into dispute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Divination by Ominous Words and Things.

ANOTHER sort of divination there was, very different from all those I have hitherto spoken of, which foretold things to come, not by certain accidents, and casual occurrences, that were thought to contain in them presages of good or evil. Of these there were three sorts: the first, of things internal, by which I mean those that affected the persons themselves. The second, of things external, that only appeared to men, but did not make any impression upon them. The third were ominous words. Of these in their order.

First, of those omens that men received from themselves, which are distinguished into four kinds: First, marks upon the body, as ἔλαια, spots like oil. Secondly, sudden perturbations seizing upon the mind; such were the *panici terrores*, *panic fears*, which were sudden consternations that seized upon men, without any visible cause, and therefore were imputed to the operation of demons, especially Pan, upon men's fancies. Of these there is frequent mention in history; as when Brennus, the Gallic general, had

been defeated by the Greeks; the night following, he and the remainder of his troops were seized with such terrors and distractions, that, ignorant of what they were doing, they fell to wounding and killing one another, till they were all utterly destroyed. Such another fright gave the Athenians a great advantage against the Persians, insomuch, that Pan had a statue erected for that piece of service; as appears from one of Simonides's epigrams;

Τὸν τραγόπυν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα, τὸν Ἀρκάδα, τὸν κατὰ Μήδων,
Τὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων στήσατο Μιλτιάδης.

This bust to me, Arcadian Pan, was placed
In gratitude by brave Miltiades;
Because I aided him and warlike Greece
Against the powerful Medes.———

The reason why these terrors were attributed to Pan, was, because when Osiris was bound by Typho, Pan and the satyrs appearing, cast him into a fright; or, because he affrighted the giants that waged war against Jupiter. There is also a third reason assigned by mythologists, which will be explained in the following book [a]. In these terrors, whereof there was either no apparent cause, or at least none answerable to the greatness of the sudden consternation, it was a good remedy to do something quite contrary to what the danger would have required, had it been such as men vainly imagined. Thus Alexander caused his soldiers to disarm themselves, when they were on a sudden in a great fear of they knew not what.

All sudden and extraordinary emotions and perturbations, in body or mind, were looked upon as evil omens; such was that of Penelope's courtiers described by Homer [b], and said to have been caused by Minerva, their implacable enemy:

——— μνηστῆρσι δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
Ἄσβεστον γέλον ὦρσε, παρέπλαγξεν δὲ νόημα.
Οἱ δ' ἤδη γναθμοῖσι γελώων ἀλλοτρίοισιν·
Αἱμοφόρυκτα δὲ δὴ κρέα ἤσθιον· ὄσσε δ' ἄρα σφέων
Δακρυόφιν πίμπλαντο· γόον δ' ὤϊετο θυμός.

But Pallas clouds with intellectual gloom,
The suitor's souls, insensate of their doom!
A mirthful phrenzy seized the fated crowd,
The roofs resound with causeless laughter loud:
Floating in gore, portentous to survey,
In each discoloured vase the viands lay:
Then down each cheek the tears spontaneous flow,
And sudden sighs presage approaching woe. POPE.

An augur then present was affrighted at this dreadful omen, and presently broke out into this exclamation;

Α δειλοὶ τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε;

Ah, wretched men! what fate is this you bear?

[a] Lib. iii. cap. 9. pag. 84. [b] Odyss. ύ. v. 345.

The third sort of internal omens, were the Παλμοὶ, or *παλμικὰ οἰωνίσματα*, so called *ἀπὸ τῦ πάλλειν*, *from palpitating*. Such were the palpitations of the heart, the eye, or any of the muscles, called in Latin *salissationes*, and Βόμβος, or a *ringing* in the ears; which in the right ear was a lucky omen; so also was the palpitation of the right eye, as Theocritus telleth us;

> *Ἀλλέται ὀφθαλμός μοι ὁ δεξιός*———
>
> My right eye twinkles———

Niphas [c] hath enumerated all the parts of the body, with all the omens to be gathered from the palpitations of each of them; whom you may consult at leisure. Melampus, the famous fortune-teller, dedicated a book upon this subject to Ptolemy Philadelphus; another to the same purpose was composed by Posidonius, as Suidas reports; the title of which was Παλμικὸν οἰώνισμα.

The fourth sort of internal omens were, the Πταρμοὶ, or *sneezings*, which were so superstitiously observed, that divine worship was thought due to them: though some say this adoration was only an expiation of the omen; others are of opinion, as Casaubon [d] observes, that sneezing was a disease, or at least a symptom of some infirmity; and therefore, when any man sneezed, it was usual to say, Ζῆθι, *may you live;* or Ζεῦ σῶσον, *God bless you*. To this custom Ammian alludes, in an epigram upon one who had a long nose, which he saith was at so great a distance from his ears, that he could not hear himself sneeze;

> *Οὐδὲ λέγει Ζεῦ σῶσον, ὅταν πταρῇ, ὐ γὰρ ἀκύει*
> *Τῆς ῥινὸς, πολὺ γὰρ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀπέχει.*
>
> His long beak'd snout at such a distance lies
> From his dull ears, that he ne'er hears it sneeze:
> And therefore never does he say, God bless.

Where you may observe, that it was not only usual for persons that stood by to cry Ζεῦ σῶσον, but also for men, when themselves sneezed. However it be, it is certain, that sneezing was accounted sacred, as appears from Athenæus [e], who proves that the head was esteemed holy, because it was customary to swear by it, and adore as holy the sneezes that proceeded from it; and Aristotle tells us in express terms [f], that sneezing was accounted a deity, Τὸν Πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγόμεθα. Casaubon also has proved the same out of Xenophon [g]; who reports, that the soldiers with one accord worshipped it as a god. But it is scarce to be supposed they could be so ignorant as to think every act of sneezing a deity; nor

[c] De Augur. lib. i. cap. 9. [d] Athenæum, lib. ii. cap. 25. [e] Loc. citat. [f] Problem. sect. xxxiii. [g] De Expedit. Cyri, lib. iii.

do Aristotle's words necessarily imply they did; for no more need be understood by them, than that there was a god of sneezing, called Πταρμὸς· and Xenophon may be expounded the same way; viz. that when the soldiers heard a sneeze, they worshipped the god, i. e. the god of sneezing; or it may be, no more is meant than that they worshipped God, perhaps in the usual form of Ζεῦ σῶσον· or by casting up some other short ejaculation to any of the gods to avert the omen.

However, it is certain that great regard was given to sneezing; insomuch, that if a man sneezed at certain times, or on any certain side, it was enough to persuade them to, or discourage them from, any business of the greatest moment. When Themistocles was offering sacrifice, it happened that three beautiful captives were brought to him, and at the same time the fire burned clear and bright, and a sneeze happened on the right hand; hereupon Euphrantides the soothsayer, embracing him, predicted the memorable victory which was afterwards obtained by him [h]. Such a sneeze happening whilst Xenophon was making a speech, was thought a sufficient reason to constitute him general. And Socrates himself, though a great despiser of heathen superstitions, judged it not unreasonable to make a sneeze serve as an admonition from the demon which always tended him. And that the observation of sneezing was very ancient, appears from the virgins in Theocritus [i], who thus congratulate Menelaus upon his marriage with Helena;

> Ολβιε γάμβρ', ἀγαθός τις ἐπέπταρεν ἐρχομένῳ σοι
> Ες Σπάρταν.———
>
> To bless her bed from all the princely crowd,
> Fair Helen chose you—Cupid sneez'd aloud. FAWKES.

There is also mention of this custom in Homer, who has introduced Penelope rejoicing at a sneeze of her son Telemachus [j];

> Οὐχ ὁράας ὅ μοι υἱὸς ἐπέπταρεν.———

Sneezing was not always a lucky omen, but varied according to the alteration of circumstances: τῶν πταρμῶν οἱ μὲν εἰσὶν ὠφέλιμοι, οἱ δὲ βλαβεροί· *some sneezes are profitable, others prejudicial,* according to the scholiast upon the following passage of Theocritus, where he makes the sneezing of the Cupids, to have been an unfortunate omen to a certain lover [k];

> Σιμιχίδᾳ μὲν ἔρωτες ἐπέπταρον.———

h Plutarchus Themistocle. i Idyll. xviii. ver. 16. j Odyss. viii.
k Idyll. vii. ver. 96.

When Xenophon was persuading his soldiers to encounter the enemy, a sneeze was accounted so dangerous an omen, that they were forced to appoint public prayers to expiate it. If any person sneezed, ἀπὸ μέσων νυκτῶν ἄχρι μέσης ἡμέρας, *between midnight and the following noontide*, it was fortunate; but ἀπὸ μέσης ἡμέρας ἄχρι μέσων νυκτῶν, *from noontide till midnight*, it was unfortunate; the reasons of which difference Aristotle has endeavoured to account for[l]. If a man sneezed at the table while they were taking away, or if another happened to sneeze upon his left hand, it was unlucky; if on the right hand, fortunate. If, in the undertaking any business, two, or four sneezes happened, it was a lucky omen, and gave encouragement to proceed; if more than four, the omen was neither good nor bad; if one, or three, it was unlucky, and dehorted them from proceeding in what they had designed. If two men were deliberating about any business, and both of them chanced to sneeze together, it was a prosperous omen, as Niphus[m] relates in his book of auguries, where he has enumerated a great many other circumstances in sneezing, and the omens thought to be given by them.

I come, in the next place, to speak something concerning the omens which appeared to men, but were not contained in their own bodies, of which there were several sorts: as, first, the beginnings of things were looked upon to contain something ominous, as Ovid has observed[n];

Rerum principiis omina inesse solent;
Ad primam vocem timidas advertitis aures,
Et visam primum consulit augur avem.

Omens will best the pains you take repay,
If the beginnings you with care survey:
To the first word attend with eager ears,
The anxious augur notes the bird that first appears. C. S.

A sudden and unusual splendour in any house, or other place, was a very fortunate presage; as, on the contrary, darkness was an omen of infelicity; the former being thought to accompany the celestial gods, whereas darkness intimated the presence of some of the infernal deities, which was thought to be commonly pernicious. Thus Telemachus, in Homer, describes a prodigy appearing before the victory which Ulysses obtained against the courtiers of his wife Penelope[o];

Ω πάτερ, ἦ μεγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶμαι,
Εμπης μοι τοῖχοι μεγάρων, καλαί τε μεσόδμαι,

[l] Problem. sect. xxiii. cap. 12.
[m] De Auguriis, cap. viii.
[n] Fastor. lib. i. v. 178.
[o] Odyss. τ', v. 36.

Ἐλάτιναί τε δοκοὶ, καὶ κίονες ὑψόσ' ἔχοντες,
Φαίνοντ' ὀφθαλμοῖς ὡσεὶ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.
Ἦ μάλα τις θεὸς ἔνδον, οἳ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι.[o]

What miracle thus dazzles with surprise!
Distinct in rows the radiant columns rise.
The walls, where'er my wand'ring feet I turn,
And roofs, amidst a blaze of glory burn!
Some visitant of pure ethereal race.
With his bright presence, deigns the dome to grace. POPE.

It was thought a direful presage, when any thing unusual befel the temples, altars, or statues of their gods. Such an one was that which Pausanias[p] relates concerning the brazen statue of Diana, which παρῆκε τὴν ἀσπίδα, *let the shield fall out of her hand.* Before the Lacedæmonians were vanquished at Leuctra, the two golden stars consecrated by them at Delphi to Castor and Pollux, fell down, and could never be found again[q]. Hither must also be reduced the sweating, or falling down, of images, the doors of temples opening of themselves, and other accidents, whereof no account could be assigned.

To this place likewise do belong all monstrous and frightful births, sudden and unusual deluges, the unexpected withering and decaying, or flourishing, of trees or fruits, the noise of beasts, or any thing happening to men or other creatures, contrary to the common course of nature; the inversion of which was thought a certain argument of the divine displeasure. Many of these are contained together in the following passage of Virgil[r]:

Tempore quanquam illo tellus quoque, et æquora ponti,
Obscœnique canes, importunæque volucres
Signa dabant. Quoties Cyclopum effervere in agros
Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Ætnam,
Flammarumque globos, liquefactaque volvere saxa?
Armorum sonitum toto Germania cœlo
Audiit, insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes.
Vox quoque per lucos vulgo exaudita silentes
Ingens, et simulacra modis pallentia miris
Visa sub obscurum noctis: pecudesque locutæ,
Infandum! sistunt amnes, terræque dehiscunt:
Et mœstum illacrymat templis ebur, æraque sudant:
Proluit insano contorquens vortice sylvas
Fluviorum rex Eridanus, camposque per omnes
Cum stabulis armenta tulit: nec tempore eodem
Tristibus aut extis fibræ apparere minaces,
Aut puteis manare cruor cessavit; et altè
Per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes.
Non alias cœlo ceciderunt plura sereno
Fulgura, nec diri toties arsere cometæ.
Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi.

Earth, air, and seas, with prodigies were sign'd,
And birds obscene, and howling dogs divin'd.

[o] Odyss. σ'. ver. 36.
[p] Messeniacis.
[q] Cicero de Divinat. lib. i.
[r] Georgic. lib. i. ver. 469.

What rocks did Aetna's bellowing mouth expire
From her torn entrails, and what floods of fire!
What clanks were heard, in German skies afar,
Of arms and armies, rushing to the war!
Dire earthquakes rent the solid Alps below,
And from their summits shook th' eternal snow!
Pale spectres in the close of night were seen,
And voices heard of more than mortal men.
In silent groves dumb sheep and oxen spoke,
And streams ran backward, and their beds forsook.
The yawning earth disclos'd th' abyss of hell:
The weeping statues did the wars foretell,
And holy sweat from brazen idols fell.
Then rising in his might, the king of floods
Rush'd thro' the forests, tore the lofty woods;
And rolling onward with a sweepy sway,
Bore houses, herds, and labouring hinds away.
Blood sprang from wells, wolves howl'd in towns by night,
And boding victims did the priests affright.
Such peals of thunder never pour'd from high,
Nor forky lightnings flash'd from such a sullen sky.
Red meteors ran across th' etherial space;
Stars disappear'd, and comets took their place,
For this th' Emathian plains once more were strew'd,
With Roman bodies, and just heaven thought good
To fatten twice those fields with Roman blood. DRYDEN.

Hither also are to be referred Ενόδια σύμβολα, *omens* offering themselves in the *way*, of which Polis and Hippocrates (not the physician) are said to have written books.

Such as these were, the meeting of an eunuch, a black, an ape, a bitch with whelps, a vixen with cubs, a snake lying so in the way as to part the company, a hare crossing the way; a woman working at her spindle, or carrying it uncovered, was thought to be very prejudicial to any design, and to blast whatever hopes they had conceived, especially about the fruits of the ground. A weasel crossing the way was a sufficient reason to defer a public assembly for that day; it was called γαλῆ, and Artemidorus gives the reason why its running by was so much taken notice of, viz. because it is ἰσόψηφος δίκη; that is, the letters in each word signify the same number, viz. 42. All these were δυσάντητα, δυσοιώνιστα, and ἀποτρόπαια θεάματα, i. e. *unlucky* and *abominable* sights.

Another sort of external omens were those that happened at home, and the divination that observed them was called Τὸ οἰκοσκοπικὸν, concerning which Xenocrates is said to have wrote a treatise. Such as these were, the coming in of a black dog, a mouse eating a bag of salt, the appearing of a snake or weasel upon the house top. This sort of divining by beasts, is reported by Suidas to have been invented by Telegonus. Such also were the throwing down of salt, the spilling of water, honey, or wine, taking the wine away while any person was drinking, a sudden silence, and

ten thousand other accidents. In putting on their clothes, the right side was served first; and therefore if a servant gave his master the left shoe first, it was no small fault. This omen was particularly observed by Augustus Cæsar, as we are told by Suetonius [s]; and Pliny [t] reports, that on a certain day wherein that emperor had like to have been destroyed in a mutiny of some of his soldiers, his left shoe was put on before his right. It was a direful omen when the crown fell from any man's head. On which account it is mentioned, among other unfortunate presages, in Seneca's Thyestes.

> ——— *Regium capiti decus*
> *Bis terque lapsum est.*

Hither also may be referred the various actions which were thought to contain good or bad fortune. For instance, at feasts, it was accounted lucky to crown the cup with a garland. This we find done in Virgil [u]:

> *Tum pater Anchises magnum cratera coronâ*
> *Induit, implevitque mero: Divosque vocavit,*
> *Stans celsâ in puppi:*
>
> My sire, transported, crowns a bowl with wine,
> Stands on the deck, and calls the powers divine. PITT.

And again in the same poet [v]:

> *Crateras magnos statuunt, et vina coronant.*

This practice was taken from Homer's heroes, who used to drink out of cups that were ἐπιστεφέες οἴνοιο· the reason of which (saith Eustathius, out of Athenæus) was this, viz. because a garland represents a circle, which is the most capacious and complete of all figures. It was usual also to carry home the fragments left at sacrifices, for good luck's sake, as hath been observed in another place; and these were called ὑγίειαι, as contributing to the preservation of *health* [w], &c. Thus much concerning ominous actions and accidents, whereof I have only mentioned the most remarkable; for it would be an endless undertaking to enumerate all of them, every day's reading being able to furnish almost infinite numbers.

In the last place I come to ominous words, which, as they were good or bad, were believed to presage accordingly. Such words were called ὄτται, κληδόνες, or φῆμαι, ἀπὸ τῦ φάναι, as the Latin omen is so called *q. oremen, quia fit ab ore*; i. e. because it proceeds from the *mouth*, saith Festus: they may be interpreted *voices*, for

[s] Augusto, cap. 92.
[t] Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 7.
[u] Æneid. lib. iii. ver. 525.
[v] Æneid. lib. i. ver. 728.
[w] Hesychius.

Tully hath called them by the name of *voces* [x]. 'The Pythagoreans' (saith he), 'used to observe the voices of men as well as of the gods.' Hence, as the same author there observes, the old Romans, before the beginning of any action, used this preface, *quod bonum, faustum, felix, fortunatumque sit:* wishing that their enterprize might succeed *well, happily, prosperously, and fortunately.* In divine service, he adds, that proclamation was made, *ut faverent linguis,* that all there present might govern their tongues. In bidding to festivals and holidays, the people were commanded, *litibus et jurgiis abstinere,* to beware of brawls and quarrels. At public lustrations, the persons who brought the victims were required to have *bona nomina,* fortunate names. The same, he there tells us, was also observed by the consuls in the choice of the first soldier. This sort of divination was most in use at Smyrna (as Pausanias reports), where they had κληδόνων ἱερὸν, a temple, in which answers were returned this way; and Apollo Spodius gave oracles in Thebes after the same manner, as hath been already observed; but the first invention of it is attributed to Ceres, by Hesychius. Serapion in Clemens of Alexandria [y] relates, that the Delphian sibyl was endued with a power of divining after her death, and that the gross parts of her body being converted first into earth, and then changed into herbs, communicated the same faculty to the entrails of beasts which fed on them; whence proceeded the way of divining by entrails; but that her finer parts mixing with the air, presaged future events by these κληδόνες, *ominous voices,* concerning which we are now treating.

Words that boded ill were called κακαὶ ὄτται, or δυσφημίαι· and he that spoke them, was said βλασφημεῖν, φθέγγεσθαι βλασφημίαν, as Euripides terms it, where he speaks of certain ominous words let fall by a servant at a feast, as one of the company was going to drink;

> Βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ἐφθέγξατο.
> Unlucky words one of the servants spoke.

Plautus calleth it *obscænare,* or, as some read, *obscævare:* for *scaeva* signifieth *luck,* either good or bad; and the words Horace calleth *male ominata verba;*

> ——— *male ominatis*
> *Parcite verbis.*
> Ill-boding words forbear to name.

Such words as these they were always careful to avoid: insomuch, that instead of δεσμωτήριον, i. e. a *prison,* they put often οἴκημα, i. e.

[x] Lib. i. Divinat.

[y] Strom. i. pag. 304.

an *house*, μέλι instead of ὄξος, γλυκεῖα, instead of χολὴ, ὀχετὸς for βόρβορος, καλλιὰς for πίθηκος, φιλατὴς for κλέπτης, ἅγος for μῦσος, κοινὸς for δήμιος, Σεμναὶ θεαὶ, or Ευμενίδες for Ερινν΄ύες. Which way of speaking chiefly obtained at Athens [z]. In time of divine worship, as I have observed before, nothing was more strictly commanded, than that they should εὐφημεῖν, or avoid all ominous expressions; which if spoken by a friend or near relation, they accounted them so much the worse. Mr Dryden hath excellently expressed this custom in his Oedipus, where after that hero has been thundering most dreadful imprecations upon the murderers of Laius, Jocasta is introduced speaking thus:

Jocasta. At your devotions? Heaven succeed your wishes;
And bring th' effect of these your pious pray'rs
On you, on me, on all.
Priest. Avert this omen, heaven!
Oedipus. O fatal sound! unfortunate Jocasta!
What hast thou said? An ill hour hast thou chosen
For these foreboding words; why, we were cursing.
Jocasta. Then may that curse fall only where you laid it.
Oedipus. Speak no more!
For all thou say'st is ominous: we are cursing;
And that dire imprecation hast thou fasten'd
On Thebes, on thee, and me, and all of us.
Jocasta. Are then my blessings turn'd into a curse?
O unkind Oedipus! my former lord
Thought me his blessing! be thou like my Laius.
Oedipus. What, yet again? the third time hast thou curs'd me:
This imprecation was for Laius' death,
And thou hast wish'd me like him.

Which verses I have here transcribed, because they fully represent the ancient custom of catching ominous expressions. There are other remarkable examples in Cicero [a].

Some words and proper names imported success, answerable to their natural signification: Leotychides being desired by a Samian to wage war against the Persians, enquired his name; the Samian replied, that it was Ηγησιςράτος, i. e. *the leader of an army*. Then Leotychides answered, Ηγησιςράτυ δέχομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν, *I embrace the omen of Hegesistratus* [b]; δέχεσθαι οἰωνὸν, amongst the Greeks, importing the same with *arripere omen* amongst the Latins, which signifies the accepting of an omen, and applying it to the business in hand: for it was thought to lie very much in the power of the hearer whether he would receive the omen or not. *Ostentorum vires in eorum erant potestate quibus ostendebantur*, saith Pliny: the force and efficacy of omens depended upon the persons to whom they appeared. For if the omen was immediately taken by

[z] Plut. Solone, Helladius apud Photium Bibliothec. pag. 74.
[a] Lib. i. de Divinat. [b] Herodotus Euterpes, cap. 90.

the hearer, or struck upon his imagination, it was efficacious; but if neglected, or not taken notice of, it was of no force. Hence it is observed, that Julius Cæsar, who paid no deference to those predictions, was never deterred by them from any undertaking, whereas Augustus frequently desisted from his designs on this account[c]. Virgil introduces Æneas catching Ascanius's words from his mouth; for the harpies, and Anchises also, having foretold that the Trojans should be forced to gnaw their very tables for want of other provisions;

Sed non ante datam cingetis mœnibus urbem,
Quam vos dira fames, nostræque injuria cædis,
Ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas.[d]

But never shall you raise your city there,
Till, in due vengeance for the wrongs we bear,
Imperious hunger urge you to devour
Those very tables whence you fed before.

After this they landed in Italy; and happening to dine upon the grass, instead of tables, or trenchers, which their present circumstances did not afford, they laid their meat upon pieces of bread, which afterwards they eat up; whereupon,

Heus! etiam mensas consumimus, inquit Iülus,[e]
Ascanius this observ'd, and smiling said,
See, we devour the tables whence we fed.

Æneas presently caught the omen, as the poet subjoins;

———— *ea vox audita laborum*
Prima tulit finem: primamque loquentis ab ore
Eripuit pater, ac stupefactus numine pressit.

The lucky sound no sooner reach'd their ears,
But straight they quite dismiss'd their former cares;
Th' auspicious words his sire in rapture took,
Revolving what the oracle had spoke.

This custom of catching omens was very ancient, and derived from the eastern countries: that it was practised by the Jews, is by some inferred from the story of Jonathan the son of king Saul, who going to encounter a Philistine garrison, thus spoke to his armour-bearer;[f] *if they say unto us, tarry until we come unto you, then we will stand still in our place, and will not go up unto them. But if they say thus, come up unto us, then we will go up: for the Lord hath delivered them into our hand, and this shall be a sign unto us.*

For good luck's sake, whenever they applied themselves to any serious business, they began with such a preface as this, Θεὸς, Θεὸς, or Εὐ πάθοιμεν, or Ἔςαι μὲν εὖ, Ἔςαι μὲν ἀγαθῆ τύχη, like to Persius's

[c] Conf. Salisberiensis, lib. ii, cap. 1.
[d] Æneid, iii, v. 255.
[e] Æneid, vii, v. 116.
[f] 1 Sam. xiv. 9, 10.

hoc bene sit: and that saying of the Romans, *quod bonum, felix, fortunatumque sit.* And all their works and speeches were begun in the name of some god; whence Aratus,

> Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα ———
> Let us with Jove begin.

Which Theocritus has borrowed from him in his seventeenth eclogue, and Virgil in his third. Xenophon[g] gives the reason of this practice, viz. that things undertaken in the name of the gods were like to have the most prosperous events.

It will not be improper to add, in this place, that certain times also were ominous; some days being accounted fortunate, and causes of success; others unfortunate, and causes of the miscarriage of things undertaken upon them, as Hesiod in his days observes:

> Ἄλλοτε μητρυιὴ πέλει ἡμέρα, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ·
> Some days, like surly step-dames, adverse prove,
> Thwart our intentions, cross whate'er we love;
> Others more fortunate, and lucky shine,
> And, as a tender mother, bless what we design. H. H.

Some days were proper for one business, others for another, and some for none at all, as that author relates in the forementioned poem; where he runs through all the days of the month, declaring the virtue and efficacy of them. Thus, to observe days was termed αἰτιεσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας. This practice was common in other nations, and particularly at Rome. Augustus Cæsar never went abroad upon the day following the Nundinæ, nor began any serious undertaking on the nonæ; and this he did on no other account, as he affirmed, in one of his letters to Tiberius, than to avoid δυσφημίαν, *ominis,* the unlucky omen, which attended things begun in those days, as we find in Suetonius.[h] And it was a general opinion among the Romans, the next days after the nonæ, idus, or kalendæ, were unfortunate, as appears both from the ancient grammarians, and from Livy, Ovid, and Plutarch. The like observation of days was practised by many Christians, when they had lately been converted from heathenism, and hath been remarked by St Ambrose, in his comment on that passage of St Paul, where he reproves the Galatians, for observing days, and months, and times, and years.[i]

The way to avert an omen, was either to throw a stone at the thing, or kill it outright, if it was an ominous animal, that so the evil portended by it might fall upon its own head; and if it was an unlucky speech, to retort it upon the speaker with an εἰς

[g] Lib. de Ration. reddit. [h] Augusti, cap. 92. [i] Galat. iv, 10.

κεφαλὴν σοι. *Tibi in caput redeat,* i. e. let it fall upon thine own head: which perhaps is an expression borrowed from the Ἱεροσκόποι, who, when they espied any thing in the victim that seemed to portend any misfortune to themselves or their country, used to pray that it might εἰς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τρέπεσθαι, *be turned upon the victim's head.* The like expressions are sometimes made use of in holy scripture, as in the fifteenth verse of Obadiah's prophecy, Τὸ ἀντάποδομά σε ἀνταποδοθήσεται εἰς κεφαλήν σοι: or, as our English translators have rendered it, *thy reward shall return upon thine own head.* And again, in kings, chap. 3. Καὶ ἀνταπέδωκε Κύριος τὴν κακιάν σε εἰς κεφαλήν σε,[j] in English thus: *and the Lord hath returned thy wickedness upon thine own head.* Herodotus[k] reports, that it was an Egyptian custom, from which it is probable the Grecians derived theirs. 'They curse,' saith he, 'the head of the victim in this manner, that if any misfortune impended over themselves, or the country of Egypt, it might be turned upon that head.' Instead of these imprecations, sometimes they used to say, Εἰς ἀγαθόν μοι, or, Μὴ γένοιτο, *Dii meliora,* i. e. *God forbid.* It was customary to spit three times into their bosoms at the sight of a madman, or one troubled with an epilepsy; of which custom Theocritus hath taken notice;[l]

——— τρὶς εἰς ἑὸν ἔπτυσε κόλπον.
Into his bosom thrice he spit.

This they did in defiance as it were of the omen; spitting being a sign of the greatest contempt and aversation; whence πτύειν, i. e. *to spit,* is put for καταφρονεῖν, ἐν ἐδενὶ λογίζειν, i. e. *to contemn,* as the Scholiast of Sophocles observes upon these words in Antigone;[m]

Ἀλλὰ πτύσας ὡσεὶ δυσμενῆ,
Spit on him as an enemy.

Sometimes they prayed that the ominous thing might, *in ultimas terras deportari,* be carried away to the farthest part of the world; or in *mare deferri,* be cast into the sea. This last was done to certain monstrous birds, particularly to hermaphrodites, which were accounted *prodigia.* Hence that saying of Tibullus;

Prodigia indomitis merge sub æquoribus.

Sometimes the thing was burned with *ligna infelicia,* that is, such sort of wood as was *in tutela inferûm deorum, avertentiumq.* sacred to the gods of hell, and those which averted evil omens,[n] being

j Lib. iii, ver. 44.
k Euterpe, cap. 39.
l Idyll. xx, ver. 11.
m Ver. 66.
n Macrob. Satur. lib. iii, cap. 20.

chiefly thorns, and such other trees, which were fit for no other use than to be burnt. Sometimes the prodigy, when burnt, was cast into the water, and particularly into the sea, if it was not too far distant. The several circumstances of this custom, Theocritus has thus described,[o] where he speaks of the serpents which assaulted Hercules in his cradle :

Αλλὰ, γύναι, πῦρ μὲν τοι ὑπὸ σποδῷ εὔτυκον ἔςω,
Κάγκανα δ' ἀσπαλάθῳ ξύλ' ἑτοιμάσατ' ἢ παλιούρῳ,
Η βάτῳ, ἢ ἀνέμῳ δεδονημένον αὖτον ἄχερδον·
Καῖε δὲ τώ δ' ἀγρίῃσιν ἐπὶ σχίζῃσι δράκοντε
Νυκτὶ μέσᾳ, ὅκα παῖδα κανῆν τεὸν ἤθελον αὐτοί.
Ηρι δὲ συλλέξασα κόνιν πυρὸς ἀμφιπόλων τις,
Ῥιψάτω εὖ μάλα πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο φέρεσα,
Ῥωγάδας ἐς πέτρας ὑπὲρ ὄριον· ἄψ δὲ νέεσθαι
Αςρεπτος, καθαρῷ δὲ πυρώσατε δῶμα θεείῳ.

But, O great queen, be this thy instant care,
On the broad hearth dry faggots to prepare,
Aspalathus, or prickly brambles, bind,
Or the tall thorn that trembles in the wind,
And at dark midnight burn (what time they came
To slay thy son) the serpents in the flame.
Next morn, collected by thy faithful maid,
Be all the ashes to the flood convey'd,
And blown on rough rocks by the favouring wind,
Thence let her fly, but cast no look behind.
Next with pure sulphur purge the house, and bring
The purest waters from the freshest spring ;
This mixt with salt, and with green olive crown'd,
Will cleanse the late contaminated ground. FAWKES.

Lastly, upon the meeting an unlucky omen, they often desisted from what they were doing, and began it afresh, as appears from Euripides, in whom a person, upon the hearing of an ominous word, immediately threw his cup upon the ground, and called for another ;[p]

Οἰωνὸν ἔθετο, κἀκέλουσ' ἄλλον νέον
Κρατηρᾶ πληρεῦν· τὰς δὲ πρὶν σπονδὰς Θεοῦ
Δίδωσι γαίᾳ, πᾶσί τ' ἐκσπένδειν λέγει.

———————— He
Deem'd these of evil omen, and requir'd
Another goblet to be fill'd afresh :
The former a libation to the god,
He cast upon the ground, instructing all
To pour, like him, th' untasted liquor down. POTTER.

[o] Idyll. xxiv, ver. 86. [p] Jon. ver. 1191.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Magic and Incantations.

Besides the methods of foretelling future events already mentioned, and that divination which is commonly called physical, because it makes predictions without any supernatural assistance, by the mere knowledge of physical, or natural causes, there are several others, most of which are comprehended under the names of Μαγεῖαι and Επῳδαὶ, i. e. *magic and incantations;* between which though some make a nice distinction, yet they bear a near relation to each other; and therefore I shall treat of them conjunctly in this place. And though some of the species of these divinations might be invented in later ages, and never practised in old Greece, whose customs alone it is my chief design to describe, not meddling with those innovations that were introduced in later times, after the Grecians were subjected to the Roman empire; yet since it is very difficult to determine exactly of all, which were truly ancient, and which were truly modern; since, also, there is frequent mention of them in writers of the middle ages, especially those that lived towards the declination of the Roman greatness, I shall beg the reader's leave to give a brief account of the most remarkable of them: for to enumerate all would be an endless, as well as unreasonable undertaking; and a great many of them (such as those wherein the Incubi and Succubi were concerned) contain in them two much of profaneness and horror to be endured by any civilized ear.

Magical arts are said by the Grecians to have been invented in Persia, where, at the first, they were had in great honour and reputation; for the Μάγοι were those that applied themselves to the study of philosophy, and the strict search after the most curious works and mysteries of nature. They were usually chosen to superintend the divine worship, and all religious rites and ceremonies; they continually attended upon the kings, to advise them in all affairs of moment, and were preferred to the highest honours, and places of the greatest trust. But afterwards the case was altered; for when they left off the contemplation of nature, and betook themselves to the invocation of demons, and other mean arts, their former credit and esteem very much diminished.

This art is said to have been introduced among the Grecians by

Oethanes, who came into Greece with Xerxes, and dispersed the rudiments of it wherever he had an opportunity. It was afterwards much improved, and brought to some perfection by Democritus, who is said to have learned it out of the writings of certain Phœnicians. But I shall not trouble you with any more stories concerning its original, or progress; it being more pertinent to my design to give you a short account of the various species thereof.

First, then, Νεκρομαντεία, was a divination in which answers were given by deceased persons. It was sometimes performed by the magical use of a bone, or vein of a dead body, especially by the Thessalians; or by pouring warm blood into a carcass, as it were to renew life in it, as Erichtho doth in Lucan*; or by some other enchantments to restore dead men to life, with which the poet was very well acquainted, when he said,

> ——— *Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit,*
> *Protinus adstrictus caluit cruor, atraque fovit*
> *Vulnera*———
>
> While she seeks answers from the lifeless load,
> The congeal'd gore grows warm with reeking blood,
> And cheers each ghastly wound.———

Sometimes they used to raise the ghost of deceased persons, by various invocations and ceremonies: Ulysses, in the ninth book of Homer's Odysseis, having sacrificed black sheep in a ditch, and poured forth certain libations, invites the ghosts, particularly that of Tiresias, to drink of the blood, after which they become willing to answer his questions. The like is done by Tiresias in Statius, by Æson in Valerius Flaccus, by Nero in Pliny. Gregory Nazianzen speaks also τῶν ἀνατεμνομένων παρθένων τε καὶ παίδων ἐπὶ ψυχαγωγίᾳ, *of virgins and boys slaughtered at the evocation of ghosts*. The most usual ceremonies used on these occasions are thus described by Seneca, who has introduced Tiresias consulting the ghosts in a dark and gloomy grove[q]:

> *Hinc ut sacerdos intulit senior gradum,*
> *Haud est moratus: præstitit noctem locus.*
> *Tunc fossa tellus, et super rapti rogis*
> *Jaciuntur ignes. Ipse funesto integit*
> *Vates amictu corpus, et frondem quatit:*
> *Lugubris imos palla perfundit pedes:*
> *Squalente cultu mæstus ingreditur senex:*
> *Mortifera canam taxus adstringit comam.*
> *Nigro bidentes vellere, atque atræ boves*
> *Retro trahuntur; flamma prædatur dapes,*
> *Vivuque trepidat igne ferali pecus.*
> *Vocat inde manes, teque qui manes regis,*
> *Et obsidentem claustra lethalis lacus:*

[q] Oedip. ver. 547. * Lib. vi. v. 750.

Carmenque magicum volvit, et rapido minax
Decantat ore quicquid aut placat leves,
Aut cogit umbras. Irrigat sanguis focos,
Solidasque pecudes urit, et multo secum
Saturat cruore; libat et niveum insuper
Lactis liquorem, fundit et Bacchum manu
Læva, canitque rursus, et terram intuens
Graviore manes voce, et attonita ciet.
Latravit Hecates turba, &c.

Some other ceremonies also were practised, which differed not much from those used in parentations, of which I shall give a more particular account in the following books.

This divination, if the dead appeared only in airy forms, like shades, was called Σκομαντεία, and Ψυχομαντεία. It might, I suppose, be performed in any place; but some places were appropriated to this use, and called Νεκυομαντεία, several of which are mentioned by the ancient poets, but two of them were most remarkable; the first in Thesprotia, where Orpheus is said to have restored to life his wife Eurydice, and Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, was affrighted by the apparition of his wife Melissa, whom he had murdered[r]; the other in Campania, at the lake Avernus, celebrated by Homer and Virgil, in their stories of Ulysses, and Æneas

Υδρομαντεία, or *divination by water*, sometimes called Πηγομαντεία, when it was done by fountain water: in this they observed the various impressions, changes, fluxes, refluxes, swellings, diminutions, colours, images, &c. in the water. Sometimes they dipped a looking-glass into the water, when they desired to know what would become of a sick person; for as he looked well or ill in the glass, accordingly they presumed of his future condition. Sometimes they filled a bowl with water, and let down into it a ring, equally poised on each side, and hanging by a thread tied to one of their fingers; then, in a form of prayer, requested of the gods to declare or confirm the question in dispute; whereupon, if the thing proposed was true, the ring, of its own accord, would strike against the side of the bowl a set number of times. Sometimes they threw three stones into the water, and observed the turns they made in sinking. Instead of water, sometimes they made use of oil and wine, and then the liquor was called χύτλα· and instead of stones, they sometimes used wedges of gold or silver. This divination was sometimes performed in a bason, and thence called, Λεκανομαντεία: which also was sometimes practised in a different

[r] Herodotus Terpsichore.

manner, thus: they distinguished the stones, or wedges with certain characters, and then, having invoked the demon in a set form, proposed the question they had a mind to be satisfied about; to which an answer was returned in a small voice, not unlike an hiss, proceeding out of the water. The scholiast upon Lycophron is of opinion, that this method of divination was as ancient as the Trojan war, and practised by Ulysses; which he thinks gave occasion for all the poetical fictions of his descent into the infernal regions to consult Tiresias's ghost [s]. Sometimes divination by water was performed with a looking-glass, and called,

Κατοπτρομαντεία. Sometimes also glasses were used, and the images of what should happen represented without water. Sometimes it was performed in a vessel of water, the middle part of which was called γάστρη, and then the divination termed

Γαστρομαντεία, the manner of which was thus: they filled certain round glasses with fair water, about which they placed light torches: then invoked a demon, praying in a low murmuring voice, and proposed the question to be solved. A chaste and unpolluted boy, or a woman big with child, was appointed to observe with greater care and exactness, all the alterations in the glasses; at the same time desiring, beseeching, and also commanding an answer, which at length the demon used to return by images in the glasses, which, by reflection from the water, represented what should come to pass.

Κρυσταλλομαντεία, was performed by polished and enchanted crystals, in which future events were signified by certain marks and figures.

Δακτυλομαντεία, was a divination by rings enchanted, or made according to some position of the celestial bodies. A ring of this sort Gyges the king of Lydia had, which, when he turned to the palm of his hand, he became invisible to others, but could see every body; and by the help of this, he enjoyed his mistress, the queen, and slew his master Candaules, whom afterwards he succeeded. Some ascribe the invention of this divination to Helena, the wife of Menelaus, who in Photius's Bibliotheca is said to have found out τὸν διὰ δακτύλων κλῆρον, *the lots which consisted of rings*, and with these to have conquered Alexander. But this is rather to be understood concerning the game of lots, than any sort of divination.

Ονυχομαντεία, was performed by the nails of an unpolluted boy

[s] Alexander. v. 813. pag. 84, edit. nostræ.

covered with oil and soot, which they turned to the sun, the reflection of whose rays was believed to represent, by certain images, the things they had a mind to be satisfied about.

Αεϱομαντεία, foretold future events from certain spectres, or other appearances in the air; and sometimes thus: They folded their heads in a napkin, and having placed a bowl full of water in the open air, proposed their question in a small whispering voice; at which time, if the water boiled, or fermented, they thought what they had spoken was approved of and confirmed.

Λιθομαντεία was sometimes performed by a precious stone called siderites, which they washed in spring-water in the night by candlelight: the person that consulted it was to be purified from all manner of pollution, and to have his face covered: this done, he repeated divers prayers, and placed certain characters in an appointed order; and then the stone moved itself, and in a soft gentle murmur, or (as some say) in a voice like that of a child, returned an answer. By a stone of this nature, Helenus is reported to have foretold the destruction of Troy.

Theocritus[t] has given us an account of two sorts of divination practised by a country swain, to try what share he had in his mistress's affections. His words are these:

> Εγνων πϱὰν, ὅκα μεν μεμναμένα εἰ φιλέεις με,
> Οὐδὲ τὸ τηλέφιλον ποτεμάξατο τὸ πλατάγημα,
> Αλλ' αὔτως ἁπαλῷ ποτὶ πάχει ἐξεμαϱάνθη.
> Εἶπε ϗ Αγϱοιὼ τἀλαθέα, κοσκινόμαντις,
> Α πϱὰν ποιολογεῦσα, παϱαιβάτις, οὕνεκ' ἐγὼ μὲν
> Τὶν ὅλος ἔγκειμαι· τὸ δὲ μὲν λόγον οὐδένα ποιῇ.

> All this I knew, when I design'd to prove,
> Whether I should be happy in my love;
> By one prophetic orpine leaf I found
> Your chang'd affection, for it gave no sound,
> Tho' on my hand struck hollow as it lay,
> But quickly wither'd, like your love, away.
> An old witch brought sad tidings to my ears,
> She who tells fortunes with the sieve and sheers:
> For leasing barley in my fields of late,
> She told me "I should love, and you should hate."

Where the shepherd complains he had found his suit was rejected these two ways: first, by the herb telephium, which being crushed in his hand, or upon his arm, returned no sound; for it was usual to strike that, or some other herb, against their arms, and if they cracked in breaking, good; if not, it was an unlucky omen. Not much unlike this, was the divination by laurel leaves, which they threw into the fire, and observed how they crackled in burning; from which noise, some say, laurel was called δάφνη, q. δὰ φωνή· The other way of divining, mentioned by Theocritus,

[t] Idyll. iii. ver. 28.

was by a sieve, which an old gypsy used in telling silly people their fortunes. This they called Κοσκινομαντεία; it was generally practised to discover thieves, or others suspected of any crime, in this manner: they tied a thread to the sieve, by which it was upheld, or else placed a pair of sheers, which they held up by two fingers; then prayed to the gods to direct and assist them; after that, they repeated the names of the persons under suspicion, and he at whose name the sieve whirled round or moved, was thought to have committed the fact. Another sort of divination was commonly practised upon the same account, which was called

Αξινομαντεια, from Αξίνη, i. e. an *ax* or *hatchet*, which they fixed so exactly upon a round stake, that neither end might outpoise or weigh down the other; then they prayed, and repeated the names of those they suspected; and the person at whose name the hatchet made any the least motion, was found guilty.

Κεφαλονομαντεία, was by the head of an ass (as the name imports), which they broiled on coals; and after having muttered a few prayers, they repeated the persons names as before; or the crime, in case one was only suspected; at which, if the jaws made any motion, and the teeth chattered against one another, they thought the villain sufficiently discovered.

Αλεκτρυομαντεία, was a very mysterious divination, in which they made use of a cock in discovering secret and unknown transactions, or future events. It was effected after this manner: having wrote in the dust the twenty-four letters of the alphabet, and laid a grain of wheat or barley upon every one of them, a cock magically prepared was let loose amongst them, and those letters, out of which he picked the corns, being joined together, were thought to declare whatever they were desirous to be certified of. This divination the famous magician Jamblichus, Proclus's master, is said to have made use of, with a design to find out the person who was to succeed Valens Cæsar in the empire; but the cock picking up only four of the grains, viz. those that lay upon the letters θ, ε, ο, δ, left uncertain, whether Theodosius, Theodotus, Theodorus, or Theodectes, was the person designed by the fates to be emperor. However, Valens being informed of the matter was enraged at it, put to death several persons for no other reason, than that their names began with those letters; and made a diligent search after the magicians themselves; whereupon Jamblichus, to prevent the emperor's cruelty, ended his life by a draught of poison.

Σιδηρομαντεία, was performed by red-hot iron, upon which they

laid an odd number of straws, and observed what figures, bendings, sparklings, &c. they made in burning.

Μολυβδομαντεία, was by observing the motions, figures, &c. of melted lead. The three following methods of divination are by some reckoned amongst the various sorts of incantations.

Τεφρομαντεία, or divination by ashes; which was performed in this manner: they wrote the things they had a mind to be resolved about, in ashes upon a plank, or any such thing; this they exposed to the open air, where it was to continue for some time; and those letters that remained whole, and nowise defaced by the winds, or other accidents, were thought to contain in them a solution of the question.

Βοτανομαντεία, or divination by herbs, especially Ελελίσφακος, or *salvia*; or by fig-leaves, and thence called Συκομαντεία, was practised thus: the persons that consulted, wrote their own names, and their questions upon leaves, which they exposed to the wind; and as many of the letters as remained in their own places, were taken up, and being joined together, contained an answer to the question.

Κηρομαντεία, or divination by wax, which they melted over a vessel of water, letting it drop within three definite spaces, and observed the figure, situation, distance, and concretion, of the drops. Besides these, there were infinite other sorts of divination; as Χειρομαντεία, Φυσιογνωμία, which was practised in Socrates' time, Ονοματομαντεία, Αριθμομαντεία, Γεωμαντεία, Λυχνομαντεία, mentioned with several others, by Aratus in his Prognostics, and Pliny in his Natural history; but these I shall pass by, and only trouble you with one more, which is so remarkable, that it must not be omitted, viz.

Φαρμακεία, which was usually performed by certain medicated and enchanted compositions of herbs, minerals, &c. which they called Φάρμακα. By these, strange and wonderful things were effected: some of them taken inwardly, caused blindness, madness, love, &c. such were the medicaments by which Circe transformed Ulysses's soldiers. Others infected by a touch; such was the garment which Medea sent to Creüsa. Others spread their venom far off, and operated upon persons at a great distance. There were also Φάρμακα σωτήρια, which were amulets against the former; such were the herb moly, which preserved Ulysses from Circe's enchantments; the laurel, the sallow-tree, the rhamn, or christ-thorn, fleabane, the jasper-stone, and innumerable others mentioned by

Albertus Magnus, and Orpheus in his book De Lapillis; likewise certain rings, which Aristophanes, in his Plutus, calls Δακτυλίυς Φαρμακίτας. For this art the Thessalians were most famous of all the Grecians; Democritus and Pythagoras are also said to have been skilled in it. Every story is full of the prodigious operations wrought by it, some of which I shall give you from the enchantress's own mouth in Ovid [u];

——— Cum volui, ripis mirantibus, amnes
In fontes rediere suos, concussaque sisto,
Stantia concutio cantu freta; nubila pello
Nubilaque induco; ventos abigoque vocoque;
Vipereas rumpo verbis et carmine fauces;
Vivaque saxa, suâ convulsaque robora terrâ,
Et sylvas moveo, jubeoque tremiscere montes;
Te quoque, Luna, traho.

Oft by your aid swift currents I have led
Thro' wond'ring banks, back to their fountain head,
Transform'd the prospect of the briny deep;
Made sleeping billows rave, and raving billows sleep;
Made clouds or sunshine, tempests rise or fall,
And stubborn lawless winds obey my call:
With mutter'd words disarm'd the viper's jaw,
Up by the roots vast oaks, and rocks, could draw;
Make forests dance, and trembling mountains come
Like malefactors to receive their doom,
Earth groan, and frighted ghosts forsake their tomb.
Thee Cynthia my resistless rhymes drew down,
When tinkling cymbals strove my voice to drown. GARTH.

Where you may observe the last verse, wherein she boasts that she was able to draw the moon from her orb; for the ancients really believed, that incantations had power to charm the moon from heaven; according to that saying of Virgil;

Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere lunam [v].
The moon my verses from her orb can draw.

And whenever the moon was eclipsed, they thought it was done by the power of magic; for which reason it was usual to beat drums and kettles, to sound trumpets and hautboys, to drown if it was possible, the voices of the magicians, that their charms might not reach her. The moon also was thought to preside over this art, and therefore was invoked, together with Hecate, to whom the invention of it was ascribed; whence Medea in Euripides saith, that of all the gods, she paid the greatest veneration to Hecate [w]:

Οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν δέσποιναν, ἣν ἐγὼ σέβω
Μάλιστα πάντων ϗ συνεργὸν εἱλόμην,
Ἑκάτην———

[u] Met. vii. Fab. 2. [v] Eclog. viii. [w] Euripidis Medea, v. 395.

For, by the goddess whom I most adore,
Infernal Hecate, whom I now choose
Co-partner of my black designs.

Some of the rites used at the invocation of this goddess, are given us by Apollonius [x], in these words:

Δὴ τότε μέσσην νύκτα διαμμοιρηδὰ φυλάξας
Ἀκαμάτοιο ῥοῇσι λοεσσάμενος ποταμοῖο,
Οἶος ἄνευ τ' ἄλλων ἐνὶ φάρεσι κυανέοισι
Βόθρον ὀρύξασθαι περιηγέα, τῷ δ' ἔνι θῆλυν
Ἀρνειὸν σφάζειν, καὶ ἀδαίετον ὠμοθετῆσαι,
Αὐτῷ πυρκαϊὴν εὖ νηήσας ἐπὶ βόθρῳ·
Μουνογενῆ δ' Ἑκάτην Περσηΐδα μειλίσσοιο,
Λείβων ἐκ δέπατος σιμβλήϊα ἔργα μελισσῶν.
Ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα θεὰν μεμνημένος ἱλάσσηαι.
Ἂψ ἀπὸ πυρκαϊῆς ἀναχάζεο, μηδέ σε δοῦπος
Ἠὲ ποδῶν ὄρσῃσι μεταστρεφθῆναι ὀπίσσω,
Ἠὲ κυνῶν ὑλακὴ, μήπως τὰ ἕκαστα κολούσαις.

Watch when the midnight parts the sky; and bathe
In the perennial river's flowing stream.
Then wrapt in sable garments, dig a trench
In hollow circle; slay a lamb therein,
And fresh, and undivided, lay the lamb
Upon the altar, when thy hand has heap'd
Within the circling trench the fuell'd fire.
Then soothe with prayers the one dread Hecate;
And from a goblet in libation shed
The honey of the hive. The goddess thus
Duly appeas'd, recede, and quit the pile;
Nor let the tramp of footsteps make thee turn,
Nor yell of dogs, lest all should be undone. ELTON.

To this sort of divination are to be referred charms and amulets against poison, venom, and diseases. Suidas reports, that the curing of distempers by sacrifices, and the repetition of certain words, was practised ever since the time of Minos king of Crete; and Homer [y] relates, how Autolycus's sons staunched Ulysses's blood, flowing from a wound he received in hunting a wild boar, by a charm:

Ὠτειλὴν δ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἀντιθέοιο
Δῆσαν ἐπισταμένως, ἐπαοιδῇ δ' αἷμα κελαινὸν
Ἔσχεθον.——————

With nicest care, the skilful artists bound
The brave, divine Ulysses' ghastly wound;
And th' incantations staunch'd the gushing blood.

The same is observed by Pliny [z], who adds, farther, that *sic Theophrastus ischidiacos sanari, Cato prodidit luxatis membris carmen auxiliari, Marcus Varro podagris:* it was reported by Theophrastus, that the hipgout was cured in the same manner; by Cato, that a charm would relieve any member out of joint: and by Marcus Varro, that it would cure the gout in the feet. Chiron in

[x] Argon. iii. v. 1028. [y] Odyss. τ. v. 456.
[z] Nat. Hist. lib. xxxviii. cap. 2.

Pindar is said to use the same remedy in some distempers, but not in all[a]:

> ——λύσαις ἄλλον ἀλ-
> Λοίων ἀχέων
> Ἐξάγεν· τοὺς μὲν μαλακαῖς
> Ἐπαοιδαῖς ἀμφέπων·

And it is probable, that the use of these incantations gave occasion to the invention of that fable, whereby Orpheus is said to have recovered his wife Eurydice from the dead, by the force of his music; for we are told by Pausanias[b], that Orpheus was skilled in the art of music; and by Euripides[c], that he published a book concerning the remedies of distempers:

> Κρεῖσσον οὐδὲν ἀνάγκας
> Εὗρον· οὐδέ τι φάρμακον
> Θρῄσσαις ἐν σανίσι, τὰς
> Ὀρφεία κατέγραψε
> Γῆρυς.——

> Yet never could my searching mind
> Aught like necessity resistless find:
> No herb of sovereign power to save,
> Whose virtues Orpheus joy'd to trace
> And wrote them in the rolls of Thrace, POTTER.

Hither are also to be reduced enchanted girdles, and other things worn about men's bodies, to excite love, or any other passion in those with whom they conversed: such was the Κεστὸς in Homer's Iliads, given by Venus to Juno, for the allurement of Jupiter to her love, as Eustathius observes, upon the afore-mentioned verses in the Odysseis. But concerning these practices I shall have occasion to add something more, when I come to treat of love-affairs[d].

Lastly, to this place doth also belong βασκανία, *fascination*, so called, as grammarians inform us, παρὰ τὸ φάεσι καίνειν, *from killing with the eyes*, whence also the Latin word *fascinus* is said to have been derived. For it was believed that some malignant influence darted from the eyes of envious and angry persons, infected the ambient air, and by that means penetrated and corrupted the bodies of animals and other things[e]. The younger animals, as being most tender, were thought most easily to receive this sort of impressions. Hence the shepherd in Virgil[f], complains that his lambs suffered by fascination:

> *Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.*

Plutarch[g] mentions certain men, whose eyes were destructive to

[a] Pyth. Od. iii. ver. 89.
[b] Eliac. ii. pag. 383. edit Hanov.
[c] Alcest. ver. 965.
[d] Archæologiæ, lib. iv. cap. 10.
[e] Heliodor. Æthiop. lib. iii.
[f] Eclog. iii. ver. 103.
[g] Sympos. lib. v. quæst. 7.

infants and children, by reason of the weak and tender constitution of their bodies, but had not so much power over men, whose bodies were confirmed and compacted by age. Yet he adds in the same place, that the Thebans about Pontus could not only destroy infants, but men of ripe age. Pliny affirms the same concerning the Triballi and Illyrians, whose eyes had commonly two pupillæ, which were thought extremely conducive to fascination; whence the same author observes farther from Cicero, *fœminas omnes ubique nocere, quæ duplices pupillas habent,* that in all places, all the women who had double eye-balls, had power to hurt others on whom they would fix their eyes[h]. These influences were thought chiefly to proceed from those whose spirits were moved by the passions of anger and envy. Hence the fore-mentioned Triballi and Illyrians are reported to have injured those whom they looked upon *iratis oculis,* with angry eyes[i]. And such men as were blessed with any singular and uncommon happiness, were chiefly liable to fascination; hence the following saying of Horace concerning his country seat[j];

> *Non isthic obliquo oculo mihi commoda quisquam*
> *Limat.*————

For the same reason, they who had been extravagantly commended by others, and more especially by themselves, were in danger of having their prosperity blasted. And the goddess Nemesis[k] was thought to have some concern in this matter. Pliny speaks of whole families in Africa, *quarum laudatione intereant probata, arescant arbores, emoriantur infantes;* whose praises were destructive to things which they commended, dried up trees and killed infants. Hence, when the Romans praised any thing or person, they used to add *præfiscini* or *præfiscinè dixerim,* to avert any fascination which might ensue; or to intimate that their commendations were sincerely spoken, and not with any malicious design to prejudice what they commended. Plautus represents the same custom at Athens[l];

> *Præfiscini hoc nunc dixerim: nemo etiam me accusavit*
> *Merito meo: neque me Athenis est alter hodie quisquam,*
> *Cui credi recte æque putent.*————

Some crowned those whom they thought to be in danger, with garlands of the herb baccharis, which had a sovereign power against fascinations; hence the following verses in Virgil[m]:

h Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 2.
i Idem, loco citato.
j Lib. i. Ep. 14.
k Tertullian. libro de Virgin. veland.
l Asin. act. ii. sc. iv. ver. 84.
m Eclog. vii. vers. 27.

Aut si ultra placitum laudarit, baccare frontem
Cingite, ne noceat vati mala lingua futuro.

Some made use of certain bracelets, or necklaces, composed of shells, corals, and precious stones; and others applied certain herbs prepared with incantations and magical rites, to this use: these also being esteemed excellent remedies, according to Gratius:

Nam sic affectus oculique venena maligni
Vicit tutela pax impetrata deorum.

Sometimes the figure of a man's privities was hung about the necks of children[n], which was also thought a very powerful amulet against fascinations, and for that reason was called *fascinum.* These or the like representations were thought to avert the eyes of malicious persons, διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς ὄψεως, *by the oddness of the sight*, from fixing too stedfastly on the person or thing to which they were affixed[o]. Hence they were sometimes hung upon the doors of houses and gardens, as we are informed by Pliny[p]; and Pollux[q] affirms, that smiths commonly placed them before their forges. The same author observes from Aristophanes, that their name was βασκάνια; they are called by Plutarch[r] προσϐασκάνια; in the old glossary, προσϐασκάνια answers the Latin word *mutinum.* But we are informed by Phavorinus, that βασκάνιον λέγουσιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. the ancients used the word βασκάνιον, the moderns, προσϐασκάνιον. It may farther be observed, that these figures were images of Priapus, who was believed to punish such persons, as did βασκαίνειν τι τῶν καλῶν, *prejudice good things by fascination,* as we are informed by Diodorus the Sicilian[s]. The Romans had several other deities who averted fascinations. The god Fascinus is mentioned as one of these by Pliny[t]; and Cunina is said by Lactantius[u], to be worshipped, because she did *infantes in cunis tueri, et fascinum submovere,* protect children in their cradles, and avert fascinations. It was before observed, that some omens were averted by spitting at them, which is an action of detestation and abhorrence. Hence some, chiefly old women, averted fascinations by spitting into their bosoms. Hence the following verse of Callimachus, which is cited by the scholiast upon Theocritus, who farther affirms that the same custom was practised in his time:

Δαίμον, τοὶ κόλποισιν ἐπιπτύουσι γυναῖκες.

It may be farther observed, that this was done thrice, three being

[n] Varro, lib vi.
[o] Plutarchus Sympos. lib. v. quæst. 7.
[p] Nat. Hist. lib. xix. cap. 4.
[q] Onomast. lib. vii. cap. 24.
[r] Loco citato.
[s] Lib. iv.
[t] Nat Hist. lib. xxiv. cap. 4.
[u] Lib. i. cap. 10.

a sacred number, as hath been elsewhere shewn. Hence Damœtas, who is introduced by Theocritus, representing the behaviour of Polyphemus, having praised himself, adds, that by the advice of old Cotyttaris, he had thrice spit into his bosom, to prevent fascination [v]:

> *Ὡς μὴ βασκανθῶ δὲ τρὶς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσα κόλπον·*
> *Ταῦτα γὰρ ἁ γραία με Κοτύτταρις ἐξεδίδαξεν.*
>
> And lest enchantment should my limbs infest,
> I three times dropt my spittle on my breast;
> This charm I learnt from an old sorceress' tongue,
> Who harvest-home at Hypocoon's sung. FAWKES.

Hence it was usual to reprove arrogant persons, when they assumed more than their due, by bidding them εἰς κόλπους πτύειν, *spit into their bosoms*, an example whereof we find in Lucian [w]. Another method of averting fascinations from infants was this: they tied a thread of divers colours about the neck of the infant, then spit upon the ground, and taking up the spittle, mixed with dirt, upon their finger, put it upon the infant's forehead and lips. There is an allusion to this custom in Persius [x];

> *Ecce avia, aut metuens Divum matertera, cunis*
> *Exemit puerum: frontemque atque uda labella*
> *Infami digito, et lustralibus ante salivis*
> *Expiat, urentes oculos inhibere perita.*
>
> Our superstitions with our life begin:
> Th' obscure old grandam, or the next of kin,
> The new-born infant from the cradle takes,
> And first of spittle a lustration makes:
> Then in the spawl her middle finger dips,
> Anoints the temples, forehead and the lips,
> Pretending force of magic to prevent
> By virtue of her nasty excrement. DRYDEN.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Grecian Festivals in General.

FESTIVALS were instituted upon four accounts; first, in honour of the gods, to whom, besides the worship every day paid them, some more solemn times were set apart; especially if they had conferred any signal favour upon the public, or upon private persons; had assisted them in defending their country; had given them victory over their enemies; had delivered them out of any apparent danger, or blessed them with success in any undertaking; it was thought but reasonable to set apart some time for offer-

[v] Theocriti Idyll. vi. ver. 39
[w] Πλοίῳ, ἢ Εὐχαῖς.
[x] Sat. ii. vers. 31. Ubi, conf. interpretes.

ing sacrifices and praises to them, as grateful acknowledgments for the benefits received at their hands.

Secondly, in order to procure some special favour of the gods; for (as you may learn from the following chapters) several of the festivals were instituted with a design to render the gods propitious, and willing to grant some particular blessings, as health, children, and such like. And in times of famine, pestilence, or other public calamities, the oracles usually advised their consultants to institute solemn festivals, as the best method to appease the angry gods, and obtain of them deliverance from the evils they laboured under.

Thirdly, in memory of deceased friends, of those that had done any remarkable service for their country, or died valiantly in the defence of it. This was no small encouragement to men of generous and noble dispositions to enter upon honourable designs, when they saw that the brave actions of the virtuous did not perish with them, but their memories were ever held sacred by succeeding generations.

Fourthly, festivals were instituted as times of ease and rest to labourers; that amidst all their toil and sorrow, and as it were a recompence thereof, some days of refreshment might be allowed them. For some one or more of these ends, most festivals seem to have been first instituted.

Aristotle [y] reports, that amongst the ancients they had few or no festivals, besides those after harvest or vintage; for then they used to meet and make merry with the fruits they had gathered, eating and drinking plentifully; which they esteemed a sort of offering their first fruits to the gods, whom they thought honoured by so doing; and therefore feasts were called Θοίναι q. θέοιναι, ὅτι διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οἰνοῦσθαι δεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, i. e. *because they thought they were obliged in duty to the gods, to be drunk.* And Seleucus, in the same author, tells us, that the words, θαλία, and μέθη were derived from the same original, Τόν τε οἶνον ἐπὶ πλεῖον, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἡδυπάθειαν θεῶν ἕνεκα προσφέρεσθαι, διὸ καὶ θοίνας, καὶ θαλίας, καὶ μέθας ὠνομασθῆναι· i. e. *banquets were called* θοίναι, θαλίαι, and μέθαι, from Θεὸς, or *God; because it was usual at those times to consume great quantities of wine, and other provisions in honour of the gods.*

In latter ages, when the gods were increased almost to the number of men, and the frugal way of living was laid aside, the number of festivals was enlarged, and the manner of them quite altered:

[y] Ethic. ad Nicomach. lib. viii. cap. 9.

for, whereas formerly the solemnities consisted in little or nothing besides offering a sacrifice to the gods, and after that making merry themselves; now a great many games, processions, and innumerable ceremonies, in imitation of the fabulous actions of the gods, were introduced and practised, to the vast charge of the public.

The Athenians, as they exceeded all other people in the number of their gods, so they out-did them in the number of their festivals; which, as Xenophon[z] reports, were twice as many as any other city observed: nor did the number and frequency of them abate any thing of the solemnity, splendour, and charges, at their observation. The shops, and courts of judicature, were shut up, on most of those days; the labourers rested from their works, the tradesmen from their employments, the mourners intermitted their sorrows; and nothing but ease and pleasure, mirth and jollity, were to be found amongst them. Indeed, *κοινὸν τῦτο κὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐςι, this was common both to Greeks and barbarians,* as we are informed by Strabo, to celebrate their religious solemnities with mirth and remission of their labours.

Most of them were celebrated at the public charge; and lest their treasury should be exhausted by so frequent evacuations, several means were contrived to supply and replenish them. For instance, after Thrasybulus had deposed the tyrants, their estates were confiscated for this use, as Harpocration observes out of Philocorus: and when the state was reduced to its old democracy, if any of the citizens, through too much wealth, became formidable to the poorer sort, and objects of their envy, it was customary to compel them to contribute towards the defraying the expences at public festivals; and so, by conferring upon them a great (though chargeable and dear bought) honour, at once sweeten the imposition (if not also oblige those on whom it was imposed), and rid themselves of those fears and jealousies which the immoderate opulency of private persons might reasonably give to a popular state.

Thus much of festivals in general: as to the particulars, I have omitted very little that is material in the tracts of Meursius and Castellanus upon this subject; and some things not taken notice of by either of them, and perhaps not unworthy your observation, I have added. Yet do I not pretend that this is a complete or entire collection of the Grecian festivals; for that would be endless (seeing almost every man of repute, and that had done any notable service for the public, had his anniversary day) and impos-

[z] De Repub. Atheniens.

sible, since hundreds of them (especially those that were observed by the less considerable cities) are not so much as mentioned in any author at this day extant; or but barely mentioned, without any account of the persons to whom they belonged, or the ceremonies used at their celebration: however, as much as is necessary to the understanding of the ancient Greek writers, the following chapters will furnish.

CHAP. XX.

Grecian Festivals.

A

ΑΓΗΤΟΡΕΙΟΝ and ΑΓΗΤΟΡΙΑ, mentioned by Hesychius, without any notice of the deity, in whose honour they were observed. It is not improbable they might belong to Apollo, and be (at least the latter of them) the same with the Lacedæmonian Καρνεῖα. This conjecture is grounded upon the words of Hesychius, who tells us, that Αγητὴς was the name of the person consecrated to the god at the Καρνεῖα· and that the festival itself was termed Αγητόρια, which name seems to have been derived from ἄγω, that festival being observed in imitation of στρατιωτικὴ ἀγωγὴ, or the military way of living, as Athenæus[a] and Eustathius[b] have observed. It is not unlikely the former might belong to Venus, whose priest (as grammarians inform us) was called Αγήτωρ, in Cyprus.

ΑΓΡΑΝΙΑ, was celebrated at Argos[c], in memory of one of Prœtus's daughters; being, in all probability, the same with

ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΑ, which (as the same author tells us) was observed at Argos, in memory of a deceased person. It was also celebrated at Thebes with solemn sports.

ΑΓΡΑΥΛΙΑ, at Athens, in honour of Agraulus, or Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops, and the nymph Aglauris, and priestess of Minerva, to whom she gave the surname of Aglaurus, and was worshipped in a temple dedicated to her. The Cyprians also (as Porphyry[d] reports) honoured her by the celebration of an annual festival in the month Aphrodisius, at which they offered human victims; and this custom is said to have continued till the time of Diomedes.

[a] Lib. iv. [b] Iliad. ώ. [c] Hesychius. [d] De Abstinentia, lib. ii.

ΑΓΡΙΩΝΙΑ, in honour of Bacchus, surnamed Ἀγριώνιος, for his cruelty, as Plutarch [c] is of opinion; or because he conversed with and was attended by lions, tygers, and other savage animals, which procured him the other name of Ὠμηστὴς, which properly denotes an eater of raw flesh. This solemnity was observed in the night, after this manner. The women [f] being assembled, made a strict search after Bacchus, as if he had fled from them; but after some time, finding their labour to be in vain, said, that he had retired to the Muses, and concealed himself amongst them. This being done, and the ceremony ended, they regaled themselves with an entertainment; after which, the time was passed away in proposing riddles and cramp questions. Large quantities of ivy were used at this time [g], because that plant was accounted sacred to Bacchus; and so great excesses were sometimes committed, that once the daughter of Minya, in a furious ecstasy of devotion, slaughtered Hippasus, the son of Leucippe, and served him up to the table: in memory of which murder, their whole family was ever after excluded from this festival, upon pain of death; which, as Plutarch [h] reports, was inflicted upon one of them that surreptitiously conveyed herself in amongst the rest of the worshippers, by Zoilus, a Chæronæan priest.

ΑΓΡΟΤΕΡΑΣ ΘΥΣΙΑ [i], an anniversary sacrifice of five hundred goats, offered at Athens to Minerva, surnamed Ἀγροτέρα, from *Agræ* in Attica. The occasion of it was this: when Darius, the emperor of Persia, made an invasion upon Attica, Callimachus, who was at that time in the office of a polemarch, made a solemn vow to Minerva, that if she would grant them victory over their enemies, they would sacrifice to her as many he-goats as should equal the number of the slain on their enemy's side: Minerva granted his request; but the number of the Persians that fell in the battle being so great, that all the he goats they could procure did not come near it, instead of them they offered all the she-goats they could find; and these also falling infinitely short of the number, they made a decree, that five hundred goats should be offered every year till it should be completed.

ΑΓΡΥΠΝΙΣ, a nocturnal festival [j], celebrated in honour of Bacchus, at Arbela, a place in Sicily; and so called because the worshippers did ἀγρύπνειν, or *watch all night*.

ΑΔΩΝΙΑ, or ΑΔΩΝΕΙΑ, was celebrated in most of the cities of

[c] Antonio.
[f] Plutarch. Sympos. lib. viii. quæst. i.
[g] Idem, Quæst. Roman.
[h] Quæst. Græc.
[i] Xenoph. Exped. Cyri.
[j] Hesychius.

Greece, in honour of Venus, and in memory of her beloved Adonis. The solemnity continued two days; upon the first of which certain images or pictures of Adonis and Venus were brought forth with all the pomp and ceremonies practised at funerals; the women tore their hair, beat their breasts, and counterfeited all other postures and actions usual in lamenting the dead. This lamentation was termed ἀδωνιασμὸς [j], or ἀδωνία· whence ἀδωνίαν ἄγειν is interpreted by Suidas, Ἀδωνιν-κλαίειν, *to weep for Adonis*. The songs on this occasion were called ἀδώνιδια [k]. There were also carried along with them, shells filled with earth, in which grew several sorts of herbs, especially lettuces; in memory that Adonis was laid out by Venus upon a bed of lettuces. These were called Κῆποι, *gardens*; whence Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι, are proverbially applied to things unfruitful, or fading; because those herbs were only sown so long before the festival as to sprout forth and be green at that time, and then were presently cast out into the water. The flutes used upon this day were called Γιγγρίαι, from Γίγγρης, which was the Phœnician name of Adonis. Hence, to play on this instrument, was termed γιγγρᾶν, or γιγγραίνειν, the music γιγγρασμὸς, and the songs γιγγραντά. The sacrifice was termed Καθέδρα, because (I suppose) the days of mourning used to be called by that name. The following day was spent in all possible expressions of mirth and joy; in memory that, by the favour of Proserpina, Venus obtained that Adonis should return to life, and dwell with her one half of every year. All this vain pomp, and serious folly, served only to expose the heathenish superstition, and gave birth to the proverb, Οὐδὲν ἱερὸν, by which seem to be meant things that bear a show of something great or sacred, but are in reality nothing but sorry and ridiculous trifles.

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ, two festivals observed at Athens, in honour of Minerva; one of them was called Παναθήναια, the other Χαλκεῖα, and both shall be treated of in their proper places.

ΑΙΑΚΕΙΑ, sports at Ægina, in honour of Æacus, who had a temple in that island; wherein, after the end of the solemnity, the victors used to present a garland of flowers.

ΑΙΑΝΤΕΙΑ, to Ajax, in the isle of Salamis [m]. Also in Attica, where, in memory of the valour of that hero, a bier, upon set days, was adorned with a complete suit of armour; and such a pious care the Athenians took of his memory, that his name was continu-

j Etymologici Auctor.
k Proclus in Chrestomathia.
l Pindarus, ejusque Scholiastes Nemeon, od. vi,
m Hesychius.

ed to posterity in that of one of their tribes, which was from him called Αἰαντίς.

ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΩΝ 'ΕΟΡΤΗ, was a festival at Ægina, observed in honour of Neptune, sixteen days together; all which were employed in mirth and jollity, and offering sacrifices to the gods. And this was done only by free denizens of that island, without the assistance of servants, who were for that reason called Μονοφάγοι, which word signifies persons that *eat by themselves*. After all, the solemnity was ended with offering a sacrifice to Venus. The occasion and original of these observances, are accounted for by Plutarch in his Greek Questions.

ΑΙΜΑΚΟΥΡΙΑ, a Peloponnesian festival, wherein boys (κῦροι) were whipped at the sepulchre of Pelops, till blood (αἷμα) was drawn, whence this solemnity derived its name.

ΑΙΩΡΑ, ΕΩΡΑ, ΕΥΔΕΙΠΝΟΣ, or ΑΛΗΤΙΣ, a festival [n] and solemn sacrifice, celebrated by the Athenians with vocal music, in honour of Erigone, sometimes called Aletis, the daughter of Icarius; who, out of an excess of grief for the misfortunes of her father, hanged herself: whence the solemnity had the name of Αἰώρα. At her death she requested the gods, that if the Athenians did not revenge Icarius's murder, their virgins might end their lives in the same manner that she did. Her petition was granted, and a great many of them, without any apparent cause of discontent, became their own executioners; whereupon, to appease Erigone, they instituted this festival by the advice of Apollo. Others report [o], that it was observed in honour of king Temelaus, or of Ægisthus and Clytæmnestra. And some are of opinion [p], that it was first observed by command of an oracle, in memory of the daughter of Ægisthus and Clytæmestra, who, in company of her grandfather, Tyndarus, took a journey to Athens, where she prosecuted Arestes in the court of Areopagus; and losing her cause, hanged herself for grief.

ΑΚΤΙΑ, a triennial festival, solemnized at Actium in Epirus, with wrestling, horse-racing, and a fight or race of ships, in honour of Apollo, who had the surname of Actius, from that place [q].

ΑΛΑΙΑ, or ΑΛΕΑΙΑ, to Minerva, surnamed Alea, at Tegea in Arcadia, where that goddess was honoured with a temple of great antiquity [r].

[n] Hyginus Astronom.
[o] Hesychius.
[p] Etymolog. Magnum.
[q] Stephanus Byzantin. Clemens Protrept. Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. xi. cap. 8.
[r] Pausan. Arcadic.

ΑΛΕΚΤΡΥΟΝΩΝ ΑΓΩΝ. A yearly cock-fight at Athens, in memory of the cocks, from whose crowing Themistocles received an omen of his success against the Persians [s].

ΑΛΙΑ, solemn games [t] celebrated at Rhodes upon the twenty-fourth day of the month Γορπιαῖος, which answers to the Athenian Βοηδρομιὼν, in honour of the sun, who is called in Greek Ἥλιος and Ἅλιος, and is said to have been born in the island of Rhodes; the inhabitants of which were reputed his posterity, and therefore called Heliades, as we learn from Strabo [u]. The combatants in these games were not only men, but boys; and the victors were rewarded with a crown of poplar.

ΑΛΚΑΘΟΙΑ, at Megara [v], in memory of Alcathous, the son of Pelops, who, lying under a suspicion of having murdered his brother Chrysippus, fled to Megara; where, having overcome a terrible lion that wasted the country, and had slain, beside many others, king Megareus's own son, he so far ingratiated himself, that he had in marriage the king's daughter, and was declared his successor.

ΑΛΩΑ, at Athens, in the month Posideon, in honour of Ceres and Bacchus, by whose blessing the husbandmen received the recompence of their toil and labour; and therefore [w] their oblations consisted of nothing but the fruits of the earth. Others say, this festival was instituted as a commemoration of the primitive Greeks, who lived ἐν ταῖς ἅλωσι, i. e. in *vineyards and corn-fields* [x]. Hence Ceres was called Κλωὰς, Αλωὶς, and Ευαλωσία.

ΑΛΩΤΙΑ, to Minerva, by the Arcadians, in memory of a victory, wherein they took a great many of the Lacedæmonians prisoners, which the Greeks called ἀλωτὰς [y].

ΑΜΑΡΥΝΘΙΑ, or ΑΜΑΡΥΣΙΑ, a festival celebrated with games in honour of Diana, surnamed Amarynthia, and Amarysia, from a town in Eubœa. It was observed by the Eubœans, Eretrians, Carystians, and Athmonians, who were inhabitants of a borough in Attica.

ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΑ, to Bacchus [z], the god of wine; in the month of Lenæon, in most of the cities of Greece.

ΑΜΜΑΛΩ, a festival of which nothing more is recorded, than that it belonged to Jupiter [a].

ΑΜΜΩΝ, an Athenian festival [b].

s Ælianus, lib. ii. cap. 28.
t Pindari Scholiast. Olymp. Od. 8.
u Lib. xiv.
v Pindari Scholiast. Olmp. Nem. 5.
w Demosth. in Neæram.
x Harpocration. Eustath. Iliad ό.
y Pausan. Arcadicis.
z Hesiodi Scholiast. Oper. et. Dier. lib. ii.
a Hesychius. b Idem.

ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΙΑ, at Oropus, in honour of Amphiaraus [c]; of whom I have given a sufficient account in another place.

ΑΜΦΙΔΡΟΜΙΑ, a festival observed by private families in Athens, upon the fifth day after the birth of every child. It was so called, ἀπὸ τῦ ἀμφιδραμεῖν i. e. from *running round;* because it was customary to run round the fire with the infant in their arms. Of this more hereafter.

ΑΝΑΓΩΓΙΑ, solemn sacrifices [d] to Venus, at Erix in Sicily, where she was honoured with a magnificent temple. The name of this solemnity was derived, ἀπὸ τῦ ἀνάγεσθαι, i. e. *from returning;* because the goddess was said to leave Sicily, and return to Afric at that time.

ΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ, an Athenian festival, in honour of the Dioscuri, who were called Ανακὲς, and honoured with a temple, called Ανάκειον. The sacrifices offered at that time were named Ξενισμοὶ, because those deities were ξένοι, or strangers [e]; and consisted of three offerings [f], which were called τριτύα. Athenæus [g] also makes mention of plays acted in honour of these deities.

ΑΝΑΚΛΗΤΗΡΙΑ, solemnities observed at the ἀνάκλησις or *proclamation* of kings and princes when they became of age, to take the government into their own hands [h].

ΑΝΑΚΤΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ, a festival [i] at Amphyssa, the capital city of Locris, in honour either of the Dioscuri, or Curetes, or Cabiri; for authors are not agreed in this matter.

ΑΝΑΞΑΓΟΡΕΙΑ, Anaxagoras dying at Lampsacus, the magistrates of that city asked, whether he desired any thing to be done for him? he replied, that on the anniversary of his death, the boys should have leave to play. This custom was observed in the time of Diogenes Laërtius [j].

ΑΝΔΡΟΓΕΩΝΙΑ, or Αγῶνες ὑπ' Εὐρυγύῃ, annual games [k] celebrated in the Ceramicus at Athens, by the command of Minos king of Crete, in memory of his son Androgeos, otherwise called Eurygyas, who was barbarously murdered by some of the Athenians and Megarensians.

ΑΝΘΕΣΤΗΡΙΑ, an Athenian festival observed in honour of Bac-

[c] Pindari Schol. Olymp. vii.
[d] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. cap. 15.
[e] Pindari Schol. Olymp. iii.
[f] Pausanias.
[g] Dipnos. lib. ii.
[h] Polybii. Hist. xvii, et Legat. eclog. 88.
[i] Pausan. Phocicis.
[j] Laert. fine Anaxag. Conf. Plut. ed precept. reipub. gerend. p. 820, edit. Paris.
[k] Hesychius.
[l] Plut. Theseo.

chus, upon the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth days of the month, Anthesterion.

The first day was named ἀπὸ τῦ πίθυς οἴγειν, i. e. because *they then tapped their barrels*. The same day was by the Chæroneans called Ἀγαθῦ Δαίμονος, i. e. *the day of good genius*, because it was customary to make merry upon it.

The second day was called χόες, from the measure χοὰ, because every man drank out of his own vessel, in memory of an accident that happened in the reign of Pandion, or (as others say) of Demophoon, under whom Orestes having slain his mother, fled to Athens before he had undergone the customary purification for murder. The Athenians were at that time busy in celebrating the festival of Bacchus, surnamed Lenæus, because he had the care of wine-presses, which are in Greek called Λήναια. However, he was kindly received by Demophoon, who, to prevent the contamination which might adhere to the company by drinking with a polluted person, and that Orestes might not take it unkindly to be forced to drink alone, ordered that every man should have a distinct vessel of wine, and drink out of his own cup. On the foregoing day, they only opened their vessels, and tasted the wine; but now it was customary to drink plentifully; and the longest liver, in token of victory, was rewarded with a crown of leaves, or, as some report [m], a crown of gold and a vessel of wine. It was usual to ride in chariots, out of which they jested upon all that passed by. The professors of sophistry feasted at home with their friends upon this day, and had presents sent them from all hands; to which custom Eubulides alludes in these verses:

> Σοφιστιᾶς, κάκιστε, καὶ χοῶν δέῃ
> Τῶν μισθοδώρων, κὺκ ἀδείπνων ἐν τρυφῇ.
>
> Ah! subtile knave, you now the sophist play,
> And wish that bounteous Χοαὶ may approach,
> Whose presents fill your belly and your purse.

From this day it was that Bacchus had the surname of Χοοπότης.

The third day was called χύτροι, from χύτρα, i. e. *a pot*, which was brought forth full of all sorts of seeds, which they accounted sacred to Mercurius χθόνιος, the *infernal*, and therefore abstained from them. Upon this day the comedians used to act; and at Sparta, Lycurgus ordered that such of them as obtained the victory should be enrolled amongst the free denizens.

During these days the slaves were allowed to make merry, drink and revel; and therefore, at the end of the festival, it was

[m] Ælianus Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 41.

usual to make proclamation in this manner, Θύραζε Κᾶρες, ὀυκ ἔτ' Ανθεστήρια, i. e. *begone you Carian slaves, the Anthesteria are ended.*

ΑΝΘΕΣΦΟΡΙΑ, a Sicilian festival[n], so named ἀπὸ τῦ φέρειν ἄνθεα, i. e. *from carrying flowers,* because it was instituted in honour of Proserpine, whom Pluto is said to have stolen, as she was gathering flowers.

Another solemnity of this name seems to have been observed at Argos, in honour of Juno, to whom a temple was dedicated in that place under the name of Ανθεία [o].

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΕΙΑ, sacrifices in honour of Antigonus [p].

ΑΝΤΙΝΟΕΙΑ, Annual sacrifices, and quinquennial games, in memory of Antinous, the Bithynian: they were instituted at the command of Adrian the Roman emperor, at Mantinea in Arcadia [q], where Antinous was honoured with a temple and divine worship.

ΑΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΑ, a festival[r] first instituted at Athens, and from thence derived to the rest of the Ionians, except those of Ephesus and Colophon. It received its name from ἀπάτη, which signifies *deceit,* because it was first instituted in memory of a stratagem by which Melanthius, the Athenian king, overcame Xanthius king of Bœotia. For a controversy happening between the Athenians and Bœotians, about a piece of ground situated on the confines of Attica and Bœotia, Xanthus made a proposal, that himself and the Athenian king should end the quarrel by a single combat. Thymœtes reigned at that time in Athens, but declining the fight, was deposed. His successor was Melanthius, a Messenian, son of Neleus and Periclymene, who having accepted the challenge, met his enemy at the appointed place; where, as they were just going to begin the fight, Melanthius thinking, or pretending, that he saw at Xanthus's back a person habited in a black goat-skin, cried out that the articles were violated; upon this Xanthus looking back, was treacherously slain by Melanthius. In memory of this success, Jupiter was surnamed Απατήνωρ, i. e. *Deceiver;* and Bacchus, Μελαναιγίς i. e. *clothed in a black goat-skin;* and was farther honoured with a new temple, and the institution of this festival. Others are of opinion, that Απατέρια, are so called. q. ἀπατόρια, i. e. ὁμοπατόρια, because, upon this festival, children *accompanied their*

[n] Pollux Onom. lib. i. cap. 1.
[o] Pausan. Corin.
[p] Plut. Agid. et Cleom.
[q] Pausan. Arcad.
[r] Aristoph. Schol. Acharn. Hesych. Harpocrat. Suid Etymolog. Auct. idem. Auct. ubiq. sunt in hoc toto capite cit.

fathers, to have their names entered into the public register: after the same manner, ἄλοχος is equivalent to ὁμόλεκτρος, and ἄκοιτις to ὁμόκοιτος. Others will have Απατέρια to be so named, because the children were till that time ἀπάτορες, i. e. *without fathers*, in a civil sense; for that it was not till then publicly recorded, whose they were. For a like reason, Melchisedec is by some thought to be called ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ [s], i. e. *without father, without mother*; viz. because his parentage was omitted in the sacred genealogies. To return: this festival was celebrated in the month Pyanepsion, and lasted three days.

The first was called Δορπία, from δόρπος, i. e. a *supper*; because on that day, at evening each tribe had a separate meeting, whereat a sumptuous entertainment was provided.

The second day was named Ανάῤῥυσις, ἀπὸ τȣ̃ ἄνω ἐρύειν, because on this day victims were offered to Jupiter Φράτριος, and Απατήνωρ, and to Minerva, in whose sacrifices (as in all that were offered to the celestial gods) it was usual ἄνω ἐρύειν τὰς κεφαλὰς, i. e. *to turn the heads of the victims upwards towards heaven*. At this sacrifice, the children enrolled amongst citizens were placed close to the altar. It was usual also, for persons richly apparelled, to take lighted torches out of the fire, and to run about, singing hymns in praise of Vulcan, who was the first that taught men the use of that element: which custom is by Meursius referred to this day, though Hippocration, to whom we are indebted for the mention of it, has left us in the dark as to its time.

The third day was named Κȣρεῶτις, from κȣ̃ρος, i. e. *a youth*; or κȣρὰ, i. e. *shaving*; because the young men, who till that time remained unshaved, had their hair cut off, before they were presented to be registered. Their fathers at this time were obliged to swear that both themselves and mothers of the young men were freeborn Athenians. It was also usual to offer two eyes and a she-goat in sacrifice to Diana, which they called Θύειν φρατρίαν; the she-goat was termed αἲξ φράτριος, and the ewe ὄϊς φρατήρ [t]. It was to be of a certain weight; and because it once happened that the standers-by cried out in a jest, Μεῖον, μεῖον, i. e. *too little, too little*, it was ever after called Μεῖον, and the person that offered it, Μειαγογοί.

To these Hesychius adds a fourth day, which he tells us was called Επίβδης; but that name is not peculiar to this festival, but

[s] Epistola ad Hebræos. [t] Pollux.

generally applied to any day celebrated after the end of another solemnity; being derived ἀπὸ τῦ ἐπιβαίνειν, i. e. *from following*; because it was a sort of appendage to the great festival.

This festival was observed five days by the Protenthæ, who began it a day sooner than others. There was also a decree made, when Cephesidorus was chief archon, whereby the senate was forbidden to meet for five days, during the time of the solemnity[u].

ΑΠΑΥΛΙΑ, the second day in marriages, of which I shall have an opportunity to speak in another place.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ, to Apollo at Ægialea, upon this account: Apollo having obtained a victory over Python, went to Ægialea, accompanied with his sister Diana; but being frighted from thence, fled into Crete. After this, the Ægialeans were infected with an epidemical distemper; and being advised by the prophets to appease the two offended deities, sent seven boys, and as many virgins, to entreat them to return. Apollo and Diana accepted their piety, and came with them to the citadel of Ægialea: in memory of which, a temple was dedicated to Pytho, the goddess of persuasion; and it became a custom, to appoint chosen boys and virgins to make a solemn procession, in show as if they designed to bring back Apollo and Diana; which solemnity was continued till Pausanias's time[v].

ΑΠΟΠΟΜΠΑΙ, certain days[w] in which sacrifices were offered to the gods, called Πομπαῖοι. Who these were, is doubtful. Certain it is, that πομπαῖος denotes any person that conducts another in his way; and therefore was applied to Mercury, who was believed to be Pluto's gentleman-usher, and to conduct the souls of the deceased persons to the shades below: whence Ajax, in Sophocles, before he stabbed himself, prayed thus:

——— καλῶ θ' ἅμα
Πομπαῖον Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον εὖ με κοιμίσαι.
——— Infernal Mercury I call
Safe to conduct me to the shades below.

But I am rather inclined to think, these days belonged to the gods called Ἀποπομπαῖοι, i. e. ἀποτρόποι (for ἀποπομπὴ is by Phavorinus expounded ἀποτροπὴ), otherwise named Λύσιοι, ἀλεξίκακοι, ἀποτροπαῖοι, φύξιοι, and *averrunci*, because they were thought to avert evils; such were Jupiter, Hercules, and others; and therefore, for πομπαίοις, in Hesychius, I would read ἀποπομπαίοις, except they may be used as synonymous terms.

[u] Athenæus, lib. iv. [v] Pausanias Corinthiacis. [w] Hesychius.

ΑΡΑΤΕΙΑ, a festival at Sicyon[x], upon the birth-day of Aratus, whom they honoured with a priest, who, for distinction's sake, wore a riband bespangled with white and purple spots. It was celebrated with music, and the choristers of Bacchus assisted in the solemnity with harps. There was also a solemn procession, in which the public schoolmaster, accompanied with his scholars, went first, and the senators, adorned with garlands, with as many of the other citizens as had a mind, followed.

ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ ʽΕΟΡΤΑΙ, festivals at Argos, the names of which are lost. One we find mentioned in Parthenius[y], upon which he tells us, there was a public entertainment.

Another is taken notice of in Plutarch[z], upon which the boys called one another in jest Βαλλαχράδας, i. e. Βάλλοντας ἀχράδας, by which words are signified persons that *throw wild figs.* Which custom, perhaps, was instituted in memory of their ancient diet in Inachus's time, when they lived upon wild figs.

A third we read of in Æneas[a], in which great numbers of the citizens made a solemn procession out of the city in armour.

ΑΡΙΑΔΝΕΙΑ, two festivals[b] at Naxos, in honour of two women, who had one common name of Ariadne. The former of them was thought to be of a gay and pleasant temper, and therefore her festival was observed with music, and many other expressions of joy and mirth.

The latter, being the same that was exposed big with child upon that coast by Theseus, was supposed to be of a melancholy disposition, and therefore the solemnity dedicated to her had a show of sorrow and mourning; and in memory of being left by Theseus near the time of child-birth, it was usual for a young man to lie down, and counterfeit all the agonies of women in labour. This festival is said to have been first instituted by Theseus, as a recompence of his ingratitude to her.

ΑΡΡΗΦΟΡΙΑ, at Athens[c], in the month Scirrophorion, in honour of Minerva, and Ersa, one of Cecrops's daughters, upon which account, it is sometimes called Ερσηφόρια, or Ερρηφόρια. But the former name is derived ἀπὸ τȣ̃ ἄῤῥητα φέρειν, i. e. because of certain mysterious things, which were carried by four select noble virgins, not under seven, nor above eleven years of age, and hence called Αῤῥηφόροι. Their apparel was white, and set off with ornaments of gold: whence ἀῤῥηφορεῖν is interpreted χρυσῆν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν, ϗ χρυσία[d].

[x] Plut. Arato.
[y] Erotic. xiii.
[z] Græc. Quæst.
[a] Poliorcet. cap. xvii.
[b] Plut. Theseo.
[c] Harpocrat. Suidas, Etymolog.
[d] Etymologici Auctor.

They had a particular sort of bread, which was termed ναςὸς[c], and cakes called ἀνάςατοι[f]. There was a certain σφαιριςήριον ball-court, appropriated for their use in the Acropolis, wherein stood a brazen statue of Isocrates on horse-back[g]. Out of these were chosen two, to weave (as the custom was) a Πέπλος, or *garment*, for Minerva; which work they began on the thirtieth of Pyanepsion.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑ, a festival in honour of Αρτεμις, or Diana. It was celebrated in several places of Greece, particularly at Delphi, where they offered a mullet to the goddess, as being thought to bear some sort of relation to her; because[h] it is said to hunt, and kill the sea-hare. The bread offered to the goddess was termed λοχιὰ[i]; and the women that performed the sacred rites were called λόμῶσαι.

Another solemnity of this name was observed three days together, with banquets and sports, at Syracuse[k].

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΕΙΑ, a festival of Æsculapius, observed in several parts of Greece; but nowhere with so much solemnity as by the Epidaurians,[l], whom this god honoured with his more immediate presence, giving answers to them in an oracular way: wherefore it was called Μεγαλασκλήπεια, i. e. the great festival of Æsculapius[m]. One great part of the solemnity consisted of a musical entertainment, wherein the poets and magicians contended for victory, and therefore was called Ἱερὸς ἀγὼν, the *sacred contention*.

ΑΣΚΩΛΙΑ, a festival celebrated by the Athenian husbandmen, in honour of Bacchus[n], to whom they sacrificed a he-goat; because that animal destroys the vines, and therefore was supposed to be hated by Bacchus. Out of the victim's skin it was customary to make a bottle, which, being filled with oil and wine, they endeavoured to leap upon it with one foot, and he that first fixed himself upon it, was declared victor, and received the bottle as reward. The doing this they called ἀσκωλιάζειν παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν ἅλλεσθαι, i. e. from *leaping upon a bottle*; whence this festival has its name.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑ, festivals in honour of Αφροδίτη, or Venus; several of which were observed in divers parts of Greece: the most remark-

[e] Athenæus, lib. iii.
[f] Suidas.
[g] Plutarch. Isocrate.
[h] Athenæus, lib. vii.
[i] Hesychius. j Idem
[k] Livius, lib. xxiii. Hesychius.
[l] Plato Ione.
[m] Inscript. vet.
[n] Phurnutus de Baccho, Aristophan. Scholiast. Pluto, Hesychius.

able of them was that at Cyprus[o], first instituted by Cinyras; out of whose family certain priests of Venus were elected, and for that reason named Κινυράδαι. At this solemnity several mysterious rites were practised: all that were initiated into them, offered a piece of money to Venus, as an harlot, and received, as a token of the goddess's favour, a measure of salt and a Φαλλός: the former because salt is a concretion of sea-water, to which Venus was thought to owe her birth; the latter, because she was the goddess of wantonness.

At Amathus, a city of Cyprus, solemn sacrifices were offered to Venus, and called Καρπώσεις[p]; which word is derived from καρπός, i. e. *fruit;* perhaps because this goddess presided over generation.

At both the Paphi Venus's festival was observed, not only by the inhabitants of those places, but multitudes that thronged to it out of other cities[q].

At Corinth it was celebrated by harlots[r].

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΙΑ, an anniversary festival at Sparta in honour of Achilles[s].

B.

ΒΑΚΧΕΙΑ, to Bacchus[t]. See Διονύσια,

ΒΑΛΛΗΤΥΣ, at Eleusis in Attica, to Demophoon the son of Celeus[u].

ΒΑΡΑΤΡΟΝ, solemn games in Thesprotia, wherein the strongest obtained the victory[v].

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ, a festival at Lebadea in Bœotia[w].

ΒΕΝΔΙΔΕΙΑ, a Thracian festival[x], in honour of Diana, who was by the Thracians called Βένδις. From Thrace it was carried to Athens, where it was celebrated in the Piræeus, upon the nineteenth or twentieth of Thargelion.

ΒΟΗΔΡΟΜΙΑ, an Athenian festival[y], so called ἀπὸ τοῦ βοηδρομεῖν, i. e. *from coming to help;* because it was instituted in memory of Ion, the son of Xuthus, who came to the assistance of the Athenians in the reign of king Erectheus, when they were invaded by Eumolpus, the son of Neptune. But Plutarch[z] reports, that it

[o] Clemens Protrept. Arnobius, lib. v. Hesychius. Pindari Scholiastes.
[p] Hesychius.
[q] Strabo, lib. xiv.
[r] Athenæus, lib. xiii.
[s] Pausanias Laconicis.
[t] Hesychius.
[u] Athenæus, lib. ix. Hesychius.
[v] Hesychius.
[w] Pindari Scholiastes, Olymp. vii.
[x] Strabo, lib. ix. Proclus in Timæum. Hesychius.
[y] Harpocration, Suidas.
[z] Theseo.

was observed in memory of a victory obtained by Theseus against the Amazons, in the month Boedromion.

ΒΟΡΕΑΣΜΟΙ, another Athenian festival [a], in honour of Boreas; who had an altar in Attica, and was thought to bear some relation to the Athenians, having married Orithyia, the daughter of Erectheus; for which reason, when, in a sea-fight, a great number of their enemy's ships were destroyed by a north wind, the Athenians imputed it to the kindness Boreas had for his wife's native country, as Pausanias reports [b].

We are informed by the same author [c], that solemn sacrifices were offered to Boreas at Megalopolis in Arcadia, where he had a temple, and divine honours.

ΒΟΤΤΙΑΙΩΝ ἙΟΡΤΗ, the Bottiæans were an Athenian colony; wherefore, in memory of their original, they observed this solemnity, in which the virgins used to say Ιωμεν εἰς Αθήνας, i. e. *let us go to Athens* [d].

ΒΡΑΣΙΔΕΙΑ, an anniversary solemnity at Sparta, in memory of Brasidas, a Lacedæmonian captain, famous for his achievements at Methone, Pylos, and Amphipolis. It was celebrated with sacrifices and games, wherein none were permitted to contend but freeborn Spartans [e]. Whoever neglected to be present at the solemnity was fined [f].

ΒΡΑΥΡΩΝΙΑ, to Diana, surnamed Brauronia, from the place in which this festival was observed, viz. Brauron, an Athenian borough, in which the famous statue of this goddess, brought from Scythia Taurica by Iphigenia, remained till the second Persian war, in which Xerxes took it away [g]. It was celebrated once in five years, being managed by ten men, called, from their office, Ἱεροποιοί. The victim offered in sacrifice was a goat; and it was customary for certain men to sing one of Homer's Iliads. The most remarkable persons at this solemnity were young virgins habited in yellow gowns, and consecrated to Diana. These were usually about ten years of age (it being unlawful for any of them to be above ten or under five;) and therefore to consecrate them was called Δεκατεύειν, from δέκα, i. e. *ten*: it was called ἀρκτεύειν, and the virgins themselves were named Αρκτοι i. e. *bears*, upon this account: amongst the Phlauidæ, inhabitants of a borough in Attica, there

a Plato in Phaedro, Hesychius.
b Atticis. c Arcadicis
d Plutarchus Theseo, et Quæst Græc.
e Pausan. Laconicis, Thucydid. lib. v. Suidas.
f Interpres Græc. in Aristotelis Ethic. ad Nicomach. lib. v. cap. 7.
g Pausan. Atticis, et Arcadic. Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9. Harpocration. Suidas.

was a bear, which was so far divested of its natural fierceness, and became so tame and tractable, that they usually admitted it to eat, and to play with them, and received no harm thereby; but a young maid once, unluckily happening to be too familiar with it, the beast tore her to pieces, and was afterwards killed by the virgin's brethren: upon this ensued a dreadful pestilence, which proved very fatal to many of the inhabitants of Attica; as a remedy for which they were advised by an oracle to appease the anger of Diana for the bear, by consecrating virgins to her in memory of it. The Athenians punctually executed the divine command, and enacted a law, that no virgin should be married till she had undergone this ceremony.

Γ.

ΓΑΛΑΞΙΑ, a festival, in which they boiled τὴν γαλαξίαν, i. e. a mixture of *barley-pulse and milk*[h]. Meursius is of opinion, that it belonged to Apollo, who, from a place in Bœotia, was surnamed Galaxius[i].

ΓΑΛΙΝΘΙΑΔΙΑ, a solemn sacrifice at Thebes, offered to Galinthias, one of Prœtus's daughters, before the festival of Hercules, by whose order it was first instituted.

ΓΑΜΗΛΙΑ, ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΑ, ΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ, three private solemnities: the first whereof was observed at marriages: the second, in memory of the birth; the last, of the death of any person. But of all these I shall give you a more full account in one of the following books.

ΓΕΝΕΤΥΛΛΙΣ; this solemnity was celebrated by women, in honour of Genetyllis, the goddes of that sex[j], to whom they offered dogs. This Genetyllis was Venus, ἡ ἔφορος τῆς γενέσεως, *the president of generation*[k].

ΓΕΡΑΙΣΤΙΑ, in honour of Neptune, at Geræstus, a village of Eubæa, where he was honoured with a temple[l].

ΓΕΡΟΝΘΡΑΙΩΝ ἙΟΡΤΗ, an anniversary festival in honour of Mars, at Geronthræ, where there was a temple dedicated to him. He had also a grove in the same place, into which it was unlawful for any woman to enter during the time of this solemnity[m].

ΓΕΦΥΡΙΣΜΟΙ, a solemnity mentioned by Elian[n]; and perhaps the same with the γεφυρισμοὶ at the festival of Ceres Eleusinia, of which afterwards.

h Hesychius.
i Proclus Chrestomath.
j Hesychius
k Aristophanis interpres ad Nubes.
l Stephan. Pindar. Schol. Olymp. xiii.
m Pausanias Laconicis.
n Histor. An. lib. iv. cap. 45.

ΓΗΣ 'ΕΟΡΤΗ, at Athens, in honour of mother Earth, to whom a temple was dedicated in the citadel of that place [o]. Solemn games also were celebrated to her, as we learn from Pindar [p].

> Ἐν Ὀλυμπίοισί τε, καὶ βαθυκόλπου
> Γᾶς ἀέθλοις,————
>
> At the Olympic games, and sacred sports
> Of the capacious Earth.

ΓΥΜΝΟΠΑΙΔΙΑ, or ΓΥΜΝΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ, a solemn dance [q], performed by Spartan boys.

Δ.

ΔΑΙΔΙΣ, a solemnity which lasted three days, during all which time torches (called in Greek δᾷδες,) were burned, which gave occasion to the name [r].

Upon the first day they commemorated Latona's labour, and Apollo's birth.

The second was in memory of Glycon's and the god's nativity.

The third, of the marriage of Podalirius, and the mother of Alexander.

ΔΑΙΔΑΛΑ, two festivals in Bœotia [s], one of which was observed by the Platæans at Alalcomenos, where was the largest grove of any in Bœotia: in this they assembled, and exposing to the open air pieces of sodden flesh, carefully observed whither the crows that came to prey upon them, directed their flight; and then hewed down all those trees upon which any of them alighted, and formed them into statues, which were by the ancient Greeks called Δαίδαλα from the ingenious artificer Dædalus.

The other solemnity was by far the greatest, and most remarkable, being celebrated not only by Platæa, but all the cities of Bœotia, once in sixty years; in memory, and, as it were, in recompence for the intermission of the lesser festival the same number of years, during which time the Plateans had lived in exile. In order to this solemnity, there were always prepared fourteen Δαίδαλα at the other festivals, to be distributed by lots amongst the Platæans, Coroneans, Thespians, Tanagræans, Chæroneans, Orchomenians, Lebadeans, and Thebans; because they promoted a reconciliation with the Platæans, and were desirous to have them recalled from banishment, and contributed offerings towards the celebration of this festival, about the time that Thebes was restored by Cassander, the son of Antipater. Nor did the fore-mentioned

[o] Thucyd. lib. ii.
[p] Pythion. lib. ix.
[q] Plutarch. Apophthegm.
[r] Lucianus Pseudomant.
[s] Pausan. Bœotic.

cities only, but other cities of lesser note, join in this solemnity; the manner of which was thus:

A statue being adorned in woman's apparel, upon the banks of Asopus, a woman, in the habit of a bride-maid, was appointed to accompany it, being followed by a long train of Bœotians, who had places assigned them by lots, to the top of mount Cithæron; upon which an altar of square pieces of timber, cemented together in the manner of stones, was erected. Upon this large quantities of combustible matter being laid, each of the cities, and such men as were possessed of plentiful estates, offered a bull to Jupiter, and an ox or heifer to Juno, with plenty of wine and incense: the poorer sort, and such as were not of ability to purchase more costly oblations, contributed small sheep; all which, together with the Δαίδαλα, being thrown into one common heap, were set on fire, and not extinguished till the whole fabric, of which the altar itself made a part, was consumed to ashes. The first occasion of these customs was this: on a time it happened that Juno had a quarrel with Jupiter, whereby the goddess was exasperated to such a degree, that she departed from him, and retired into Eubœa. The god was very much troubled at this desertion, and endeavoured, by all the arts of persuasion, to engage her to return: but finding her obstinate in her resolution, went to advise with Cithæron, who reigned at that time over the Platæans, and had the greatest reputation for wisdom of any man in that age: the expedient he advised to, was this: that Jupiter should dress a statue in woman's apparel, and place it in a chariot, giving out that it was Platæa, the daughter of Asopus, and that she was contracted to him in marriage. The god approved his counsel, and put it in practice; and the report had no sooner reached Juno, but she posted with all haste to meet the chariot; where, having discovered the cheat, she was wonderfully taken with the contrivance, and returned into favour with her husband.

An entire treatise was composed by Plutarch upon this festival, some fragments of which are still preserved in Eusebius [t], and confirm the substance of the relation now given out of Pausanias; from whom they differ only in this, that in them Cithæron is called Alalcomenes; and Platæa, Dædala.

ΔΑΡΟΝ, a festival of which nothing remains besides the name, which is preserved by Hesychius. If the conjecture of Meursius deserve any credit, it will not be improbable that it belonged to

[t] De Præpar. Evangel. lib iii.

one Daron, who, as the same grammarian informs us, was worshipped by the Macedonians, and thought to restore health to sick persons.

ΔΑΥΑΙΣ, a solemnity at Argos, in which was represented the combat of Prœtus and Acrisius.

ΔΑΦΝΗΦΟΡΙΑ, a novennial festival [u], celebrated by the Bœotians in honour of Apollo. The chief solemnity was thus: they adorned an olive bough with garlands of laurel, and various sorts of flowers; upon the top of it was placed a globe of brass, from which hung other lesser globes; about the middle were fixed to it purple crowns, and a globe of smaller size than that at the top; the bottom was covered with a garment of a saffron colour. The uppermost globe was an emblem of the sun, by whom they meant Apollo; that placed diametrically under it, signifying the moon; the lesser globes represented the stars; and the crowns, being sixty-five in number, were types of the sun's annual revolution, which is completed in about the same number of days. The bough thus adorned, was carried in procession; the chief in which was a boy of a beautiful countenance and good parentage, whose father and mother were both living; he was apparelled in a sumptuous garment, reaching down to his ancles; his hair hung loose and dishevelled; on his head was a crown of gold; and upon his feet shoes, called *iphicratidæ*, from Iphicrates, an Athenian, the first inventor of them. It was his duty to execute, at that time, the priest's office, and he was honoured with the title of Δαφνηφόρος, i. e. *laurel-bearer*. Before him went one of the nearest relations, bearing a rod adorned with garlands: after the boy followed a choir of virgins, with branches in their hands; and in this order they proceeded as far as the temple of Apollo, surnamed Ismenius, and Galaxius, where they sung supplicatory hymns to the god. These ceremonies were first practised upon this account: the Æolians that inhabited Arne, and the adjacent territory, being advised by an oracle to relinquish their old seats, and to seek their fortunes, made an invasion upon the Thebans, who at the same time were besieged by the Pelasgians: it happened to be near the time of Apollo's festival, which was religiously observed by both nations; wherefore, a cessation of arms being granted on both sides, one party cut down laurel boughs in Helicon, the other near the river Melas; and, as the custom was, carried them in their hands in honour of Apollo. On the same day, there ap-

[u] Pausanias Bœoticis, Proclus Chrestomathia.

peared in a dream to Polematas, general of the Bœotian forces, a young man who presented him with a complete suit of armour, and commanded that every ninth year the Bœotians should make solemn prayers to Apollo, with laurel in their hands: about three days after this vision, he made a sally on the besiegers with such success, that they were forced to quit their enterprize; whereupon he caused this festival to be instituted.

ΔΕΛΦΙΝΙΑ, a festival at Ægina[v], in honour of Delphinian Apollo.

ΔΗΛΙΑ, a quinquennial festival in the isle of Delos[w], instituted by Theseus, at his return from Crete, in honour of Venus, whose statue, given to him by Ariadne, he erected in that place, having, by her assistance, met with success in his expedition. The chief ceremonies were these: they crowned the goddess's statue with garlands; appointed a choir of music, and horse-races; and performed a remarkable dance, called Γέρανος, i. e. the *crane*; wherein they imitated, by their motions, the various windings of the Cretan labyrinth, out of which Theseus, who was the inventor of this dance, made his escape.

Another solemnity was every year celebrated in this island, in honour of Apollo, by the Athenians; but of this I have already given you an account, in one of the foregoing chapters.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑ, a solemnity in honour of Ceres, called by the Greeks Δημήτηρ[x], in which it was customary for the worshippers to lash themselves with whips, made of the bark of trees, and called μόροττοι.

Another festival of this name was observed by the Athenians[y], in honour of Demetrius Poliorcetes, being the same with that which was before called Dionysia, and celebrated upon the thirteenth of Munychion, whose name was changed into Demetrion; as also the day of this solemnity was named Demetrias.

ΔΙΑΜΑΣΤΙΓΩΣΙΣ, a solemnity at Sparta[z], in honour of Diana Orthia, so named ἀπὸ τῦ μαςιγῦν, i. e. *from whipping*, because it was usual to whip boys upon the goddess's altar. These boys were, at first, free-born Spartans; but, in more delicate ages, of meaner birth, being frequently the offspring of slaves: they were called Βωμονεῖκαι, from the exercise they underwent at the altar, and

[v] Pindari Schol. Olymp. viii.
[w] Thucydides, lib. iii. Callimachus Hymn. in Delum, Plutarch. Theseo.
[x] Pollux, Onom. lib. i. cap. i. Hesychius.
[y] Plutarch. Demetrio, Diodor. Sicul. lib. viii. Eustathius, Il. ί.
[z] Plutarch. Lacon. Instit. et Aristide, Pausanias Laconicis. Themistius, Orat. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. ii. Hyginus, fab. 261.

which was very severe and cruel; and lest the officer should, out of compassion, remit any thing of the rigour of it, Diana's priestess stood by all the time, holding in her hand the goddess's image, which of itself was very light and easy to be borne, but if the boys were spared, became so ponderous, that the priestess was scarce able to support its weight. And lest the boys should faint under correction, or do any thing unworthy of Laconian education, their parents were usually present, to exhort them to bear whatever was inflicted upon them with patience and constancy. And so great was the bravery and resolution of the boys, that though they were lashed till the blood gushed out, and sometimes to death, yet a cry or groan was seldom or never heard to proceed from any of them. Those of them that died by this means, were buried with garlands upon their head, in token of joy or victory, and had the honour of a public funeral.

Whence this custom had its origin, is not agreed by ancient writers. By some, it is said to have been one of Lycurgus's institutions, and designed for no other end than to accustom the youth to endure pain, thereby to render them fearless and insensible of wounds. Others will have it done as a mitigation of an oracle, whereby it was commanded, that human blood should be shed upon Diana's altar. By some, it is reported to have been as ancient as Orestes, who, (say they) transplanted out of Scythia into Laconia, the image of Diana Taurica, to whom the Scythians used to offer human victims: this barbarous sort of worship the Lacedæmonians detested; but withal, fearing the anger of the goddess, made an order, that every year a boy should be whipped upon her altar, till the blood gushed out; and so, if nothing could satisfy her but human blood, she might not be altogether destitute of it. Lastly, some assign this cause for it: Pausanias, the Spartan general, as he was offering sacrifices and prayers, before the fight with Mardonius, was set upon by a company of Lydians, who plundered and squandered abroad the sacrifice; but were at length repelled with whips and staves, which were the only arms the Lacedæmonians were at that time furnished with. In memory of this victory, the whipping of boys at the altar of Sparta, and after that, the Lydian procession, Plutarch tells us, was performed till his days.

ΔΙΑΝΤΙΝΙΑ, a festival at Sparta.

ΔΙΑΣΙΑ, at Athens [k], in honour of Jupiter, surnamed Μειλίχιος

[a] Thucydides, lib. 1. Aristophanis Scholiast. Nub. Suidas.

i. e. *the propitious.* It was so called ἀπὸ τȣ̃ Διὸς ϗ τῆς ἄσης, i. e. *from Jupiter, and misfortune;* because, by making supplications to Jupiter, they obtained protection and deliverance from dangers and evils. It was celebrated about the latter end of Anthesterion, without the city, where was a great concourse of all the Athenians feasting and offering sacrifices: at the same time there is said to have been a public mart, in which all sorts of vendibles were exposed to sale; whence Strepsiades in Aristophanes [b], saith, he bought his son Phidippides a little chariot at this festival:

> Ον πρῶτον ὀϐολὸν ἔλαϐον Ηλιαςικὸν,
> Τȣ́τῳ πριάμην σοι Διασίοις ἁμαξίδα.

Plutarch [c] maketh mention of another festival that belonged to Jupiter, wherein a solemn procession was made by men on horseback.

ΔΙΙΠΟΛΕΙΑ, an Athenian festival [d], celebrated upon the fourteenth of Scirrophorion; so named, because it was sacred τῷ Διῒ Πολιεῖ, i. e. *to Jupiter surnamed Polieus,* or *protector of the city.* Sometimes it was called Βȣφόνια, from killing an ox; for it was customary upon this day to place certain cakes, of the same sort with those used at sacrifices, upon a table of brass; round this they drove a select number of oxen, of which he that eat any of the cakes was presently slaughtered. The person that killed the ox was called βȣ́της, or βȣφόνος. Porphyry reports, that no less than three families were employed in this ceremony, and received different names from their offices therein. The family whose duty it was to drive the oxen were called Κεντριάδαι, fsom κέντρον, i. e. *a spur;* those that knocked him down, Βȣτύποι, being descended from Thaulon; those that slaughtered and cut him up, Δαιτροὶ, *butchers,* or *cooks.* The original of the custom was thus: on one of Jupiter's festivals, it happened that a hungry ox eat up one of the consecrated cakes; whereupon the priest (some call him Thaulon, others Diomus, or Sopater), moved with a pious zeal, killed the profane beast. In those days it was looked upon as a capital crime to kill an ox; wherefore the guilty priest was forced to secure himself by a timely flight; and the Athenians in his stead, took the bloody ax, arraigned it, and, according to Pausanias, brought it in not guilty; but Ælian is of another opinion, and reports, that the priest and people present at the solemnity (for they also were accused as being accessory to the fact) were acquitted,

[b] Nubibus.
[c] Phocione.
[d] Pausanias Atticis, Ælianus, Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. iii. Porphyrius de Abstinent. ab Animal. Hesych. Suidas.

but the axe condemned, which seems to be the most probable. In memory of these actions, it became ever after customary for the priest to fly, and judgment to be given about the slaughter of the ox.

ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΙΑ, a Spartan festival [c], in honour of Diana, surnamed Dictynna, from a city of Crete; or from a Cretan nymph, one of her companions in hunting, who was called Dictynna, from her invention of hunting nets, which are in Greek called *Δίκτυα*.

ΔΙΟΚΛΕΙΑ, in the spring, at Megara, in the memory of the Athenian hero Diocles [f], who died in the defence of a certain youth whom he loved. Whence there was a contention at his tomb, wherein a garland was given to the youth who gave the sweetest kiss. The solemnity is thus described by Theocritus:

> *Νισαῖοι Μεγαρῆες, ἀριστεύοντες ἐρετμοῖς,*
> *Ολβιοι οἰκοίητε, τὸν Αττικὸν ὡς περὶ ἄλλων*
> *Ξείνων τιμήσασθε Διοκλέα τὸν φιλόπαιδα·*
> *Αἰεὶ οἱ περὶ τύμβον ἀολλέες εἴαρι πρώτῳ*
> *Κῦροι ἐριδμαίνουσι φιλήματος ἄκρα φέρεσθαι·*
> *Ος δέ κε προσμάξῃ γλυκερώτερα χείλεσι χείλη,*
> *Βριθόμενος στεφάνοισιν ἑὴν πρὸς μητέρ' ἀπῆλθεν*[g].
>
> Ye Megarensians, fam'd for well-timed oars,
> May bliss attend you still on Attic shores!
> To strangers kind, your deeds themselves commend,
> To Diocles, the lover, and the friend:
> For at his tomb, each spring the boys contest,
> In amorous battles who succeeds the best:
> And he who master of the field is found,
> Returns with honorary garlands crown'd. FAWKES.

ΔΙΟΜΕΙΑ, in honour of Jupiter Diomeus; or of Diomus [h], an Athenian hero, the son of Colyttus, from whom the inhabitants of one of the Athenian boroughs were named *Διομεῖς*.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ, solemnities in honour of *Διόνυσος*, or *Bacchus*, sometimes called by the general name of *Οργια*; which word, though sometimes applied to the mysteries of other gods, does more peculiarly belong to those of Bacchus. The festivals of this god are said to have been instituted in Egypt, and afterwards taught the Grecians, by one Melampus [i]; and by Plutarch [j] we are informed, that the Egyptian Isis was the same with Ceres, and Osiris with Bacchus; and that the Grecian Dionysia were the same with the Egyptian Pamylia.

They were observed at Athens with great splendour, and more ceremonious superstition, than in any other part of Greece; for the years were numbered by them [k], the chief archon had a part in the management of them [l], and the priests that officiated therein,

[c] Pausanius Laconicis.
[f] Pindari Schol. Pythion. Od. xiii.
[g] Idyl. xii. ver. 27.
[h] Etymolog. Eustath. Il. Ψ.
[i] Herodotus, lib ii.
[j] De Iside et Osiride.
[k] Suidas.
[l] Pollux, lib. viii.

were honoured with the first seats at public shows [m]. But at first they [n] were without splendour and ornaments, being days set apart for public mirth, and observed only with these ceremonies: first, a vessel of wine, adorned with a vine branch, was brought forth; after that followed a goat; then was carried a basket of figs, and after all the *phalli*.

At some of them it was usual for the worshippers, in their garments and actions, to imitate the poetical fictions concerning Bacchus: they put on fawn-skins, fine linen, and mitres; carried thyrsi, drums, pipes, flutes, and rattles; and crowned themselves with garlands of trees sacred to Bacchus; such were the ivy, vine, fir, &c. Some imitated Silenus, Pan, and the satyrs, exposing themselves in comical dresses, and antic motions; some rode upon asses, others drove goats to the slaughter. In this manner, persons of both sexes ran about the hills, deserts, and other places, wagging their heads, dancing in ridiculous postures, filling the air with hideous noises, and yelling, personating men distracted, and crying aloud, Εὐοῖ σαβοι, Εὐοῖ Βάκχε, or ὦ Ἰακχε, or Ἰόβακχε, or Ἰὼ Βάκχε.

Such were the rites used in most of Bacchus's festivals throughout Greece, and particularly at Athens, where this frantic rout was, upon one of the solemnities of this god, followed by persons carrying sacred vessels, the first of which was filled with water; after these went a select number of honourable virgins, called Κανηφόροι, because they carried little baskets of gold filled with all sorts of fruit. In these consisted the most mysterious part of the solemnity; and therefore, to amuse the common people, serpents were put into them, which sometimes crawling out of their places astonished the beholders. Next was the Περιφαλλία, being a company of men carrying τὰς φαλλὰς, which were poles, to the ends of which were fixed things in the form of a man's privities: these persons were crowned with violets and ivy, and had their faces covered with other herbs; they were called Φαλλοφόροι, and the songs repeated by thsm, Φαλλικὰ ἄσματα. After these followed the Ἰθύφαλλοι, in women's apparel, with garments striped with white, and reaching to their ancles, garlands on their heads, gloves composed of flowers on their hands, and in their gestures imitating drunken men. There were also certain persons called Λικνοφόροι, whose office it was to carry the Λίκνον, or mystical van of Bacchus, a thing so essential to this, and other solemnities and sacrifices of this god, that few of them could be duly celebrated without it; whence he

[m] Aristophan. Schol. Ran.]

[n] Plutarchus Περὶ φιλοπλουτ.

is sometimes called Λικνίτης. At this time, also, public shows, plays, and sports, were frequented, and the whole city was filled with revelling and licentiousness.

The festivals of Bacchus were almost innumerable; the names of some of the most remarkable of them are as follow:

Διονύσια ἀρχαιότερα [o], celebrated upon the twelfth of Anthesterion, at Limnæ in Attica, where was a temple of Bacchus. The chief persons that officiated, were fourteen women, appointed by the Βασιλεὺς, who was one of the archons, and provided necessaries for the solemnity: they were called Γεραιραὶ, i. e. *venerable*, and could not enter upon their office, till they had taken an oath in presence of the Βασίλισσα, or wife of the Βασιλεὺς, that they were free from all manner of pollution.

Διονύσια νεώτερα are mentioned by Thucydides [p], but perhaps are not distinct from some of the following.

Διονύσια μεγάλα [q], or *the greater*, sometimes called Ἀστικὰ, or τὰ κατ' ἄστυ, as being celebrated within the city, in the month Elaphebolian. It is sometimes, by way of eminence, called Διονύσια, without any distinguishing epithet, because it was the most celebrated of all Bacchus's festivals at Athens: and it seems to be the same with the Διονύσια ἀρχαιότερα; and the following, to be the same with Διονύσια νεώτερα.

Διονύσια μικρὰ, or *the less*, sometimes called τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς, because it was observed in the country. It was a sort of preparation to the former and *greater* festival, and was celebrated in autumn [r]: some place it in the month Posideon, others in Gamelion; others will have it to be the same with Διονύσια ληναιὰ, so named from ληνὸς, i. e. *a wine-press:* and, agreeably to this opinion, Hesychius telleth us, it was celebrated in the month Lenæon.

Διονύσια Βραυρώνια [s], observed at Brauron, a borough of Attica, where the votaries gave themselves over to all manner of excess and lewdness.

Διονύσια νυκτήλια [t], mysteries unlawful to be revealed, and observed by the Athenians in honour of Bacchus Nyctelius, to whom also they erected a temple.

Θεοινα, to Bacchus, surnamed Θέοινος, i. e. the *god of wine.*

Ωμοφάγια, to Bacchus, surnamed Ωμοφάγος, and Ωμηστὴς, because human sacrifices were offered to him at that time [u]; or from eat-

[o] Thucydid. lib. ii. Hesychius, Demosthen. Orat. in Neæram, Pollux, lib. vii.

[p] Loc. citat.

[q] Demosthen. Orat. in Leptin.

[r] Aristophanes Scholiast. Acharn.

[s] Idem. in Pace.

[t] Pausanias Atticis.

[u] Plutarchus Themistocle.

ing raw flesh, which action the priests used to imitate upon this solemnity. It was also customary for them to put serpents in their hair, and in all their behaviour to counterfeit madness and distraction.

Διονύσια Ἀρκαδικὰ was an anniversary day in Arcadia, where the children, having been instructed in the music of Philoxenus and Timotheus, were brought yearly to the theatre, where they celebrated the feast of Bacchus with songs, dances, and games [v].

Several other festivals were observed in honour of this god, as the triennial solemnity, called from the time of its celebration, Διονύσια τριετηρικὰ [w], which is said to have been first instituted by Bacchus himself, in memory of his expedition into India, in which he spent three years. Another also is mentioned by the scholiast of Aristophanes [x], and said to be observed every fifth year. And beside these, we find frequent mention of Bacchus's festivals in most of the ancient authors, some of which are described in other places.

ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΑ, in honour of Διόσκουροι, or Castor and Pollux, who were reputed to be the sons of Jupiter. It was observed by the Cyrenæans [y], but more especially by the Spartans [z], whose country was honoured by the birth of these heroes. The solemnity was full of mirth, being a time wherein they shared plentifully of the gifts of Bacchus, and diverted themselves with sports, of which wrestling matches always made a part.

ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΣ, a Milesian festival, wherein an ox was offered to Jupiter [a], as the name imports.

ΔΡΥΟΠΕΙΑ, an anniversary day, observed in memory of Dryops, one of Apollo's sons, at Asine, which was a maritime town of Argos, and inhabited by the Dryopians [b].

ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΗ, a festival so called, because it was celebrated upon the *twelfth* day of Anthesterion [c]. See Ἀνθεστήρια.

E.

ἙΒΔΟΜΗ, on the *seventh* day [d] of every lunar month, in honour of Apollo, to whom all seventh days were sacred, because one of them was his birth-day; whence he was sometimes called Ἑβδομαγένης [e]. The story we have in Hesiod [f].

v Polybius, lib. iv.
w Virgil. Æneid. iv.
x In Pace.
y Pindari Schol. Pythion. Od. v.
z Pausan. Messenicis, Sidonius Carm. ix.
a Hesychius.
b Pausan. Messen.
c Hesychius.
d Suidas, Proclus in Hesiodi Dies.
e Plut. Sympos. lib. viii. quæst. 1.
f Diebus.

——— καὶ ἑβδόμη, ἱερὸν ἦμαρ,
Τῇ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα γείνατο Λητώ.
——— The seventh day is sacred,
'Cause Phœbus then was of Latona born.

At this solemnity the Athenians sung hymns to Apollo, and carried in their hands branches of laurel, with which also they adorned their dishes.

Another festival there was of this name, which private families observed upon the seventh day after the birth of a child: but of this I shall give an account in its own place.

ΕΙΣΗΤΗΡΙΑ, the day in which the magistrates at Athens entered upon their offices[g]; upon which it was customary for them to offer a solemn sacrifice, praying for the preservation and prosperity of the commonwealth, in the temple or hall of *Jupiter* Βουλαῖος, and *Minerva* Βουλαία, i. e. the *counsellors*.

'ΕΚΑΛΗΣΙΑ, to Jupiter, surnamed Hecalus, or Hecalesius, from Hecale, one of the borough towns of the Leontian tribe in Attica[i]; or from an old woman called Hecale, by whom he had a statue erected. This Hecale (as Plutarch[j] reports), when Theseus was upon his expedition against the Marathonian bull, entertained him with all possible expressions of kindness and respect, making prayers and vows to the gods for his safe return. Theseus came off with victory and honour; but at his return, finding old Hecale dead, and being thereby prevented from expressing his thankfulness to her, he ordered that her memory should be held sacred, and honoured at this solemnity, in which she was called, by a diminution of her name, *Hecalene*; because she had accosted Theseus after that manner, calling him Θησείδιον, which is a very usual mode of speech, when aged persons design to express their love and tenderness to the younger sort; so Strepsiades, in Aristophanes[k], calls his son Phidippides by the diminutive name of Φειδιππίδιον.

'ΕΚΑΤΗΣΙΑ, an anniversary solemnity observed in honour of Hecate, by the Stratonicensians, who were wont to assemble at this time in great numbers.[l].

The Athenians also had a great veneration for this goddess, believing that she was the overseer of their families, and protected their children; whence it was customary to erect statues to her before the doors of their houses, which, from the goddess's name,

[g] Suidas, aliique Lexicographi.
[h] Antiphon. Orat. pro Choreut.
[i] Stephan. Byzantin.
[j] Theseo.
[k] Nubibus.
[l] Strabo, lib. xiv.

were called Ἑκαταῖα[m]. Every new moon there was a public (δεῖπνον) *supper*, provided at the charge of the richer sort, which was no sooner brought to the accustomed place, but the poor people carried all off, giving out that Hecate had devoured it[n]; whence it was called Ἑκάτης δεῖπνον, or Hecate's supper. This was done in a place where three ways met, because this goddess was supposed to have a threefold nature, or three offices, in allusion to which she was known by three names, being called in the infernal regions, *Hecate*; in heaven, Σελήνη, or the *Moon*; and upon the earth, Ἀρτεμις, or *Diana*: whence it is we find a great many names attributed to her, derived from the number three, or bearing some relation to it; as Τριγέννητος, Τρίγληνος, Τριγλαθήνη, Τριοδῖτη, *Trivia*, *Tergemina*, *Tritonia*, with several others. The reason why Hecate was placed in the public ways, rather than other deities, was ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν καθαρμάτων καὶ μιασμάτων θεὸς, *because she presided over piacular pollutions*, as we learn from the scholiast on Theocritus[o]: and the above-mentioned sacrifices or suppers (δεῖπνα) ἀποτροπαίων καὶ καθαρσίων ἐπέχει μοῖραν, were expiatory offerings to move this goddess to avert any evils, which might impend by reason of piacular crimes committed in the high-ways, as we are informed by Plutarch.

ἙΚΑΤΟΜΒΟΙΑ, a festival[p] celebrated in honour of Juno, by the Argians, and Æginensians, who were a colony from Argos. It was so called from ἑκατόμβη, which signifies a sacrifice consisting of an *hundred oxen*; it being usual upon the first day of this solemnity to offer so many to Juno, the relics of all which were distributed amongst the citizens. There were also at this time public sports, first instituted by Archinus, one of the kings of Argos; the prize was a brazen shield and a crown of myrtle.

There was also an anniversary sacrifice called by this name in Laconia, and offered for the preservation of the hundred cities, which flourished at one time in that country[q].

ἙΚΑΤΟΜΦΟΝΙΑ, a solemn sacrifice to Jupiter, offered by the Messenians, when any of them killed an hundred enemies[r].

ΕΚΔΥΣΙΑ, a festival observed by the Phæstians in honour of Latona, upon this account, as it is delivered by Antoninus Liberalis[s]: Galatea, the daughter of Eurytius, was married to Lamprus, the son of Pandion, a citizen of Phæstus in Crete; who being of an honourable family, but wanting an estate answerable to his birth,

[m] Aristophan. ejusque Scholiast. in Vesp.
[n] Idem in Pluto.
[o] Idyll. ii.
[p] Pindari Scholiast. Olymp. vii. viii.
[q] Eustath. Iliad. β'.
[r] Pausan. Messen.
[s] Metamorph. xvii.

and being unable to provide competent fortunes for daughters, had commanded his wife, that if she was brought to bed of a daughter, she should immediately put her to death. This done, he went to look after his flock, and before his return Galatea was delivered of a daughter, but being overcome by maternal affection, resolved to disobey her husband's cruel command; wherefore, to secure the infant, she called it Leucippus, telling her husband it was a boy. At length, being no longer able to conceal the artifice, she fled for succour to Latona's temple, where, with abundance of earnestness, she entreated the goddess, that, if it was possible, her virgin might be transformed into a boy. Latona, moved with compassion, granted her request, and was thence by the Phæstians called Φύτια, διὰ τὸ φύειν μήδεα τῇ κόρῃ, i. e. because the maid changed her sex; and Εκδυσία, διὰ τὸ τὴν παῖδα ἐκδύειν τὸν πέπλον, i. e. because she *put off* her woman's apparel.

ΕΛΑΦΗΒΟΛΙΑ, in honour of Diana, surnamed Ελαφηβόλος, i. e. *the huntress;* for which reason, a cake made in the form of a deer, and upon that account called ἔλαφος, was offered to her [t]. This festival was instituted upon this occasion: the Phocensians being reduced to the last extremity by the Thessalians, and disdaining to submit to them, Daïphantus proposed that a vast pile of combustible matter should be erected, upon which they should place their wives, children, and their whole substance; and in case they were defeated, set all on fire together, that nothing might come into the hands of their enemies. But it being judged by no means reasonable so to dispose of the women without their consent, they summoned them to the public assembly; where, being met in a full body, the proposal was no sooner offered to them, than, with unanimous consent, they gave their approbation of it, applauding Daïphantus, and decreeing him a crown, in reward of so generous and noble a contrivance; the boys also are said to have met and consented to it. Things being in this posture, they went to meet their enemies, whom they engaged with such fury and resolution, that those by whom they had just been before reduced to extreme despair, were entirely defeated by them [u]. In memory of which victory this festival was instituted, and observed with more solemnity, and frequently by greater numbers of worshippers, than any other in that country. Here you may take notice of the proverb, Φωκέων ἀπόνοια, i. e. *Phocensian despair,* which is applied to per-

[t] Athen. Δειπνοσοφ. lib. xiv.

[u] Plut. de Virtute Mulierum.

sons lost beyond all hopes of recovery, and is said to have taken its original from this story.

ʽΕΛΕΝΙΑ, a festival instituted by the Laconians, in memory of Helena [v], to whom they gave the honour of a temple and divine worship. It was celebrated by virgins riding upon mules, or in certain chariots composed of reeds or bulrushes, and called Κανάθραι.

ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ, at Platæa [w], to Jupiter Eleutherius, or the assertor of liberty, by delegates from almost all the cities of Greece. It was instituted upon this account: Mardonius, the Persian general, being defeated in the territories of Platæa by the Grecians, under the conduct of Pausanias the Spartan, the Platæans erected an altar, and a statue of white marble, to Jupiter Eleutherius, by whose assistance they supposed the Grecians had asserted the liberties of Greece against the force of the barbarians: and a general assembly being summoned from all parts of Greece, Aristides, the Athenian, proposed that deputies might be sent every fifth year from the cities of Greece, to celebrate Ελευθέρια, i. e. *the games of liberty*; which was agreed upon, and great prizes appointed to be contended for.

The Platæans also kept an anniversary solemnity, in memory of those that had valiantly lost their lives in defence of their country's liberty, of which the manner was thus: on the sixteenth of the month Mæmacterian, which with the Bœotians is Alalcomenius, a procession was made, beginning about break of day. It was led by a trumpeter, sounding a point of war; then followed certain chariots, laden with myrrh, garlands, and a black bull; after these came young men, free born, it not being permitted any person of servile condition to assist at any part of the solemnity, because the men in whose memory it was instituted died in defence of the liberty of Greece; these carried libations of wine and milk, in large two-eared vessels, and jars of oil, and precious ointments: last of all came the chief magistrate, for whom, though it was unlawful at other times to touch any thing of iron, or wear garments of any colour but white, yet he was then clad in a purple robe, and taking a water-pot out of the city-chamber, proceeded with a sword in his hand through the middle of the town to the sepulchres: then he drew water out of a neighbouring spring, and washed and anointed the monuments; then sacrificed the bull upon a pile of wood, making supplication to infernal Mercury, and Jupiter, and invited the souls of those valiant heroes that lost

[v] Hesychius. [w] Pausan. Bœot. Plut. Aristide.

their lives in defence of their country, to the entertainment; then filling a bowl with wine, said, *I drink to those that lost their lives for the liberty of Greece.* These solemnities, Plutarch telleth us, was observed till his days.

Another festival of this name was observed by the Samians, in honour of the god of love [x].

It was also customary for slaves to keep a holiday called by this name, when they obtained liberty. To which custom there is an allusion in Plautus [y], who introduces a slave, named Toxilus, rejoicing that his master was gone from home, and promising himself as much pleasure as if he had obtained his freedom; whence he makes him to say:

Basilice agito Eleutheria.——

ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ; this solemnity was observed by the Celeans and Phliasians, every fourth year; by the Pheneatæ also, the Lacedæmonians, Parrhasians, and Cretans; but more especially by the Athenians, every fifth year, at Eleusis, a borough-town in Attica, from whence it was translated to Rome by Adrian the emperor, and never totally abolished till the reign of the elder Theodosius. It was the most celebrated and mysterious solemnity of any in Greece; whence it is often called, by way of eminence, *Μυστήρια*, i. e. *the mysteries,* without any other note of distinction; and so superstitiously careful were they to conceal the sacred rites, that if any person divulged any part of them, he was thought to have called down some divine judgment upon his head, and it was accounted unsafe to abide in the same house with him; wherefore he was apprehended as a public offender, and suffered death. Every thing contained a mystery; Ceres herself (to whom, with her daughter Proserpina, this solemnity was sacred), was not called by her own name, but by the unusual title of *Αχθεια,* which seems to be derived from *ἄχθος,* i. e. *grief,* or *heaviness,* because of her sorrow for the loss of her daughter, when she was stolen by Pluto. This secrecy was strictly enjoined, not only in Attica, but in all other places of Greece where this festival was observed, except Crete; insomuch, that if any person that was not lawfully initiated, did but, through ignorance or mistake, chance to be present at the mysterious rites, he was put to death. It is said by some to have been first instituted by Ceres herself, when she had supplied the Athenians with corn in a time of famine. Others attribute both those facts to king Erectheus: some will have it to

[x] Athenæus, Δειπνοσοφ. lib.

[y] Pers. Act. i. scen. 1.

have been instituted by Musæus, the father of Eumolpus; others by Eumolpus himself.

Persons of both sexes, and all ages, were initiated at this solemnity. Nor was it a thing indifferent, whether they would be so or not, for the neglect of it was looked upon as a crime of a very heinous nature; insomuch that it was one part of the accusation for which Socrates was condemned to death. All persons initiated were thought to live in a state of greater happiness and security than other men, being under the more immediate care and protection of the goddess: nor did the benefit of it extend only to this life; but after death too, they enjoyed (as was believed) far greater degrees of felicity than others, and were honoured with the first places in the Elysian shades; whereas others were forced to wallow in perpetual dirt, stink, and nastiness.

But since the benefits of initiation were so vastly great, no wonder if they were very cautious what persons they admitted to it; therefore such as were convicted of witchcraft, or any other heinous crime, or had committed murder, though against their wills, were debarred from these mysteries; and though in later ages, all persons, barbarians excepted, were admitted to them, yet in the primitive times, the Athenians excluded all strangers, that is, all that were not members of their own commonwealth. Hence, when Hercules, Castor, and Pollux, desired to be initiated, they were first made citizens of Athens, as we learn from Plutarch [z]. Nor were they admitted to the Μυστήρια μεγάλα, or *greater mysteries*, but only to the μικρὰ, or *less*, which were sacred to Proserpina, and first instituted on this account: on a time when the Athenians were celebrating the accustomed solemnity, Hercules happening to go that way, desired he might be initiated; but it being unlawful for any stranger to enjoy that privilege, and yet Hercules being a person who, by reason of his great power, and the extraordinary services he had done for them, could not be denied, Eumolpus thought of an expedient, whereby to satisfy the hero's request, without violating the laws; which he did by instituting another solemnity, which was called Μικρὰ μυστήρια, or the *lesser mysteries*, which were afterwards solemnly observed in the month Anthesterion, at Agræ, a place near the river Ilissus; whereas the greater were celebrated in the month Boedromion, at Eleusis, an Attic borough, from which Ceres was called Eleusinia. In latter times, the lesser festival was used as a preparative to the greater;

[z] Theseo.

for no persons were initiated in the greater, unless they had been purified at the lesser; the manner of which purification was thus: having kept themselves chaste and unpolluted nine days, they came and offered sacrifices and prayers, wearing crowns and garlands of flowers, which were called ισμιερα, or Ιμιερα; they had also under their feet Διὸς κώδιον, i. e. *Jupiter's skin*, which was the skin of a victim offered to that god. The person that assisted them herein was called Ὑδρανὸς, from Ὕδωρ, i. e. *water*, which was used at most purifications: themselves were named Μύσαι i. e. persons *initiated*.

About a year after, having sacrificed a sow to Ceres, they were admitted to the greater mysteries, the secret rites of which (some few excepted, to which none but priests were conscious) were frankly revealed to them; whence they were called ἔφοροι, and ἐπόπται, i. e. *inspectors*. The manner of initiation was thus: the candidates being crowned with myrtle, had admittance by night into a place called Μυστικὸς σηκὸς, i. e. the *mystical temple*, which was an edifice so vast and capacious, that the most ample theatre did scarce exceed it. At their entrance, they purified themselves by washing their hands in holy water; and, at the same time, were admonished to present themselves with minds pure and undefiled, without which the external cleanness of the body would by no means be accepted. After this the holy mysteries were read to them out of a book called Πέτρωμα; which word is derived from πέτρα, i. e. a *stone*, because the book was nothing else but two stones fitly cemented together. Then the priest that initiated them, called Ἱεροφάντης, proposed certain questions, as, whether they were fasting? &c. to which they returned answers in a set form, as may be seen in Meursius's treatise on this festival, to which I refer the reader. This done, strange and amazing objects presented themselves; sometimes the place they were in seemed to shake round them, sometimes appeared bright and resplendent with light and radiant fire, and then again covered with black darkness and horror; sometimes thunder and lightning; sometimes frightful noises and bellowings; sometimes terrible apparitions astonished the trembling spectators. The being present at these sights was called Αὐτοψία, i. e. *intuition*. After this they were dismissed in these words, Κόγξ, Ομπαξ. The garments in which they were initiated were accounted sacred, and of no less efficacy to avert evils than charms and incantations: and therefore were never cast off till they were torn and tattered; nor was it then usual to throw

them away, but they made swaddling clothes of them for their children, or consecrated them to Ceres and Proserpina.

The chief person that attended at the initiation was called Ἱεροφάντης, i. e. *a revealer of holy things:* he was a citizen of Athens, and held his office during life (though amongst the Celeans and Phliasians it was customary for him to resign his place every fourth year, which was the time of this festival); he was farther obliged to devote himself wholly to divine service, and to live a chaste and single life; to which end it was usual for him to anoint himself with the juice of hemlock, which, by its extreme coldness, is said to extinguish in a great measure the natural heat. The hierophantes had three assistants; the first of whom was called, from his office Δᾳδοῦχος, i. e. *torch-bearer;* and to him it was permitted to marry. The second was called Κῆρυξ, of whose office I have already given an account. The third ministered at the altar, and was, for that reason, named Ὁ ἐπὶ βωμῷ. Hierophantes is said to have been a type of the great creator of all things; Δᾳδοῦχος, of the *sun;* Κῆρυξ, of *Mercury;* and Ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ, of the *moon.*

There were also certain public officers, whose business it was to take care that all things were performed according to custom. First βασιλεὺς, i. e. the *king,* who was one of the archons, and was obliged at this solemnity to offer prayers and sacrifices, to see that no indecency or irregularity was committed, and the day following the mysteries, to assemble the senate to take cognizance of all offenders in that kind. Beside the king, there were four Ἐπιμεληταὶ, i. e. *curators,* elected by the people; one of them was appointed out of the sacred family of the Eumolpidæ, another out of Ceryces, and the remaining two out of the other citizens. There were also ten persons that assisted at this, and some other solemnities, who were called Ἱεροποιοὶ, because it was their business to *offer sacrifices.*

This festival was celebrated in the month Boedromion, and continued nine days, beginning upon the fifteenth, and ending upon the twenty-third day of that month, during which time it was unlawful to arrest any man, or present any petition; and such as were found guilty of these practices were fined a thousand drachms, or (as others report) put to death. It was also unlawful for those that were initiated to sit upon the covering of a well, or to eat beans, mullets, or weazles. If any woman rode in a chariot to Eleusis, she was, by an edict of Lycurgus, obliged to pay six

thousand drachms. The design of which order was to prevent the richer women from distinguishing themselves from those which were poor.

1. The first day was called Ἀγυρμὸς, i. e. an *assembly*; because, it may be then the worshippers first met together.

2. The second was named Αλα δὲ Μύςαι, i. e. *to the sea, you that are initiated*; because (I suppose) they were commanded to purify themselves by washing in the sea.

3. Upon the third they offered sacrifices, which consisted chiefly of an Æxonian mullet, in Greek, τρίγλη, and barley out of Rharium, a field of Eleusis, in which that sort of corn was first sown. These oblations were called Θύα, and accounted so sacred, that the priests themselves were not (as was usual in other offerings) allowed to partake of them.

4. Upon the fourth they made a solemn procession, wherein the Καλάθιον, or holy *basket* of Ceres, was carried in a consecrated cart; crouds of people shouting as they went along, Χαῖρε Δημῆτερ, i. e. *hail to Ceres.* After these followed certain women, called Κιςοφόροι, who (as the name implies) *carried* certain *baskets*: in these were contained sesamin, carded wool, some grains of salt, a serpent, pomegranates, reeds, ivy boughs, a sort of cakes called φθοῖς, poppies, &c.

5. The fifth was called Ἡ τῶν λαμπάδων ἡμέρα, i. e. the *torch day*; because, the night following it, the men and women ran about with torches in their hands. It was also customary to dedicate torches to Ceres, and to contend who should present the biggest; which was done in memory of Ceres's journey, wherein she sought Proserpina, being conducted by the light of a torch, kindled in the flames of Etna.

6. The sixth was called Ιακχος, from *Jacchus*, the son of Jupiter and Ceres, who accompanied the goddess in her search after Proserpina, with a torch in his hand; whence it is that his statue held a torch. This statue was carried from the Ceramicus to Eleusis in solemn procession, called after the hero's name Ιακχος. The statue, and the persons that accompanied it, hadt heir heads crowned with myrtle: these were named Ιακχογωγοὶ, and all the way danced, and sung, and beat brazen kettles. The way by which they issued out of the city, was called Ἱερὰ ὁδὸς, i. e. the *sacred way*: the resting-place, Ἱερὰ συκῆ, from a *fig tree*, which grew there, and was (like all other things, concerned in this solemnity) accounted sacred. It was also customary to rest upon

a bridge built over the river Cephissus, where they made themselves merry by jesting on those that passed by; whence γεφυρίζων, being derived from γέφυρα, i. e. a *bridge*, is by Suidas expounded χλευάζων, i. e. *mocking*, or *jeering*; and γεφυρισαὶ are, by Hesychius, interpreted σκῶπται, i. e. *scoffers*. Having passed this bridge, they went to Eleusis, the way into which was called Μυστικὴ εἴσοδος, i. e. the *mystical entrance*.

7. Upon the seventh day were sports, in which the victors were rewarded with a measure of barley, that grain being first sown in Eleusis.

8. The eighth was called Επιδαυρίων ἡμέρα, because it once happened that Æsculapius, coming from Epidaurus to Athens, and desiring to be initiated, had the lesser mysteries repeated: whence it became customary to celebrate them a second time upon this day, and admit to initiation such persons as had not before enjoyed that privilege.

9. The ninth and last day of the festival was called Πλημοχόαι, i. e. *earthen vessels*; because it was usual to fill two such vessels with wine; one of which being placed towards the east, and the other towards the west, after the repetition of certain mystical words, they were both thrown down, and the wine being spilt upon the ground, was offered as a libation.

ΕΛΕΝΟΦΟΡΙΑ, an Athenian Festival [a], so called from Ελέναι, i. e. vessels made of bull-rushes, with ears of willow, in which certain mysterious things were carried upon this day.

ΕΛΛΩΤΙΑ, two festivals [b], one of which was celebrated in Crete, in honour of Europa, called Ελλωτία, which was either a Phœnician name, or derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑλεσθαι αὐτὴν ὑπὸ ταύρου, i. e. from Europa's ravishment by Jupiter in the form a bull. At this time Europa's bones were carried in procession, with a myrtle garland called Ελλώτις, or Ελλώτης, which was no less than twenty cubits in circumference.

The other festival was celebrated by the Corinthians, with solemn games and races, wherein young men contended, running with lighted torches in their hands. It was instituted in honour of Minerva, surnamed Ελλωτὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἕλους, i. e. from a certain pond in Marathon, where one of her statues was erected; or ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑλεῖν τὸν ἵππον τὸν Πήγασον, i. e. because by her assistance *Bellerophon caught Pegasus*, the winged horse, and brought him

a Pollux Onom. lib. x. cap. 53. Hesych.

b Hesych. Etymolog. Auctor. Athenæus Δειπνοσοφ. lib. xv. Pindari Scholiastes Olympion. Od. xiii.

under command, which some take to be the first reason of the celebration of this festival. Others are of opinion, that this name was given to the goddess from one Hellotis, a Corinthian woman: the story runs thus;—the Dorians being assisted by the posterity of Hercules made an invasion upon Peloponnesus, where they took and burned Corinth: most of the women took care to secure themselves by an early flight; only some few, amongst whom were Hellotis and Eurytione, betook themselves to Minerva's temple, hoping that the sanctity of the place would be a sufficient protection for them. No sooner had this reached the Dorians' ears, but they set fire to the temple; and all the rest making a shift to escape, Hellotis and Eurytione perished in the flames. Upon this ensued a dreadful plague, which proved very fatal to the Dorians: and the remedy prescribed by the goddess, was to appease the ghosts of the two deceased sisters; whereupon they instituted this festival in memory of them, and erected a temple to Minerva, surnamed from one of them, Hellotis.

ΕΛΩΡΙΑ, games in Sicily, near the river Helloris [c].

ΕΜΠΛΟΚΙΑ, at Athens [d].

ΕΝΗΛΙΑΞΙΣ, or rather (according to Meursius's conjecture) Ἐνυαλίαξις, was a festival in honour of Enyalius [e], whom some will have to be the same with Mars: others, only one of his ministers.

ΕΞΙΤΗΡΙΑ, oblations or prayers to any of the gods, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐξόδου, *for prosperous egress.* These were offered, by generals before they went out to the wars, by men who were going from home, and such as were about to make their exit out of the world by death [f].

ΕΠΑΧΘΗΣ, to Ceres, named Ἀχθεία [g], from ἄχθος, i. e. *grief,* in memory of her sorrow, when she had lost her daughter Proserpina.

ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ, private festivals, and times of rejoicing, when a friend or relation had returned from a journey [h].

ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ, a Delphian festival, in memory of a journey of Apollo [i].

ΕΠΙΘΡΙΚΑΔΙΑ, in honour of Apollo [j].

ΕΠΙΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ, an Athenian festival, in honour of Ceres [k].

ΕΠΙΚΡΗΝΙΑ, another of Ceres's festivals, observed by the Laconians [l].

c Hesychius.
d Idem. e Idem.
f Suidas, Etymologici Auctor.
g Plutarch de Iside et Osiride.
h Himerius in Propempt. Flavian.
i Procop. in Epistola ad Zachariam.
j Hesychius.
k Idem. l Idem.

ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΑ, ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ, a day of rejoicing after victory. Επινίκια θύειν signifies *to sacrifice for a victory obtained.*

ΕΠΙΣΚΑΦΙΑ, a Rhodian festival[m].

ΕΠΙΣΚΗΝΑ, a Spartan festival[n].

ΕΠΙΣΚΙΡΑ, ΕΠΙΣΚΙΡΩΣΙΣ, at Scira in Attica, in honour of Ceres and Proserpina[o].

ΕΡΩΤΙΔΙΑ, by the Thespians, in honour of Ερως, i. e. Cupid, the god of love[p].

ΕΡΩΤΙΑ, this festival seems to be the same with the former, for it was observed by the Thespians in honour of Cupid[q]; being celebrated every fifth year with sports and games, wherein musicians and others contended. If any quarrels had happened amongst the people, it was usual at this time to offer sacrifices and prayers to the god, that he would put an end to them.

ΕΡΓΑΤΙΑ, a Laconian festival, in honour of Hercules[r]; being (I suppose) instituted in memory of the labours, for labour is by the Greeks called Εργόν.

ΕΡΚΗΝΙΑ, I would rather call it Ερκύννια, for this festival belonged to Ceres[s], whom we find surnamed Hercynna, in Lycophron[t]; which title was given her from Hercynna, the daughter of Trophonius, and play-fellow of Proserpina[u].

ΕΡΜΑΙΑ, a festival observed in honour of Ερμῆς, i. e. Mercury, by the Pheneatæ in Arcadia[v], and the Cyllenians in Elis[w].

Another we find observed by the Tanagræans in Bœotia[x], where Mercury was called Κριοφόρος, i. e. *the ram-bearer,* and represented with a ram upon his shoulder, because he is said, in a time of plague, to have walked about the city in that posture, and cured the sick; in memory of which action, it was customary for one of the most beautiful youths in the city to walk round the city-walls with a lamb, or ram, upon his shoulders.

A festival of the same name was also observed in Crete, where it was usual for the servants to sit down at the table, whilst their masters stood by and waited[y]; which custom was also practised at the Roman saturnalia.

Another of Mercury's festivals was observed by boys in the

[m] Hesychius. [n] Idem.
[o] Strabo Geogr. lib. ix. Stephanus, v. Σκίρος.
[p] Eustathius sub finem Iliad. ώ.
[q] Plutarchus Erotic. Pausan. Bœoticis.
[r] Hesychius. [s] Idem.
[t] Cassandra, v. 153.
[u] Pausanias Bœoticis.
[v] Idem Arcadicis.
[w] Idem Eliacis.
[k] Idem Bœóticis.
[y] Athenæus, Δειπνοσοφ. xiv

schools of exercise at Athens[z]; at which no adult persons were allowed to be present, beside the gymnasiarch; who, if convicted of having admitted any, underwent the same punishment with those that corrupted free-born youth: the occasion of this law seems to have been the foul and not to be named lust and wantonness, which were practised in former times at this solemnity.

ΕΣΤΙΑΙΑ, solemn sacrifices to Vesta[a], called in Greek Ἑςία, of which it was unlawful to carry away, or communicate, any part to any beside the worshippers; whence Ἑςίᾳ θύειν, i. e. to *sacrifice to Vesta,* is proverbially applied to such as do any thing in private, without spectators[b]; or rather to covetous misers, that will not part with any thing they are once possessed of[c].

ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΙΑ, or ΣΕΜΝΩΝ ʹΕΟΡΤΗ, to the furies[d], who were by the Athenians called Σεμναὶ θεαὶ, i. e. *venerable goddesses*; by the Sicyonians, and others, Εὐμενίδες, i. e. *favourable* or *propitious;* out of an opinion that their true names were unlucky omens. This festival was observed once every year with sacrifices, wherein pregnant ewes, cakes made by the most eminent of the young men, and a libation of honey and wine were offered to the goddesses, the worshippers being decked with flowers. At Athens, none had admission to these solemnities but free-born denizens; and of them, those only that were of known virtue and integrity, for such alone could be acceptable to these deities, whose peculiar office it was to revenge and punish all sorts of wickedness.

ΕΥΡΥΘΙΩΝΙΟΝ, to Ceres[e].

ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙΑ, a Spartan festival, mentioned in an old inscription.

ΕΥΡΥΝΟΜΕΙΑ, an anniversary solemnity observed by the Phigaleans in Arcadia[f], who offered sacrifices, both in public and private, to Eurynome, who had in this place a temple, which was never opened but upon this day. This Eurynome was (as some are of opinion) the same with Diana; or (according to others) one of Oceanus's daughters, mentioned in Homer, where she is said to have assisted in entertaining Vulcan.

ΕΦΙΠΠΟΣ, horse-races in Laconia[g].

Η

ʹΗΛΑΚΑΤΑΙΑ, a Laconian festival, in honour of Helacatus[h], who was a boy beloved by Hercules.

[z] Æschines in Timarchum.
[a] Hesychius.
[b] Diogenianus. [c] Tarrhæus.
[d] Philo, Pausanias Bœoticis.
[e] Hesychius.
[f] Pausanias Arcadicis.
[g] Hesychius et Phavorinus.
[h] Hesychius.

'ΗΡΑΙΑ, a festival at Argos, in honour of Juno, who was the protectress of that city, and called in Greek 'Ηρη. The same was kept by the colonies from Argos, which inhabited the islands Ægina and Samos. There were two processions to the goddess's temple without the city; one by the men in armour; another, in which Juno's priestess, who was always a matron of the first quality, was drawn in a chariot by white oxen: from her priesthood the Argians accounted their years, as the Athenians did by the government of their archons. Being arrived at the temple, they offered an hecatomb of oxen, whence this festival is named 'Εκατόμβοια; that sacrifice is also sometimes called Λεχέρνα· which name may, perhaps, be derived from λέχος, i. e. *a bed*, because it was Juno's care to preside over marriages, births, &c. There were also certain games, wherein the victory consisted in pulling down a shield, that was strongly fixed upon the theatre: the reward was a crown of myrtle, and a brazen shield; whence the game was sometimes called Χάλκειος ἀγων, i. e. *the brazen contention*. See 'Εκατόμβοια.

Another festival of this name we find celebrated every fifth year in Elis, where sixteen matrons were appointed to weave a garment for the goddess. There were games also, which are said to have been first instituted by Hippodamia, in honour of Juno, by whose assistance she was married to Pelops. The Presidents were sixteen matrons, every one of whom was attended by a maid: the contenders were virgins, who, being distinguished into several classes, according to their ages, ran races in their order, beginning from the youngest. The habit of all was the same; their hair was dishevelled, their right shoulders were bare to the breasts, and their coats reached no lower than their knees. They had a second race in the Olympic stadium, which was at that time shortened about a sixth part. Such as obtained a victory, were rewarded with crowns of olive, and a share of the ox that was offered in sacrifice, and were permitted to dedicate their own pictures to the goddess.

This name was also given to a solemn day of mourning at Corinth, for Medea's children, who were buried in the temple of Juno Acræa in that place, and, as some say, slain by the Corinthians, who, to remove the scandal of so barbarous a murder from themselves, are said to have given Euripides a large sum to invent the fable, wherein it is attributed to Medea, which before that time no man ever dreamed of [i].

i Lycophron Scholiast.

Another festival of this name was celebrated by the Pellenæans with games, wherein the victor was rewarded with a rich garment, called from the place's name Πελληνικὴ χλαῖνα.

ἩΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ, an Athenian festival, celebrated every fifth year in honour of Hercules[j].

The Thisbians also, and Thebans in Bœotia, observed a solemn festival in honour of Hercules, surnamed Μήλων, because τὰ μῆλα, i. e. *apples*, were offered to him[k]. The original of which custom was thus: it being usual in former times to offer a sheep at this solemnity, it happened once that the river Asopus had so far overflowed its banks, that it could not be forded, whereby the coming of the victim was hindered. The word μῆλον is ambiguous in Greek, signifying sometimes a *sheep*, sometimes an *apple;* which some of the boys being aware of, for want of other employment, performed the holy rites in sport, offering, instead of the ram, an apple, which they supported with four sticks, in imitation of feet, placing two more upon the top of it, to branch out like horns: Hercules was mightily taken with the jest, and the custom was continued from that time to my author's age, who flourished under Commodus the Roman emperor.

At Sicyon Hercules was honoured with a festival, which lasted two days, the former of which was called Ονομάτας, the latter Ἡράκλεια.

At Lindus, there was a solemnity in honour of Hercules, at which nothing was heard but execrations and ill-boding words, insomuch, that if any person happened to let fall a lucky speech, he was thought to have profaned the holy rites; the original of which custom is accounted for by Lactantius.

There was another festival of Hercules at Coos, wherein the priest officiated with a mitre on his head, and in woman's apparel.

ΗΡΟΣΑΝΘΕΙΑ, a Peloponnesian festival, wherein the women met together, and gathered flowers[l], as the name imports, being derived from ἔαρ, i. e. *the spring*, and ἄνθος, i. e. *a flower*.

ΗΡΟΧΙΑ, a festival mentioned by Hesychius.

ΗΡΩΙΣ, a festival celebrated every ninth year by the Delphians, in honour of some heroine, as may be learned from the name. We are told by Plutarch[m], that there were in it a great many mysterious rites, wherein was a representation of something like Semele's resurrection.

j Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9.
k Idem. lib. i. cap. 1.
l Hesychius.
m Quæst. Græc.

'ΗΦΑΙΣΤΕΙΑ, an Athenian festival in honour of 'Ηφαιστος, i. e. *Vulcan.* At this time there was a race with torches, called Αγὼν λαμπαδοῦχος, in the academy; the manner of which was thus[n]: the antagonists were three young men, one of whom being appointed by lots to take his turn first, took a lighted torch in his hand, and began his course: if the torch was extinguished before he arrived at his journey's end, he delivered it to the second, and he in like manner to the third. The victory was his that carried the torch lighted to the race's end, who was called Λαμπαδηφόρος, or πυρσηφόρος: but if none could perform that, the victory was not adjudged to any of them. If any of the contenders, for fear of extinguishing the torch by too violent a motion, slackened his course, the spectators used to strike him witb the palms of their hands; for which reason those blows were called Πληγαὶ πλατεῖαι, *broad stripes;* as also Κεραμεικαὶ, because they were inflicted in the Ceramicus[o], of which the academy was a part. To the successive delivering of the torches from one to another, there are frequent allusions in authors, who usually compare it to the turns and vicissitudes of human affairs, and the various changes and successions that happen in the world; of which I will only mention one instance out of Lucretius[p]:

> *Inque brevi spatio mutantur secla animantum,*
> *Et quasi cursores vitai lampada tradunt.*
>
> So things by turns increase, by turns decay,
> Like racers, bear the lamp of life, and live;
> And their race done, their lamps to others give. CREECH.

Θ

ΘΑΛΥΣΙΑ, a sacrifice offered by the husbandmen after harvest, ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐλείας τῶν καρπῶν, i. e. *in gratitude to the gods,* by whose blessing they enjoyed the fruits of the ground. The whole festival was called Αλῶα of which in another place; as also Συγκομιστήρια, ἀπὸ τῆς συγκομιδῆς τῶν καρπῶν, i. e. from the *gathering of fruits.* Some will have it to be observed in honour of Ceres and Bacchus[q], they being the two deities who had a peculiar care of the fruits of the earth. But Eustathius[r] telleth us, that there was also a solemn procession at this time in honour of Neptune; and addeth further, that all the gods had a share in the offerings at this festival; as appears also from Homer's own words, who tells us, that Diana's anger against Oeneus was caused by his neglect of sacrificing to

[n] Pausanias Persii vetus Scholiastes, Hesychius.
[o] Aristophan. ejusque Scholiast. in Ranis.
[p] Lib. ii.
[q] Menander Rhetor. cap. περὶ λαλιᾶς.
[r] Iliad. ί.

her at this festival, wherein all the rest of the gods had been feasted by him:

> Καὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κακὸν χρυσόθρονος Ἄρτεμις ὦρσε
> Χωσαμένη ὅτ' οἱ ὔτι θαλύσια γυνῷ ἀλωῆς
> Οἰνεὺς ῥέξ', ἄλλοι δὲ θεοὶ δαινύνθ' ἑκατόμβας,
> Οἴῃ δ' ὐκ ἔῤῥεξε Διὸς κύρῃ μεγάλοιο.
>
> The silver Cynthia bade contention rise,
> In vengeance of neglected sacrifice:
> On Oeneus' field she sent a monstrous boar,
> That levelled harvests and whole forests tore. POPE.

Hence comes Θαλύσιος ἄρτος, sometimes called Θάργηλος[s], which was the first bread made of the new corn. Some there are, that will have θαλύσια to be a general name for all the festivals wherein they carried τὰς θαλλὰς, i. e. *green boughs.*

ΘΑΡΓΗΛΙΑ, an Athenian festival, in honour of the Sun, and his attendants, the Hours; or, as others think, of Delian Apollo, and Diana. It was celebrated upon the sixth and seventh days of Thargelion, and received its name from θαργήλια, which is a general word for all the fruits of the earth, because one of the chief ceremonies was the carrying about their first fruits in pots called θάργηλοι, which name was also applied to the Εἰρεσιῶναι, which were carried about the city at this time, and shall be described in the festival called Πυανέψια. The chief solemnity was upon the latter day, the former being wholly taken up in making preparations for it; at which time it was customary to lustrate the city, which was done by two persons, called by the general name of Φαρμακοὶ, which is applied to all that purified cities; or the more peculiar one of Σύμβακχοι. They were both men, or, according to others, a man and woman; one of which represented the male, the other the female sex, and offered a sacrifice for each of them: it was usual for the man to carry about his neck figs, called ἰσχάδες, of a blackish colour, and the woman white. The ordinary rites in purifying cities are described by John Tzetzes[t]:

> Ὁ φαρμακὸς, τὸ κάθαρμα, τοιῦτον ἦν τὸ πάλαι·
> Ἂν συμφορὰ κατέλαβε πόλιν θεομηνίᾳ,
> Εἴτ' ὖν λοιμὸς, εἴτε λιμὸς εἴτε καὶ βλάβος ἄλλο
> Τῶν πάντων ἀμορφότερον, ἦγον ὡς πρὸς θυσίαν,
> Εἰς καθαρμὸν καὶ φαρμακὸν πόλεως τῆς νοσύσης,
> Εἰς τόπον δὲ τὸν πρόσφορον στήσαντες τὴν θυσίαν,
> Τυρόν τε δόντες τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ μάζαν, καὶ ἰσχάδας,
> Ἑπτάκις καὶ ῥαπίσαντες ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὸ τότε
> Σκίλλαις, συκαῖς ἀγρίαις τε, καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν ἀγρίων,
> Τέλος πυρὶ κατέκαιον ἐν ξύλοις τοῖς ἀγρίοις,
> Καὶ τὸν σποδὸν εἰς θάλατταν ἔῤῥαινον εἰς ἀνέμυς,
> Εἰς καθαρμὸν τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἔφην, τῆς νοσύσης.
>
> Thus was in ancient times lustration made:
> When any city groan'd beneath the weight

[s] Athenæus, lib. iii.

[t] Chiliad. Histor. v. cap. 23.

Of famine, plague, or worse calamity,
Forthwith a grateful victim is prepar'd,
Which at the holy altar when they've plac'd,
They cast upon the pile, cheese, cakes, and figs;
Then striking seven times its privities
With sea-leeks, and wild figs, and other fruits,
Rude nature's product without help of art,
Burn it with wood cut from unplanted trees,
Then towards the wind the sportive ashes cast
Upon the sea: thus they the dreadful ills,
With which the city labour'd drive away. H. H.

Poetical fictions tell us, that the Φαρμακὸς was so called from one Pharmachus, that stole some of the consecrated vessels of Apollo, and being apprehended in the fact by Achilles's soldiers, suffered death; of which crime and punishment the Athenians had always a representation at this festival. The Φαρμακὸς was called Κραδησίτης, from a sort of figs called κράδαι, and used in lustrations; whence also κράδης νόμος was a tune upon the flute, which was played as he went to perform his office. It was farther customary for a choir of singing men to contend for victory, and the conqueror to dedicate a tripus in the Pytheum, a temple of Apollo, built by Pisistratus. At this festival the Athenians enrolled their adopted sons in the public register, as they did their natural at Apaturia. During the solemnity, it was unlawful to give or receive pledges; and offenders of this kind were arraigned at an assembly held in Bacchus's theatre.

The Milesians had a festival of the same name, which they celebrated with many expressions of mirth and jollity, feasting and entertaining one another.

ΘΕΟΓΑΜΙΑ, i. e. the *marriage of the gods*. It was a Sicilian festival in honour of Proserpina[u]; and seems to have been instituted in memory of her marriage with Pluto; the chief part of the solemnity being nothing else but an imitation of nuptial rites.

ΘΕΟΙΝΙΑ, see Διονύσια.

ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΑ, a festival common to all the gods[v], and celebrated in many cities of Greece, but especially at Athens.

The Pellenæans instituted solemn games, called by this name, in honour of Apollo Θεοξένιος, i. e. the *god of hospitality*, according to Pausanias[w], or as the scholiast upon Pindar reports[x], of Apollo and Mercury: the victors, according to Pausanias, were rewarded with a piece of plate; according to the fore-mentioned scholiast, with a garment called Χλαῖνα.

[u] Pollux, lib. i. cap. i.
[v] Hesychius.
[w] Achaicis.
[x] Olympion. xi.

The same scholiast [y] reports, that the Dioscuri instituted a festival of this name in memory of an honour the gods did them, by coming to one of their entertainments.

ΘΕΟΦΑΝΕΙΑ, or ΘΟΕΦΑΝΙΑ, i. e. *the appearance of the god.* It was a festival observed by the Delphians [z], upon the day whereon Apollo first manifested himself to them.

ΘΕΡΑΠΝΑΤΙΔΙΑ, a Laconian festival [a].

ΘΕΡΜΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ, a public festival, mart, and assembly, of the Ætolians, held at a town in that country, called *Thermi* [b].

ΘΕΡΤΗΡΙΑ, a festival mentioned by Hesychius.

ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΑ, a festival in honour of Ceres, surnamed Θεσμοφόρος, i. e. *Legifera* [c], the *lawgiver*, because she was the first that taught mankind the use of laws. The first institution of it is by some attributed to Triptolemus, by others to Orpheus, and by others to the daughters of Danaüs. It was celebrated in many of the Grecian cities by the Spartans and Milesians, amongst whom the solemnity lasted three days; by the Drymeans in Phocis, the Thebans in Bœotia, the Megarians; by the Syracusians, where, towards the end of the solemnity, they carried in procession the secrets of a woman, composed of sesamin and honey, and called, in Sicily, μύλλοι: by the Eretrians in Eubœa, where it was customary, on this occasion to roast their meat by the heat of the sun: by the Delians, who used to bake loaves of a large size, called Αχαΐναι, which they ushered in with great solemnity, the bearers of them crying,

Αχαΐνην στέατος ἔμπλεον τράγον.

Hence the festival is sometimes called Μεγαλάρτια.

But the Athenians observed this festival with the greatest shew of devotion: the worshippers were free-born women (it being unlawful for any of servile condition to be present,) whose husbands were wont to defray the charges of the solemnity; and were obliged to do so, if their wives' portion amounted to three talents. These women were assisted by a priest, called Στεφανοφόρος, because his head was adorned with a crown whilst he executed his office; as also by certain virgins, who were strictly confined, and kept under severe discipline, being maintained at the public charge in a place called Θεσμοφορεῖον. The women were clad in white apparel, to intimate their spotless innocence, and were obliged to the strictest chastity for five or three days before, and during the

[y] Olymp. iii.
[z] Herodotus, lib. i. Suid.
[a] Hesychius.
[b] Polyb. v.
[c] Virgilius Æneid. iv.

whole time of the solemnity, which lasted four days; for which end they used to strew upon their beds such herbs as were thought to destroy all appetite to venereal pleasures; such were *agnus castus*, fleabane, and (which were made use of by the Milesian women) vine branches, &c. It was held unlawful to eat the kernels of pomegranates, or to adorn themselves with garlands; every thing being carried on with the greatest appearance of seriousness and gravity, and nothing tolerated that bore the least show of wantonness and immodesty, or even of mirth and jollity, the custom of jesting upon one another excepted, which was constantly done in memory of Jambe, that by a taunting jest extorted a smile from Ceres, when she was in a pensive and melancholy humour. Three days at least were spent in making preparations for the festival. Upon the eleventh of Pyanepsion, the women, carrying books upon their heads, wherein the laws were contained, in memory of Ceres's invention, went to Eleusis, where the solemnity was kept; whence this day was called Ἄνοδος, i. e. the *ascent*. Upon the fourteenth the festival began, and lasted till the seventeenth. Upon the sixteenth they kept a fast, sitting upon the ground, in token of humiliation; whence the day was called Νηστεία, i. e. a *fast*. It was usual at this solemnity to pray to Ceres, Proserpina, Pluto, and Calligenia: this Calligenia some will have to have been Ceres's nurse, others her priestess, others her waiting-maid; and some there are who make her the same with Ceres; but these seem to be sufficiently refuted by the testimony of Aristophanes, who mentions her as distinct from the goddess[d].

> Εὔχεσθε παῖαν Θεσμοφόριον,
> Τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ,
> Τῷ Πλούτῳ, καὶ τῇ Καλλιγενείᾳ.
> To the two legislators make your prayers,
> To Ceres, and to goddess Proserpine;
> To Plutus too, and Calligenia.

And this custom was omitted by the Eretrians alone of all the Grecians. There was likewise a mysterious sacrifice, called Δίωγμα or Ἀποδίωγμα ἀπὸ τοῦ διώκεσθαι ἐκεῖθεν τοὺς ἄνδρας, i. e. because all *men* were excluded and *banished* from it; or, ἀπὸ τοῦ διωχθῆναι τοὺς πολεμίους, i. e. because in a dangerous war the women's prayers were so prevalent with the gods, that their *enemies* were defeated and *put to flight* as far as Chalcis; whence it is sometimes called Χαλκιδικὸν δίωγμα. There was another sacrifice called Ζημία, i. e. a *mulct*, which was offered as an expiation of any irregularities which hap-

[d] Thesmophor.

pened during the solemnity. At the beginning of this festival, all prisoners committed to jail for smaller faults, that is, such as did not make them incapable of communicating in the sacrifices, and other parts of divine worship, were released[c].

ΘΗΣΕΙΑ, an Athenian festival in memory of Theseus: it was celebrated upon the eighth of every month, because he was the reputed son of Neptune, to whom those days were held sacred; or because in his first journey from Trœzen he arrived at Athens upon the eighth of Hecatombæon; or in memory of his safe return from Crete[f], which happened upon the eighth of Pyanepsion; for which reason the festival was observed with greater solemnity upon that day than at other times. Some also there are that will have it to have been first instituted in memory of Theseus's uniting the Athenians into one body, who before lay dispersed in little hamlets up and down in Attica. It was celebrated with sports and games, with mirth and banquets; and such as were poor, and unable to contribute to them, were entertained upon free cost at the public tables, as we learn from Aristophanes[g]. The sacrifices were called Ογδόδια, from ογδοος, i.e. *the eighth*, as being offered upon the eighth day of the month[h].

ΘΡΙΩ, a festival in honour of Apollo[i]. The name seems to be derived from Apollo's three nurses, who were called Thriæ.

ΘΥΙΑ, a festival in honour of Bacchus[j], observed by the Eleans, in a place distant about eight stadia from Elis, where it was confidently reported that the god himself was present in person; the ground of which story was this: there was a certain chapel, into which the priests conveyed three empty vessels, in presence of the whole assembly, which consisted as well of foreigners as natives; this done, they retired, and the doors being shut, themselves, and as many others as pleased, sealed them with their own signets: on the morrow the company returned, and after every man had looked upon his own seal, and seen that it was unbroken, the doors being opened, the vessels were found full of wine.

ΘΥΑΛΑ, in honour of Venus[k].

ΘΥΝΝΑΙΑ, a sacrifice so called from Θύννος, i. e. *a tunny*, which fishermen offered to Neptune after a plentiful draught[l].

[c] Sopater de divisione quæstionis.
[f] Plutarchus Theseo, Aristophanis Scholiastes Pluto.
[g] Pluto.
[h] Hesychius.
[i] Idem.
[j] Pausanias Eliac. β'.
[k] Hesychius.
[l] Athenæus, lib. vii.

I.

ΙΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ, i. e. *The sacred marriage.* It was a festival in honour of Jupiter and Juno [m], being (I suppose) a commemoration of the marriage of those two deities.

ΙΘΩΜΑΙΑ, a festival, wherein musicians contended; it was celebrated in honour of Jupiter [n], surnamed Ἰθωμήτης from Ithome, a city in Thessaly or Messene, where that god is said to have been nursed by the two nymphs Ithome and Neda, who gave names, the former to a town, the latter to a river.

ΙΝΑΧΙΑ, one of Leucothea's festivals in Crete, being derived from Inachus, according to Hesychius; or rather from Ino, who is the same with Leucothea and ἄχος, i. e. *grief*; being, perhaps, a commemoration of Ino's misfortunes.

ΙΝΥΝΙΑ, a festival in Lemnos.

ΙΝΩΑ, festivals in memory of Ino, one of which was celebrated every year with sports and sacrifices at Corinth, being instituted by king Sisyphus [o].

An anniversary sacrifice was offered to Ino by the Megarians, where she was first called Leucothea, being cast upon that coast by the waves, and interred by Cleso and Tauropolis [p].

Ino had another festival in Laconia, where there was a pond consecrated to her: into this it was usual, at this solemnity, to cast cakes of flour, which, if they sunk, were presages of prosperity; but if they staid upon the surface of the water, were ill-boding omens [q].

ΙΟΒΑΚΧΕΙΑ, in honour of Bacchus, surnamed Iobacchus, from the exclamations used in some of his festivals, where they cried Ἰὼ Βάκχε, &c. See Διονύσια.

ΙΟΛΑΙΑ, a Theban festival, the very same with Ἡράκλεια [r]. It was instituted in honour of Hercules, and his companion Iolaüs, who assisted him against Hydra. It lasted several days, on the first of which were offered solemn sacrifices: on the next day horse-races, and the exercises of the πένταθλος were performed; the following day was set apart for wrestling. The victors were crowned with garlands of myrtle, which were used as funeral solemnities, of which sort this festival was one. They were also sometimes rewarded with tripods of brass. The place of these exercises was called Ἰολάειον, from Iolaüs. In the same place stood

m Hesychius.
n Stephanus Byzantinus, Pausanias Messenicis.
o Tzetzes in Lycophronem.
p Pausan. Atticis.
q Pausan. Laconic.
r Pindari Scholiast. Olymp. vii.

the sepulchre of Amphitryon, and the cenotaphium, or honorary monument of Iolaüs, who was buried in Sardinia: both these at this solemnity were bestrewed with garlands and flowers[s].

ΙΣΕΙΑ, a solemnity observed by several cities, in honour of Isis[t], who is said by some to have been the first that taught men the use of corn; in memory of which benefit, it was customary, at some places, for the worshippers at this festival, to carry vessels full of wheat and barley.

ΙΣΧΕΝΙΑ, anniversary sports, celebrated at Olympia, in memory of Ischenus, the grandson of Mercury, and Hierea, who in a time of famine, devoted himself to be a sacrifice for his country, and was honoured with a monument near the Olympian stadium[u].

K.

ΚΑΒΕΙΡΙΑ, mysterious observances at Thebes and Lemnos, but more especially at Imbrus and Samothrace, which islands were consecrated to the Cabiri, whom some will have to be Phœnician deities; others, the sons of Vulcan; others are of a different opinion from both; for nothing can be certainly determined concerning the original, names, or number of them: such as desire further satisfaction, may consult Cœlius Rhodiginus, Lilius Gyraldus, and other mythologists. All that were initiated into these mysteries, were thought effectually secured from storms at sea, and all other dangers[v]. The chief ceremony was thus: the person that offered himself, being crowned with olive branches, and girded about his loins with a purple riband, was placed upon a throne, around which the priests, and persons before initiated, danced and sported: this was called θρόνωσις, or θρονισμὸς, i. e. *enthronization*[w].

ΚΑΛΛΟΙΔΙΑ, solemn sports, celebrated by the Laconians, in honour of Diana[x].

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΕΙΑ, i. e. *Beauty's rewards.* It was a Lesbian festival, wherein the women presented themselves in Juno's temple, and the prize was assigned to the fairest[y].

Another of these contentions there was at the festival of Ceres Eleusinia amongst the Parrhasians, first instituted by Cypselus, whose wife Herodice was honoured with the first prize[z].

Another of the same nature we find amongst the Eleans[a],

[s] Pindari Scholiast. in Isthm. et Nemeonic.
[t] Diodor. Sicul. lib. i.
[u] Isacius Tzetzes in Lycophronis Cassandr. v. 42.
[v] Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. lib. v.
[w] Plato Euthydemo, Hesychius.
[x] Homeri Scholiast. Iliad. ί.
[y] Athenæus, Δειπνοσοφ. lib. xiii.
[z] Idem. Ibid.
[a] Etymolog. Auctor.

where the most beautiful man was presented with a complete suit of armour, which he consecrated to Minerva, to whose temple he walked in procession, being accompanied with his friends, who adorned him with ribbands, and crowned him with a garland of myrtle.

ΚΑΛΛΥΝΤΗΡΙΑ, an Athenian festival [a].

ΚΑΡΝΕΙΑ, a festival observed in most of the cities of Greece; but especially at Sparta, where it was first instituted about the time of the 26th Olympiad, in honour, not of Jupiter, as some are of opinion, but of Apollo, surnamed Carneus, either from one Carneus a Trojan [b]; or from a beautiful youth, called Carnus, who was the son of Jupiter and Europa [c], and beloved by Apollo [d]; or from Carnus an Acarnanian, who was instructed by this god in the art of divination, but afterwards murdered by the Dorians: This fact Apollo revenged upon them by a dreadful plague; to avert which they instituted this festival, as Pausanias reports: or ἀπὸ τῆς κρανείας, i. e. from the cornel-tree, by transposing the letter ρ, as the same author intimates: for it is reported by some, that this festival was instituted by the Grecians, who had incurred Apollo's displeasure by cutting down a number of cornel-trees in a grove consecrated to him upon mount Ida, which they used in building the wooden horse: or ἀπὸ τοῦ κραίνειν, i. e. *from accomplishing* the request of Menelaus [e], who, when he undertook his expedition against Troy, made a vow to Apollo, wherein he promised to pay him some signal honour, if his undertaking met with success. This festival lasted nine days, beginning upon the thirteenth of the month Carneus, which answered to the Athenian Metagitnion [f]; it was an imitation of the method of living, and discipline used in camps; for nine σκιάδες, i. e. *tents*, were erected; in every one of which nine men, of three different tribes, three being chosen out of a tribe, lived for the space of nine days, during which time they were obedient to a public crier, and did nothing without express order from him [g]. Hesychius tells us, that the priest whose office it was to attend at this solemnity, was named Αγητής; and adds, in another place, that out of every tribe five other ministers were elected, and called Καρνεάται, and obliged to continue in their function four years, during which time they remained bachelors. At this festival, the musical numbers called Καρνεῖοι νόμοι,

[a] Etymolog. Auctor. [b] Alcman. [c] Hesychius. [d] Theocriti Scholiast. [e] Demetrius. [f] Plutarch. Nicia. [g] Athenæus, lib. iv. Callimachi Hymn. in Apoll. Pindarus Pythion.

were sung by musicians, who contended for victory. The first prize was won by Terpander.

ΚΑΡΥΑ, or ΚΑΡΥΑΤΙΣ, a festival in honour of Diana, surnamed Caryatis, from Caryum in Laconia, where this solemnity was kept. It was usual for virgins to meet at the celebration, and join in a certain dance, said to be invented by Castor and Pollux, which they called καρυατίζειν [i]. In the time of Xerxes's invasion, when the Laconians durst not show their heads for fear of the enemy, lest the goddess's anger should be incurred by the intermission of this solemnity, the neighbouring swains assembled in the accustomed place, and sung pastorals, which were called Βουκολισμοὶ, from βούκολος, i. e. *a neat-herd.* Hence some are of opinion, that bucolics came first to be in use.

ΚΙΣΣΟΤΟΜΟΙ, a festival in honour of Hebe, the goddess of youth [j].

ΚΛΑΔΕΥΤΗΡΙΑ, or ΒΙΣΒΑΙΑ. This festival is mentioned by Hesychius, and seems to have been solemnized at the time when vines were pruned; for κλαδευτήριον, and βίσβη, signify *pruning-hooks.*

ΚΝΑΚΑΛΗΣΙΑ, an anniversary solemnity celebrated upon mount Cnacalos, by the Caphyatæ, in honour of Diana, who had from that place the surname of Cnacalesia [k].

ΚΟΝΝΙΔΕΙΑ, a solemnity upon the day before Theseus's festival, in which a ram was sacrificed to Connidas, Theseus's tutor [l].

ΚΟΡΕΙΑ, in honour of Proserpina, named Κόρη [m], which in the Molossian dialect signifies a beautiful woman.

ΚΟΡΥΒΑΝΤΙΚΑ, a festival held at Cnossus in Crete, in memory of the Corybantes, who educated Jupiter, when he was concealed in that island from his father Saturn, who intended to devour him.

ΚΟΤΥΤΤΙΑ, or ΚΟΤΥΤΤΙΣ, a nocturnal festival in honour of Cotys, or Cotytto, the goddess of wantonness [n]: it was observed by the Athenians, Corinthians, Chians, Thracians, with others, and celebrated with such rites as were most acceptable to the goddess, who was thought to be delighted with nothing so much as lewdness and debauchery. Her priests were called Βάπται, which name we find in Juvenal; it seems to have been derived ἀπὸ τοῦ βάπτειν, i. e. from *dying* or *painting* themselves; for they were wont to practise all

h Pausanias Laconicis.
i Lucianus Περὶ ὀρχήσεως.
j Pausanias Corinthiacis.
k Idem Arcadicis.
l Plutarch. Theseo.
m Hesychius.
n Synesius in Encomio calvitii, Suidas, Juvenalis Satir. ii.

sorts of effeminate and meretricious arts; whence Κότυος θιασώτης, i. e. a *votary of Cotys,* is proverbially applied to men that spend their time in dressing and perfuming themselves.

Another festival of this name [o] was celebrated in Sicily, where the worshippers carried boughs hung about with cakes and fruit, which it was lawful for any person to pluck off, in memory (as Gyraldus was of opinion) of Proserpina's ravishment, who is by some thought to have been the same with Cotytto.

ΚΡΟΝΙΑ, an Athenian festival in honour of Saturn, who is called in Greek Κρόνος [p]. It was celebrated in the month Hecatombæon, which was formerly called Cronius.

Another of Saturn's festivals was celebrated [q] upon the sixteenth of Metagitnion at Rhodes, where they offered in sacrifice a condemned criminal.

ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΙΑ, a festival instituted by Theseus, in memory of Nausitheus and Phæax, who were his συβερνῆται, i. e. *pilots,* in his voyage to Crete [r].

ΚΥΝΟΦΟΝΤΙΣ, a festival observed in dog-days at Argos [s], and so called ἀπὸ τοῦ κύνας φονεῖν, i. e. from *killing dogs*; because it was usual upon this day to kill all the dogs they met with.

Λ.

ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ἙΟΡΤΑΙ, some festivals there were at Lacedæmon, the names whereof are forgotten: one of these is mentioned by Plutarch in his love stories, at which the married women, maidens, children, and servants, feasted altogether promiscuously; only the ladies, whose husbands were magistrates, watched all night in a large room by themselves.

Another we find in Athenæus [t], at which the women took all the old bachelors, and dragged them round an altar, beating them all the time with their fists; to the end, that if no other motives would induce them to marry, the shame and ignominy they were exposed to at all times might compel them to it.

ΛΑΜΠΤΗΡΙΑ, a festival at Pellene [u], in Achaia, in honour of Bacchus, surnamed λαμπτὴρ, from λάμπειν, i. e. *to shine*; for this solemnity being in the night, the worshippers went to Bacchus's temple, with lighted torches in their hands. It was customary at

[o] Plutarch Proverb.

[p] Aristophanis Scholiast. Nubibus, Hesychius.

[q] Porphyrius apud Theodoretum, lib. vii. Græc. affect.

[r] Plutarchus Theseo.

[s] Athenæus, lib. iii.

[t] Δειπνοσοφ. lib. iii.

[u] Pausanias Achaicis.

this time to place vessels full of wine in several parts of every street of the city.

ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑΙΩΝ ἙΟΡΤΗ, games at Larissa [v], wherein the combatants performed their exercises singly, before the Πένταθλος, or *combat,* consisting of five exercises, was invented.

ΛΑΡΥΣΙΑ, a festival of Bacchus, celebrated at Larysium, a mountain in Laconia, about the beginning of spring [w].

ΛΑΦΡΙΑ, an anniversary festival at Patræ in Achaia, in honour of Diana [x], surnamed Laphria, either ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων, i. e. *from spoils,* which she took from wild beasts, because she was the goddess of hunting; and her statue which was composed of gold and ivory, represented her in an hunting posture: or, because she desisted from her anger, and became every year ἐλαφροτέρα, i. e. *more favourable* and propitious to Oeneus king of the Calydonians: or, from one Laphrius, a Phocensian, by whom her statue was erected in Calydonia; for this title was first given to Diana, in Calydonia, and thence, together with her statue, translated to Patræ. The customs at this festival are thus described by Pausanias: At the approach of the festival, they made an ascent to the altar, heaping up soft earth in the manner of stairs; round the altar they placed, in order, pieces of green wood, every one of which was in length sixteen cubits; upon it was laid the driest wood they could get. The solemnity lasted two days; on the former of which there was a solemn procession, followed by Diana's priestess, who was a virgin, and rode in a chariot drawn by bucks. On the day following, they assembled to offer sacrifices, which consisted of birds, bears, bucks, lions, wolves, with all sorts of animals and garden fruits, which were cast upon the altar, in part by private persons, and partly at the public charge: then the fire being kindled, it sometimes happened that the wild beasts, having their fetters loosed by the flames, leaped off the altar, which fell out when my author was present; yet neither then, nor at any time before, did any person receive the least harm thereby.

ΛΕΩΝΙΔΕΙΑ, an anniversary day at Sparta [y], in memory of Leonidas king of that city, who, with a small number of men, put a stop to the whole army of Xerxes at Thermopylæ, and maintained the passage of those straits two whole days together. Upon this day there was an oration pronounced on that hero, and sports, in which none were allowed to contend but free-born Spartans.

[v] Apollonii Scholiast. lib. iv.
[w] Pausanias Laconicis.
[x] Pausan. Achaicis.
[y] Idem Laconicis.

ΛΕΟΝΤΙΚΑ, who was the author, what the occasion of this festival, is not known; thus much, however, we find of it in Porphyry[z], that all that were admitted to it washed their hands with honey, which was poured upon them instead of water, in token that they were pure from all things hurtful and malicious.

ΛΕΡΝΑΙΑ, a festival at Lerna, instituted by Philammon[a] in honour of Bacchus, Proserpina, and Ceres. In the primitive times the Argives used to carry fire to this solemnity from a temple upon mount Crathis, dedicated to Diana, surnamed (perhaps from πῦρ, i. e. *fire*) Πυρωνία.

ΛΗΝΑΙΑ, a festival of Bacchus[b], surnamed Lenæus, from ληνὸς, i. e. a *wine-press*. It was celebrated in the month Lenæon, with several ceremonies usual at other festivals of this god; but what more especially recommended it, was the poetical contention, wherein poets strove for victory, and the tragedies acted at this time.

ΛΙΘΟΒΟΛΙΑ, i. e. *Lapidation*. This festival was celebrated by the Trœzenians, in memory of Lamia and Auxesia, who were two virgins, that coming from Crete to Trœzen in the time of a tumult and sedition, became a sacrifice to the fury of the people, by whom they were stoned to death[c].

ΛΙΜΝΑΤΙΔΙΑ, a festival in honour of Diana[d], surnamed Limnatis, from Limne, a school of exercise at Trœzen, in which she was worshipped; or, according to Artemidorus, from λίμναι, i. e. *ponds*; because she had the care of fishermen.

ΛΙΝΕΙΑ, a festival in memory of Linus, an old poet, who had a statue in mount Helicon, to which κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον πρὸ τῆς θυσίας τῶν Μουσῶν ἐναγίζουσι· *yearly parentations were made before they sacrificed to the Muses*[e].

ΛΥΚΑΙΑ, an Arcadian[f] festival, resembling the Roman lupercalia; it was celebrated with games, in which the conqueror was rewarded with a suit of brazen armour. A human sacrifice was offered at this time. It was first observed by Lycaon, in honour of Jupiter, surnamed Lycæus, either from Lycaon's own name, or the Arcadian mountain Lycæus, which the Arcadians pretend is the true Olympus, whence they call it ἱερὰν κορυφὴν, i. e. the *sacred hill*,

[z] De Antro Nympharum.
[a] Pausan. Corinthiac. Arcad. Inscriptio Vetus.
[b] Aristophan. Scholiast. Equitibus, Diogenes Laërtius Platone.
[c] Pausan. Corinthiac.
[d] Idem Achaic.
[e] Pausan. Bœotic, p. 584. edit. Hanov.
[f] Plutarch. Cæsare. Pausan. Arcadic. Porphyrius Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχ. Hyginus, Fab. 175.

because Jupiter was feigned to have had his education there; in memory of which there was an altar, where a certain mysterious worship was paid to that god, and a plot of ground consecrated to him upon which it was unlawful for any person to set his foot.

ΛΥΚΕΙΑ, a festival held at Argos to Apollo Λύκειος. This name, as also that other Λυκοκτόνος, as derived from his delivering the Argives from *wolves* (λύκοι) which wasted their country. In memory of which benefit they dedicated a temple to Apollo Lyceus, and called one of their public *fora*, ἀγορὰ Λύκειος, the *Lycean forum*. Several other reasons are assigned, why the fore-mentioned names were given to Apollo; as, that he defended the flock of Admetus king of Thessaly from wolves; or that he was born in Lycia, whence he is called Λυκηγενὴς, by Homer, to mention no more[g].

ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΕΙΑ, a festival celebrated by the Spartans, in memory of Lycurgus their lawgiver[h], whom they honoured with a temple, and an anniversary sacrifice.

ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΙΑ, a Samian festival, celebrated[i] with sacrifices and games, in honour of Lysander, the Lacedæmonian admiral. It was anciently called Ηραια, which name was abolished by a decree of the Samians.

M.

ΜΑΙΜΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ, solemn sacrifices offered by the Athenians in Mæmacterion, which was a winter month, to Jupiter Μαιμάκτης, to induce him to send mild and temperate weather, because he was usually taken for the air, or heavens, and therefore thought to preside over the seasons. There are various reasons assigned for this surname; for μαιμάκτης is by Harpocration expounded ἐνθουσιώδης, καὶ ταρακτικὸς, i. e. *outrageous, and furious;* being derived from μαιμάσσειν, which is, according to Suidas, κλονεῖσθαι, κυματοῦσθαι, i. e. to *trouble* or *raise commotions*. But Hesychius affixeth a quite different signification to it; for according to him, μαιμάκτης is the same with μειλίχιος, i. e. *favourable* and propitious; and herein Plutarch agrees with him, who tells us[j], 'that it was his opinion, that by the name of Μαιμάκτης, which was given by the Athenians to the king of the gods, was meant Μειλίχιος.' Neither of these significations are at all disagreeable to the design of this festival; for since it was to procure good weather, it might either be instituted

g Pindari Scholiastes in Pythion. Sophoclis uterq. Scholiastes initio Electræ.

h Plutarchus Lycurgo, Strabo, lib. viii.

i Plutarchus Lysandro, Hesychius.

j Libro Περὶ ἀοργησίας.

as a means to appease the deity, who was thought to cause storms and intemperate seasons; or, to entreat the same person, as being of a mild and gentle disposition, and willing to grant the requests of his votaries.

ΜΕΓΑΛΑΡΤΙΑ, see Θεσμοφόρια.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΕΙΑ, a festival in honour of Menelaus[k], at Therapnæ in Laconia, where a temple was consecrated to him, in which he was worshipped, together with Helena, not as an hero, or inferior deity, but as one of the supreme gods.

ΜΕΣΟΣΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΑΙ ʽΗΜΕΡΑΙ, certain days upon which the Lesbians offered public sacrifices[l].

ΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΤΝΙΑ, a festival in the month Metagitnion[m], in honour of Apollo Μεταγείτνιος, being celebrated by the inhabitants of Melite, that left their habitations, and settled among the Diomeans in Attica; whence these names seem to have been derived, for they import a removal *from* one *neighbourhood* to another.

ΜΙΛΤΙΑΔΕΙΑ, sacrifices, with horse-races, and other games, celebrated by the Chersonesians, in memory of Miltiades, the Athenian general[n].

ΜΙΝΥΕΙΑ, a festival celebrated by the Orchomenians[o], who were called Minyæ, and the river, upon which the city was founded, Minya, from Minyas, king of that place, in memory of whom this solemnity seems to have been instituted.

ΜΙΤΥΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ ʼΕΟΡΤΗ, a festival celebrated by all the inhabitants of Mitylene, in a place without the city, in honour of Apollo Μαλλόεις[p], which surname we find mentioned also in Hesychius.

ΜΟΥΝΥΧΙΑ, an anniversary solemnity at Athens[q], upon the sixteenth of Munychion, in honour of Diana, surnamed Munychia, from king Munychus, the son of Pentacleus; or from a part of the Piræeus, called Munychia, where this goddess had a temple, to which the Athenians allowed the privilege of being a sanctuary to such as fled to it for refuge. At this solemnity they offered certain cakes called ἀμφιφῶντες which name is derived ἀπὸ τῦ ἀμφιφάειν, i. e. *from shining on every side*, either because lighted torches hung round them when they were carried into the temple; or because they were offered at full moon, that being the time of this festival;

k Isocrates in Helenæ Encomio, Pausanias Laconicis.

l Hesychius.

m Plutarchus de Exilio, Harpocration, Suidas.

n Herodotus, lib. vi

o Pindari Scholiastes Isthm. Od. 1.

p Thucydides initio lib. iii.

q Plutarchus de Gloria Atheniens. Harpocration, Etymologici Auctor. Suidas, Eustathius, Il. σ'.

for it was instituted in honour of Diana, who was reputed to be the same with the moon, because it was full moon when Themistocles overthrew the Persian fleet at Salamis.

ΜΟΥΣΕΙΑ, festivals[r] in honour of the Muses, at several places of Greece, especially amongst the Thespians, where solemn games were celebrated every fifth year.

The Macedonians had also a festival in honour of Jupiter and the Muses, which, being first instituted by king Archelaus, was celebrated with stage-plays, and games, and lasted nine days, according to the number of the Muses.

ΜΥΣΙΑ, a festival[s] in honour of Ceres, surnamed Mysia, from Mysius an Argian, who dedicated a temple to her, in a place about ten stadia distant from Pellene in Achaia: or, according to Phurnutus, from μυσιᾷν, i. e. *to cloy, to satisfy*, or *to be well fed*, because Ceres was the first that taught men how to use corn. This festival continued seven days; upon the third of which, all the men and dogs being shut out of the temple, the women, together with the bitches, remained within, and having that night performed the accustomed rites, on the day following returned to the men, with whom they passed away their time in jesting and laughing at one another.

ΜΩΛΕΙΑ, an Arcadian[t] festival, so named from μῶλος, i. e. *a fight:* being instituted in memory of a battle, wherein Lycurgus slew Ereuthalion.

N.

ΝΕΚΥΣΙΑ, in memory of deceased persons. Of this, and the following solemnities, I shall give a more full account when I come to treat of the honours paid to the dead.

ΝΕΜΕΣΕΙΑ, or ΝΕΜΕΣΙΑ, a solemnity in memory of deceased persons; so called from the goddess Nemesis, who was thought to defend the relics and memories of the dead from injuries. Hence, in Sophocles[u], when Clytemnestra insults over the ashes of her son Orestes, Electra thus invokes Nemesis:

Ακȣε, Νέμεσις, τȣ̃ θανόντος ἀρτίως.

ΝΕΟΙΝΙΑ, a festival celebrated to Bacchus[v], when the new wine was first tasted, as the name signifies.

[r] Pollux, lib. i. cap. i. Æschines in Timarchum, Pausanias Bœoticis, Diodorus Sic. lib. xvii. Plutarch. Erotico.

[s] Pausan. fine Achaicorum.

[t] Apoll. Rhod. Scholiast. lib. v. 164.

[u] Electræ ver. 793. Conf. ibi Triclinius, item Demosthenes Orat. adv. Spudiam. p. 650. Suidas, v. Νεμέσεια.

[v] Hesychius.

ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΕΙΑ, a festival celebrated by the Delphians [w], with much pomp and splendour, in memory of Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, who was slain in the attempt to sack Apollo's temple, which he undertook in revenge of his father's death, to which that god was accessary.

ΝΗΛΗΙΔΙΑ, a Milesian festival [x] in honour of Diana, surnamed Neleïs, from Neleus, an inhabitant of Miletus [y].

ΝΙΚΗ 'Η ΕΝ ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙ, an anniversary solemnity observed by the Athenians upon the sixth of Boedromion, in memory of that famous victory which Miltiades obtained against the Persians at Marathon [z].

ΝΙΚΗΤΗΡΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΕΣ, an Athenian solemnity, in memory of Minerva's victory over Neptune, when they contended which of them should have the honour of giving a name to the city, afterwards called Athens [a].

ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΑ, or ΝΕΟΜΗΝΙΑ, a festival observed at the beginning of every lunar month [b], which was, (as the name imports) upon the new moon, in honour of all the gods, but especially Apollo, who was called Νεωμήνιος, because the sun is the first author of all light; and whatever distinction of times and seasons may be taken from other planets, yet they are all owing to him, as the original and fountain of all those borrowed rays, which the rest have only by participation from him. To observe this festival was called νȣμηνιάζειν, certain cakes offered therein νȣμήνιον, and the worshippers νȣμηνιαςαί. It was observed with games, and public entertainments, which were made by the richer sort, to whose tables the poor flocked in great numbers. The Athenians, at these times, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices for the prosperity of their commonwealth the ensuing month, in Erectheus's temple in the citadel, which was kept by a dragon, to which they gave (as was usual also in Trophonius's cave) a honey-cake called μελιττȣ̃τα. Neither were the gods only worshipped at this solemnity, but also the demigods and heroes. Plutarch [c] relates, that the Greeks, on their new moons, first worshipped (Θεȣ̀ς) *the gods,* afterwards ('Ηρωας ϗ Δαίμονας) *the heroes and demons.* These sacrifices, be-

[w] Heliodorus Æthiopic. initio lib. iii.
[x] Plutarchus de Virtut. Mulierum.
[y] Lycophron Cassandra.
[z] Plutarchus de Gloria Atheniensium.
[a] Proclus in Timæum, Comment. i.
[b] Homeri Scholiastes, Od. ύ. Eustathius, Od. ύ, & φ'. Demosthenes in Aristogit. Theophrastus Ethic. Charact. Etymologici Auctor. Hesychius, Herodotus, lib. viii. & Vit. Homeri.
[c] Græc. Quæst.

cause they were offered every month, were called ἔμμηνα ἱερὰ, or ἐπιμήνια, and those that performed them ἐπιμήνιοι as also ἀγερμόνες.

Ξ.

ΞΑΝΘΙΚΑ, a Macedonian festival[d], so called, because it was observed in the month Xanthus, which, as Suidas tells us, was the same with April. At this time the army was purified by a solemn lustration, the manner of which was thus: they divided a bitch into two halves, one of which, together with the entrails, was placed upon the right hand, the other upon the left; between these the army marched in this order: after the arms of the Macedonian kings, came the first part of the army, consisting (I suppose) of horse; these were followed by the king and his children, after whom went the life-guards; then followed the rest of the army. This done, the army was divided into two parts, one of which being set in array against the other, there followed a short encounter, in imitation of a fight.

ΞΥΝΟΙΚΙΑ, or ΜΕΤΟΙΚΙΑ, an anniversary day observed by the Athenians[e] to Minerva, upon the sixteenth of Hecatombæon, in memory that, by the persuasion of Theseus, they left their country seats, in which they lay dispersed here and there in Attica, and united together in one body.

Ο.

ΟΓΧΗΣΤΙΑ, a Bœotian festival[f], in honour of Neptune, surnamed Onchestius, from Onchestus, a town in Bœotia.

ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ, a festival celebrated in honour of Olympian Jupiter, by the Athenians, Smyrnæans, Macedonians, but especially by the Eleans, of whose solemnity I shall give an account afterwards.

ʽΟΜΟΛΩΙΑ, a Theban festival, in honour of Jupiter Homoloïus, or Ceres Homoloïa[g], who were so called from Homole in Bœotia, or the prophetess Homoloïa, or from ὅμολος, which in the Æolian dialect signifies *peaceable.*

ΟΣΧΟΦΟΡΙΑ, or ΩΣΧΟΦΟΡΙΑ, an Athenian festival, so called ἀπὸ τȣ̃ φέρειν τὰς ὄσχας, i. e. from carrying boughs hung with grapes, which were termed ὄσχαι[h]. The institution and manner of it are described at large by Plutarch in the life of Theseus. His words run thus: 'Theseus, at his return from Crete, forgot to hang out the white sail, which should have been the token of their safety to Ægeus, who, knowing nothing of their success, for grief, threw

d Hesychius, Livius xl. Curtius lib. x.
e Thucydides, lib. ii. Plut. Theseo.
f Pausanias Bœoticis.
g Theocrit. Scholiastes, Idyll. viii.
h Harpocration, Hesychius.

himself headlong from a rock, and perished in the sea. But Theseus being arrived at the port Phalerus, paid there the sacrifices which he had vowed to the gods at his setting out to sea, and sent a herald to the city, to carry the news of his safe return. At his entrance into the city, the herald found the people, for the most part, full of grief for the loss of their king; others, as may be well believed, as full of joy for the message that he brought, and wholly bent to make much of him, and crown him with garlands for so acceptable news. These, indeed, he accepted of, but hung them upon his herald's staff, and thus returning to the sea-side before Theseus had finished his libation to the gods, staid without, for fear of disturbing the holy rites; but as soon as the sacrifice was ended, he entered, and related the whole story of the king's death: upon the hearing of which, with great lamentations, and a confused tumult of grief, they ran with all haste to the city; whence, they say, it comes, that at this feast of Oschophoria, not the herald, but his staff, is crowned; and that the people then present still break out, at the sacrifice, into this shout, ἐλελεὺ, ἰȣ̀, ἰȣ̀, of which confused sounds, the first was wont to be used by men in haste, or at a triumph; the others are proper to men in any trouble or consternation.' It is probable that these are the ὀσχοφορικὰ μέλη, which are mentioned by Proclus [i].

A little after, my author proceeds thus: ‘ The festival called Oschophoria, which to this day the Athenians celebrate, was then first instituted by Theseus; for he took not with him the full number of virgins, which were chosen by lots to be carried away, but selected two youths, with whom he had an intimate familiarity, of fair and womanish faces, but of manly and courageous spirits, and having, by frequent bathings, and avoiding the heat and scorching of the sun, with a constant use of all the ointments, washes, and dresses that serve to adorn the head, smooth the skin, or improve the complexion, changed them, in a manner, from what they were before; and having taught them farther to counterfeit the very voice, gesture, and gait of virgins, so that there could not be the least difference perceived, he, undiscovered by any, put them into the number of the Athenian maids designed for Crete. At his return, he and these two youths led up a solemn procession, with boughs and vine branches in their hands, in the same habit that is now worn at the celebration of the Oschophoria: these branches they carried in honour of Bacchus and

i Chrestomathia.

Ariadne, in memory of the fable related of them: or rather, because they happened to return in autumn, the time of gathering grapes. The women called Δειπνοφόροι, i. e. *supper-carriers,* were taken into these ceremonies, and assisted at the sacrifice, in remembrance and imitation of the mothers of the young men and virgins upon whom the lot fell; for thus busily did they run about, bringing banquets and refreshments to their children: and because the good women then told their sons and daughters a great many fine tales and stories, to comfort and encourage them under the danger they were going upon, it has therefore still continued a custom, that at this festival old tales and fables should be the chief discourse. For all these particulars we are beholden to the history of Demon.' Besides the rites already described, out of Plutarch, there was always a race at this festival [j]: the contenders were young men, elected out of every tribe, whose parents were both living. They ran from Bacchus's temple to that of Minerva Sciras, in the Phalerian haven. The place where the race ended, was called Ωσχοφόριον, from the ὄσχαι, *boughs,* which the runners carried in their hands, and deposited there. The conqueror's reward was a cup called Πενταπλόα, or Πενταπλῆ, i. e. *fivefold,* because it contained a mixture of five things, viz. wine, honey, cheese, meal, and a little oil.

Π.

ΠΑΓΚΛΑΔΙΑ, a festival so called ἀπὸ πάντων κλάδων, i. e. from *all* sorts of *boughs:* it was celebrated by the Rhodians, when they pruned their vines [k].

ΠΑΜΒΟΙΩΤΙΑ, a festival celebrated (as the name imports) by *all* the *Bœotians* [l], who assembled near Coronea, at the temple of Minerva, surnamed Itonia, from Itonius, the son of Amphictyon.

ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ, an Athenian festival in honour of Minerva, the protectress of Athens. It was first instituted by Ericthonius, or Orpheus, and called Ἀθήναια, but afterwards renewed and amplified by Theseus, when he had united into one city the whole Athenian nation, and called Παναθήναια. Some are of opinion, that it was much the same with the Roman quinquatria, whence it is usual to call it by that name in Latin. At the first, it continued only one day; but afterwards was prolonged several days, and

j Pausan. Atticis, Athen. lib. xi. Hesych. Nicandri Schol. Alexipharmacis.

k Hesychius.

l Strabo, lib. ix. Pausanias Bœoticis.

celebrated with greater preparations and magnificence than was usual in the primitive times.

There were two solemnities of this name, one of which was called Μεγάλα Παναθήναια, i. e. *the great Panathenæa,* and was celebrated once in five years, beginning upon the 22d of Hecatombæon. The other was called Μικρὰ Παναθήναια, i. e. *the Lesser Panathenæa,* and was kept every third year; or rather, as some think, every year, beginning upon the 20th or 21st of Thargelion. In the latter of these, there were three games managed by ten presidents, elected out of all the ten tribes of Athens, who continued in office four years. On the first day, at even, there was a race with torches, wherein, first, footmen, and afterwards horsemen, contended: the same custom was likewise observed in the greater festival. The second contention was εὐανδρίας ἀγὼν, i. e. *a gymnical exercise,* so called, because the combatants therein gave a proof of their strength, or manhood. The place of these games was near the river, and called from this festival παναθηναϊκὸν: the stadium, being decayed by time, was rebuilt of white Pentelic marble by Herodes, a native of Athens, with such splendour and magnificence, that the most stately theatres could not compare with it. The last was a musical contention, first instituted by Pericles. In the songs used at this time, they rehearsed the generous undertakings of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who opposed the tyranny of Pisistratus's sons; as of Thrasybulus also, who delivered the Athenians from the thirty tyrants imposed on them by the Lacedæmonians. The first that obtained the victory, by playing upon the harp, was Phrynis, a Mitylenæan. Other musical instruments were also made use of, especially flutes, on which they played in concert: there was also a dance performed by a circular chorus, of which hereafter: and the poets contended in four plays, the last whereof was a satire; and altogether were named from their number, τετραλογία. Beside these, there was a contention at Sunium in imitation of a sea-fight. The conqueror in any of these games was rewarded with a vessel of oil, which he was permitted to dispose of, how and where he pleased, whereas, it was unlawful for any other to transport that commodity: further, he received a crown of those olives which grew in the Academy, and were sacred to Minerva, and called μορίαι, from μόρος, i. e. *death,* in remembrance of the misfortune of Halirrothius, the son of Neptune, who, in a rage at his father's defeat by Minerva, in their contention about the name of Athens, offering to cut down the olive-tree,

by the production of which Minerva obtained the victory, missed his aim, and gave himself a fatal blow; others derive the name from μέρος, i. e. *a part*, because, according to some, these olives were given by contribution; all persons that possessed olive-trees being obliged to contribute their proportions towards the celebration of this festival. Beside these, there was a certain dance called *pyrrhichia*, performed by young boys in armour, in imitation of Minerva, who, in triumph over the vanquished sons of Titan, danced in that manner. It was usual also, when Athens was brought under the dominion of the Romans, for gladiators to contend after the Roman fashion. No man was permitted to be present at any of these games in dyed garments; and the punishment of such offenders was left to the discretion of the Αγωνοθέτης, or president of the games. Lastly, they offered a sumptuous sacrifice, towards which every one of the Athenian boroughs contributed an ox; and of the flesh that remained, a public entertainment was made for the whole assembly.

In the greater festival, most of the same rites and ceremonies were practised, but were (I suppose) performed with greater splendour and magnificence, and the addition of some others, not observed in the lesser, as particularly the procession, in which Minerva's sacred πέπλος, or *garment*, was carried. This πέπλος was woven by a select number of virgins, called Εργαςίναι, from ἔργον, i. e. *work*; these were superintended by two of the Αῤῥηφόροι (of whom I have spoken before), and entered upon their employment at the festival Χαλκεῖα, which was upon the 30th day of Pyanepsion: it was of a white colour, without sleyees, and embroidered with gold; upon it were described the achievements of Minerva, especially those against the giants: Jupiter also, and the heroes, with all such as were famous for valiant and noble exploits, had their effigies in it; whence men of true courage and bravery are said to be ἄξιοι πέπλου, i. e. worthy to be pourtrayed in Minerva's sacred garment, as in Aristophanes [m]:

> Εὐλογῆσαι βουλόμεθα τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, ὅτι
> Ανδρες ἦσαν τῆσδε γῆς ἄξιοι, καὶ τοῦ πέπλου.
> We will our fathers treat with high esteem,
> Whose brave exploits are worthy Attica,
> Fit to be pourtray'd in Minerva's vest.

With this πέπλος they made a solemn procession; the ceremonies of which were thus: in the Ceramicus, without the city, there

[m] Equitibus.

was an engine built in the form of a ship, on purpose for this solemnity; upon this the πέπλος was hung in the manner of a sail; and the whole was conveyed, not by the beasts, as some have imagined, but by subterraneous machines, to the temple of Ceres Eleusinia, and from thence to the citadel, where the πέπλος was put upon Minerva's statue, which seems to have been laid upon a bed strewed with, or rather composed of flowers, and called πλακὶς. This procession was made by persons of all ages, sexes, and qualities. It was led up by old men, together, as some say, with old women, carrying olive branches in their hands; whence they are called Θαλλοφόροι, i. e. *bearers of green boughs*; after these came the men of full age, with shields and spears, being attended by the Μέτοικος, or *sojourners*, who carried little boats, as a token of their being foreigners, and were upon that account called Σκαφηφόροι, i. e. *boat-bearers*; then followed the women, attended by the sojourners wives, who were named Ὑδριαφόροι, from bearing water-pots. These were followed by young men, singing hymns to the goddess; they were crowned with millet: next to these came select virgins of the first quality, called Κανηφόροι, i. e. *basket-bearers*, because they carried certain baskets, which contained some necessaries for the celebration of holy rites, which (as also other utensils required at the solemnity) were in the custody of one who, because he was chief manager of the public pomps, processions, or embassies to the gods, was called Αρχιθέωρος, and were distributed by him as occasion required; these virgins were attended by the sojourners' daughters, who carried umbrellas and little seats, whence they were called Διφρηφόροι, i. e. *seat-carriers*: lastly, it is probable that the boys bore up the rear: they walked in a sort of coats worn at processions, and called Πανδαμικοί. The necessaries for this, as for all other processions, were prepared in a public hall, erected for that use, between the Piræan gate and Ceres's temple; and the management and care of the whole business belonged to the Νομοφύλακες, which name denotes officers appointed to see that the laws, ancient rites, and customs, be observed. It was further usual at this solemnity, to make a jail-delivery, to present golden crowns to such as had done any remarkable service for the commonwealth, and to appoint men to sing some of Homer's poems; which custom was first introduced by Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus. Lastly, in the sacrifices at this, and other quinquennial solemnities, it was customary to pray for the prosperity of the Platæans, on account of the signal service they had

done the Athenians at the battle of Marathon, wherein they behaved themselves with extraordinary courage and resolution.

ΠΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ, in honour of Panace[n].

ΠΑΝΔΗΜΟΝ, the same with the Ἀθήναια, and Χαλκεια[o], and so called from the great concourse of people that used to meet at the solemnity.

ΠΑΝΔΙΑ, an Athenian festival[p], so called from Pandion, by whom it was first instituted; or because it was celebrated in honour of Jupiter, who does τὰ πάντα δινεύειν, i. e. move and *turn all things* which way he pleaseth. Others are of opinion, that it belonged to the moon, and received its name because she does πάντοτε ἴεναι, i. e. *move incessantly*, for that the moon appears both in the night and day; whereas the sun shows himself by day only, and was supposed to rest all night. It was celebrated after the Διονύσια, or festival of Bacchus, because that god is sometimes put for the sun, or Apollo, and was by some reputed to be the brother, by others the son of the moon.

ΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΣ, an Athenian festival[q], in memory of Pandrosus, the daughter of king Cecrops.

ΠΑΝΔΥΣΙΑ, public rejoicings[r], when the season, through its coldness and intemperance, forced the mariners to stay at home.

ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ, a public festival, celebrated (as the name imports) by an assembly of people from all parts of Greece[s].

ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΑ, a festival celebrated (as the name signifies) by a concourse of people from all the cities of Ionia[t]. The place, or temple, in which it was kept, was called Πανιώνιον. It was instituted in honour of Neptune, surnamed Heliconius, from Helice, a city of Achaia, which afterwards perished by an earthquake. One thing there was remarkable in this festival, viz. that if the bull offered in sacrifice offered to bellow, it was accounted an omen of divine favour, because that sound was thought to be acceptable to Neptune: to this Homer is thought to allude in these verses:

Αὐτὰρ ὁ θυμὸν ἄϊσθε, καὶ ἤρυγεν, ὡς ὅτε ταῦρος
Ἤρυγεν ἑλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα[u].

Dying he roar'd, as when a bull is drawn
About the king of sacred Helice.

ΠΑΝΟΣ ἙΟΡΤΗ, an anniversary solemnity[v] in honour of Pan, at

n Theodoretus, vii. Therap.

o Suidas.

p Etymolog. Auctor. Suid.

q Athenagoras in Apologia, Hesych.

r Æneas Tacitus Poliorcet. cap. 17. Proclus in Hesiod. Ἐργ. β'.

s Eustathius, Iliad. β'.

t Herodotus, lib. i. Strabo, lib. v. Eustathius Iliad. υ'.

u Iliad. xx.

v Herodotus, lib. vi. cap. 106.

Athens, where he had a temple, near the Acropolis, the dedication of which, and the institution of this festival, were upon this account: when Darius the Persian invaded Attica, one Phidippides was dispatched on an embassy to the Spartans, to desire their assistance: and as he was in his journey, about mount Parthenius, near Tegea, Pan met him, and calling him by his name, bid him ask the Athenians, what was the reason why they had no regard of him, who was their friend and had often been serviceable to them, and should continue to be? Phidippides, at his return to Athens, related this vision, which obtained so great credit with the Athenians, that they made a decree, that divine honours should be paid to that god also.

Pan had likewise a festival in Arcadia[w], the country he was believed most to frequent, and delight in, at which they used to beat his statue with Σκίλλαι, i. e. *sea onions:* the same was done when they missed of their prey in hunting, in anger (as should seem) at the god, whom they reputed to be president of that sport; to which custom Theocritus seems to allude in these verses:

> Καὶ ἢν ταῦτ' ἔρδοις, ὦ Πᾶν φίλε, μὴ τύ τι παῖδες
> Ἀρκαδικοὶ σκίλλαισιν ὑπὸ πλευράς τε, καὶ ὤμους
> Τανίκα μαςίσδοιεν ὅτε κρέα τυτθὰ παρείη.
>
> Kind Pan, if you propitious to my pray'r
> Grant these my wishes, you no more shall fear
> The rig'rous usage of Arcadian boys,
> When disappointed of their lovely prize. H. H.

Farther, it was customary to offer a scanty sacrifice, the relics of which were not sufficient to entertain those that were present; because, perhaps, they thought the god had frustrated their hopes of prey in hunting: on the contrary, when they had good success, they were more liberal in paying honours to him.

ΠΑΝΟΨΙ, see Πυανέψια.

ΠΑΡΑΛΙΑ, a commemoration-day in honour of an ancient hero, whose name was Paralus[x].

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΕΙΑ, a festival, in which were solemn games, wherein free-born Spartans only contended; also, an oration in praise of Pausanias, the Spartan general, under whose conduct the Grecians overcame Mardonius, in the famous battle at Platæa[y].

ΠΕΛΟΠΕΙΑ, a festival held by the Eleans to Pelops, whom that nation honoured more than any other hero. It was kept in imitation of Hercules, who sacrificed to Pelops in a trench, as was usually done to the manes and infernal gods. We are informed

[w] Theocriti Scholiastes, Idyll. vii. [x] Eustathius Odyss. δ'. [y] Pausanias Laconicis.

by Pausanias [z], that the magistrates of the Eleans sacrificed every year a ram in the same manner; and that the priest had no share in the victim; nor any of the Eleans, or other worshippers, were permitted to eat any part of it. Whoever adventured to transgress this rule was excluded from Jupiter's temple. Only the neck was allotted to one of Jupiter's officers, who was called ξυλεὺς, from his office, which was to provide the customary wood for sacrifices, it being held unlawful in that country to employ any other tree, beside the (λεύκη) *white poplar*, to that use.

ΠΕΛΩΡΙΑ, a Thessalian festival, not unlike the Roman Saturnalia. It is thus described by Athenæus [a]: 'Baton, the Sinopensian rhetorician, in his description of Thessaly and Hæmonia, declares, that the Saturnalia are a Grecian festival, and called by the Thessalians Peloria; his words are these: 'On a time when the Pelasgians were offering public sacrifices, one Pelorus came in, and told one of them, that the mountains of Tempe in Hæmonia were torn asunder by an earthquake; and the lake, which had before covered the adjacent valley, making its way through the breach, and falling into the stream of Peneus, had left behind a vast, but most pleasant and delightful plain. The Pelasgians hugged Pelorus for his news, and invited him to an entertainment, where he was treated with all sorts of dainties: the rest of the Pelasgians also brought the best provisions they had, and presented them to him; and his landlord, with others of the best quality, waited on him by turns. In memory of this, when the Pelasgians had seated themselves in the new-discovered country, they instituted a festival, wherein they offered sacrifices to Jupiter, surnamed Pelor, and made sumptuous entertainments, whereto they invited, not only all the foreigners amongst them, but prisoners also, whom they permitted to sit down, and waited upon them. This festival is to this day observed with great solemnity by the Thessalians, and called Πελωρία.'

ΠΕΡΙΠΕΤΕΙΑ, a Macedonian solemnity [b].

ΠΕΡΙΦΑΛΛΙΑ, the same with Φαλλαγώγια, being derived from φαλλὸς, of which see more in Διονύσια.

ΠΙΤΑΝΑΤΩΝ 'ΕΟΡΤΗ, gymnical exercises at Pitana [c].

ΠΛΥΝΤΗΡΙΑ, a festival in honour of Aglaurus, king Cecrops'

[z] Eliac. Lib. i. pag. 407. edit. Lips. 310. edit. Hanov.

[a] Lib. xiv.

[b] Hesychius.

[c] Idem.

daughter, or rather of Minerva, who had, from that lady, the name of Aglaurus[d]. At this time they undressed Minerva's statue, and washed it; whence the solemnity was called πλυντήρια, from πλύνειν, which signifies *to wash*. It was accounted an unfortunate or inauspicious day; and therefore the temples (as upon all such days) were surrounded with ropes, so that no man could have admission: the reason of which custom, with a farther account of this solemnity, we have in Plutarch's Alcibiades: 'The festival,' saith he, 'of the goddess Minerva, called Πλυντήρια, was celebrated on the twenty-sixth of Thargelion, with certain mysterious observances, unlawful to be revealed, which were performed by persons called Πραξιεργίδαι, who divested the goddess's image of all its ornaments, and kept it close covered; whence it is, that the Athenians esteem this day most inauspicious, and never go about any thing of importance upon it: and therefore, it falling out that Alcibiades's return from exile happened upon this day, many were much concerned at it, looking upon the time of his arrival to be a dangerous omen, and imagined that the goddess did not graciously receive him, but, in token of displeasure, hid her face from him: but, for all this, things went on prosperously, and succeeded according to his wish.' Farther, it was customary at this festival to bear in procession a cluster of figs, which was called Ἡγητορία, or Ἡγήτρια, from ἡγέομαι, which signifies to *lead* the way, because figs were ἡγεμόνες τȣ̃ καθάρȣ βίȣ, i. e. *leaders to humanity*, and a *civil* course of *life*; for, when men left off their ancient and barbarous diet of acorns, the next thing they used for food was figs.

ΠΟΛΙΕΙΑ, a solemnity at Thebes[e], in honour of Apollo, surnamed Πολιὸς, i. e. *grey*, because he was represented in this city (contrary to the practice of all other places) with grey hairs. The victim was a bull; but it once happening that no bulls could be procured, an ox was taken from the cart, and sacrificed: whence the custom of killing labouring oxen, which till that time was looked on as a capital crime, first commenced.

ΠΟΜΠΕΩΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ ʽΕΟΡΤΗ, a festival mentioned by Hesychius. There was an image at this solemnity called by a peculiar name Στεμματιαῖον.

ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΑ, or ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙΑ, in honour of Ποσειδῶν, i. e. *Neptune*, to whom also they offered a solemn sacrifice, called Οινίλιον[f].

ΠΡΙΑΠΕΙΑ, a festival in honour of Priapus.

d Hesych. Plut. Alcib. Athenæus, lib. iii. Plut. lib. viii. cap. 12.

e Pausanias Bœoticis.

f Hesychius.

ΠΡΟΗΡΟΣΙΑ, or ΠΡΗΡΟΣΙΑ, sacrifices [g] offered πρὸ τῆς ἀρόσεως, i. e. *before seed-time*, to Ceres, who was hence surnamed Προηροσία. They were called by the common people Προακτήρια, from ἀκτὴ, which sometimes signifies the same with σῖτος, i. e. *bread-corn*; whence comes Δημήτερος ἀκτὴ, i. e. *Ceres's corn*, in Homer [h]. The first institution of these sacrifices was by the command of one Authias, a prophet, who gave out that this was the only method to appease the incensed goddess, who had at that time afflicted, not Athens only, where this solemnity was observed, but all the other parts of Greece, with a grievous famine.

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ, a festival celebrated by the inhabitants of Laconia, before they gathered their fruits [i].

ΠΡΟΜΑΧΙΑ, a festival in which the Lacedæmonians crowned themselves with reeds [j].

ΠΡΟΜΕΘΕΙΑ, an Athenian solemnity, celebrated in honour of Prometheus [k], with torch-races, in remembrance that he was the first that taught men the use of fire.

ΠΡΟΣΧΑΙΡΗΤΗΡΙΑ, a day of rejoicing, when a new-married wife went to cohabit with her husband [l].

ΠΡΟΤΕΛΕΙΑ, a solemnity before marriage, of which afterwards.

ΠΡΟΤΡΥΓΕΙΑ, a festival in honour of Neptune, and of Bacchus [m], surnamed Προτρύγης, or Προτρυγαῖος, ἀπὸ τῆς τρυγὸς, i. e. *from new wine*.

ΠΡΟΦΘΑΣΙΑ, a festival, so called ἀπὸ τοῦ προφθάνειν, *from preventing*, or coming before. It was observed by the Clazomenians, in remembrance that they made themselves masters of Leuca, by coming to the celebration of a sacrifice before the Cumæans [n].

ΠΡΟΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ, a solemn sacrifice, which the Athenian magistrates yearly offered to Minerva, when the spring began first to appear [o].

ΠΡΩΤΕΣΙΛΑΕΙΑ, a festival celebrated by the Chersonesians and Thessalians [p], in memory of Protesilaus, who was the first Grecian slain by Hector.

ΠΥΑΝΕΨΙΑ, an Athenian festival [q], sometimes called ποιανοψία, or

[g] Hesych. Suid. Aristoph. Schol. Equitibus.

[h] Vide Annotationes nostras in Plutarchum de Audiendis Poëtis.

[i] Hesychius.

[j] Athenæus, lib. xv.

[k] Aristophanis Scholiast. Ranis.

[l] Harpocration, Suid.

[m] Hesychius.

[n] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv.

[o] Suidas.

[p] Pindari Scholiastes Isthm. Od. i. Lucianus. Deor. Concil.

[q] Harpocration, Plutarchus Theseo, Hesychius.

πανοψία, ὅτι πάντας εἶδον καρπὲς τῇ ὄψει, i. e. *because Theseus and his companions were entertained with all manner of fruits;* the former and more usual name, is derived ἀπὸ τȣ̃ ἕψειν πύανα, i. e. from *boiling pulse,* as was usual upon that day; the reason of which custom, with a farther account of this solemnity, I will give you in the words of Plutarch: 'Theseus, after the funeral of his father, paid his vows to Apollo upon the seventh of Pyanepsion; for on that day, the youths that returned with him safe from Crete, made their entry into the city. They say, also, that the custom of boiling pulse was derived from hence; because the young men that escaped put all that was left of their provision together, and boiling it in one common pot, feasted themselves with it, and with great rejoicing did eat all together. Hence also they carry about an olive branch, bound about with wool (such as they then made use of in their supplications), which was called Εἰρεσιώνη, (from εἶρος, i. e. *wool),* and crowned with all sorts of first fruits, to signify that scarcity and barrenness were ceased, singing, in their procession, this song:

Εἰρεσιώνη, σῦκα φέρειν, καὶ πίονας ἄρτȣς,
Καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ, καὶ ἔλαιον ἀναψήσασθαι,
Καὶ κύλικ' εὔζωρον, ὡς ἂν μεθύȣσα καθεύδῃς.

Eiresione, figs produce,
And wholesome bread, and cheerful oil,
And honey, labouring bees' sweet toil
But, above all, wine's noble juice;
Then cares thou in the cup shalt steep,
And, full of joy, receive soft sleep. DUKE.

Though some are of opinion, that this custom is retained in memory of the Heraclidæ, who were thus entertained, and brought up by the Athenians: but the former account is more generally received. It may be added farther, that the Εἰρεσιώνη, when it was carried about in honour of Apollo, was of laurel; when of Minerva, of olive: because those trees were believed to be most acceptable to these deities: when the solemnity was ended, it was customary for them to erect it before their house-doors, thinking it an amulet, whereby scarcity and want were prevented.

ΠΥΛΑΙΑ, a festival at Pylæ[r], otherwise called Thermopylæ, in honour of Ceres, surnamed from that place Pylæa.

ΠΥΡΣΩΝ 'ΕΟΡΤΗ, i. e. *The festival of torches:* it was observed at Argos, and instituted in memory of the torches lighted by Lynceus and Hypermnestra, to signify to each other that they had both escaped out of danger[s].

[r] Strabo, lib. ix.

[s] Pausanias Corinthiacis.

Ρ.

ΡΑΒΔΟΥ ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΣ, i. e. *The reception, or elevation of the rod.* It was an anniversary day in the island of Cos, at which the priests carried a cypress tree [t].

ΡΑΨΩΔΙΩΝ 'ΕΟΡΤΗ, a part of the Διονύσια, or *festival of Bacchus,* at which they repeated scraps of songs, or poems, as they walked by the god's statue [u].

Σ.

ΣΑΒΑΣΙΑ, nocturnal mysteries, in honour of Jupiter Sabazius [v], into which all that were initiated had a golden serpent put in at their breasts, and taken out at the lower parts of their garments, in memory of Jupiter's ravishing Proserpina in the form of a serpent. Others [w] are of opinion, that this solemnity was in honour of Bacchus, surnamed Sabazius, from the Sabæ, who were a people of Thrace; and it is probable this festival was not first instituted by the Grecians, but derived to them from the barbarians (such were the Thracians reputed), amongst whom, Suidas tells us, σαβάζειν was the same with εὐάζειν, i. e. *to shout,* εὐοὶ, as was usual in the festival of Bacchus; add to this that Bacchus's priests were, by the Thracians, called Σηβοί.

ΣΑΡΩΝΙΑ, a festival in honour of Diana [x], surnamed Saronia, from Saro, the third king of Trœzen, by whom a temple was erected, and this festival instituted to her.

ΣΕΙΣΑΧΘΕΙΑ, i. e. *a shaking off the burden.* It was a public sacrifice at Athens, in memory of Solon's ordinance, whereby the debts of poor people were either entirely remitted; or, at least, the interest due upon them lessened, and creditors hindered from seizing upon the persons of their debtors, as had been customary before that time [y].

ΣΕΜΕΛΗ, a festival mentioned by Hesychius; and observed, it may be, in memory of Semele, Bacchus's mother.

ΣΕΠΤΗΡΙΟΝ, a Delphian festival, celebrated every ninth year, in memory of Apollo's victory over Python. The chief part of the solemnity was a representation of Python pursued by Apollo [z].

ΣΘΕΝΙΑ, at Argos [a]. It might perhaps be celebrated in honour of Minerva, who was surnamed Σθενιὰς, from σθένος, i. e. *strength.*

[t] Hippocratis Epistola ad S. P. Q. Abderitan.
[u] Athenæus init. lib. vii.
[v] Clemens Protrept. Arnobius, lib. v.
[w] Diodorus Siculus, lib. iv. Aristophanis Scholiastes Vespis, Harpocrat.
[x] Pausanias Corinthiacis.
[y] Plutarch. Solone.
[z] Plutarch. Græc. Quæst.
[a] Hesychius.

ΣΚΕΙΡΑ, or ΣΚΙΡΑ, ΣΚΙΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ, an anniversary solemnity at Athens[b], upon the twelfth day of Scirrophorion, in honour of Minerva, or, as some say of Ceres and Proserpina. The name is derived from Sciras, a borough between Athens and Eleusis, where there was a temple dedicated to Minerva, surnamed Sciras, from that place: or from one Scirus, an inhabitant of Eleusis; or from Sciron of Salamis; or from σκίρος, i. e. *chalk or white plaster*, of which the statue dedicated to Minerva by Theseus, when he returned from Crete, was composed; or from σκίρον, i. e. *an umbrella*, which was at this time carried in procession by Erectheus's priest, or some of the sacred family of Butas, who, to distinguish them from others that made false pretentions to that kindred, were called Ετεοβουτάδαι, i. e. *the genuine offspring of Butas*: those that ordered this procession were wont to make use of Διὸς κώδια, i. e. *the skins of beasts sacrificed to Jupiter*, surnamed Μειλίχιος, and Κτήσιος, of which titles I have spoken before. Farther, there was at the festival a race called Οσχοφόρια, because the young men that contended therein did φέρειν τὰς ὄσχας, i. e. *carry in their hands vine branches full of grapes.*

ΣΚΙΕΡΙΑ, or ΣΚΙΕΡΑ, at Alea, in Arcadia[c], in honour of Bacchus, whose image was exposed ὑπὸ τῇ σκιαδὶ, i. e. *under an umbrella*; whence it is probable the name of this festival was derived. At this time the women were beaten with scourges, in the same manner with the Spartan boys at the Altar of Diana Orthia which they underwent in obedience to a command of the Delphian oracle.

ΚΙΛΛΩΝ-ΕΟΡΤΗ, i. e. the *festival of sea-onions*. It was observed in Sicily; the chief part of it was a combat, wherein youths beat one another with sea-onions: he that obtained the victory was rewarded by the gymnasiarch with a bull[d].

ΣΠΟΡΤΙΑ, mentioned by Hesychius.

ΣΤΗΝΙΑ, an Athenian solemnity[e], wherein the women made jests and lampoons upon one another; whence στηνιῶσαι signifies to *abuse, ridicule*, or *speak evil* of one another.

ΣΤΟΦΕΙΑ, at Eretria, in honour of Diana Stophea[f].

ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΑ, at Stymphalus in Arcadia, in honour of Diana, named from that place Stymphalia[g].

b Aristophan. Scholiast. Concionat. Harpocration, Suidas.

c Pausanias Arcadicis, Pollux, lib. viii. 33.

d Theocriti Scholiast. Idyll. vii.

e Hesychius, Suidas.

f Athenæus, lib. vi.

g Pausan. Arcadicis.

ΣΥΓΚΟΜΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ, see Θαλύσια.

ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΑ, see Ξυνοίκια.

ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΙΩΝ ʽΕΟΡΤΑΙ, Syracusian festivals, one of which Plato [h] mentions; it continued ten days, during which time the women were employed in offering sacrifices.

Another we read of in Tully [i], which was celebrated every year by vast numbers of men and women, at the lake near Syracuse, through which Pluto was said to have descended with Proserpina.

ΣΥΡΜΑΙΑ, games at Sparta [j], the prize of which was συρμαία, i. e. a *mixture* of fat and honey.

ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ, sacrifices and thanksgivings for deliverance out of dangers. One of these festivals was kept at Sicyon, on the fifth of Anthesterion, to Jupiter Σωτὴρ, the *saviour*; that city having been on that day delivered by Aratus from the Macedonian tyranny [k].

T.

ΤΑΙΝΑΡΙΑ, in honour of Neptune, surnamed Tænarius, from Tænarus, a promontory in Laconia, where was a temple dedicated to him. The worshippers were called Ταιναρίται [l].

ΤΑΛΑΙΔΙΤΗΣ, gymnical exercises in honour of Jupiter Ταλαιὸς, as Meursius conjectures from the words of Hesychius.

ΤΑΥΡΕΙΑ, in honour of Neptune, as Hesychius reports: perhaps it was the same with that mentioned by Athenæus [m], and celebrated at Ephesus, wherein the cup-bearers were young men, and called Ταῦροι.

ΤΑΥΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΑ, in honour of Diana Ταυροπόλος [n], of which surname there are various accounts; the most probable is that which derives it from Scythia Taurica, where this goddess was worshipped.

ΤΑΥΡΟΧΟΛΙΑ, at Cyzicus [o].

ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΚΟΣΤΟΝ, the fortieth day after child-birth, upon which the women went to the temples, and paid some grateful acknowledgments for their safe delivery; of which custom I shall give a farther account in one of the following books.

ΤΙΘΗΝΙΔΙΑ, A Spartan festival [p], in which the Τιθῆναι, or *nurses*, conveyed the male-infants committed to their charge to the tem-

h Epistola ad Dionis propinquos.
i Orat. in Verrem iv.
j Hesychius.
k Plut. Arato, Polyb. lib. ii. Cicero. de Offic. lib. iii.
l Idem.
m Lib. x.
n Hesychius.
o Idem.
p Athen. lib. iv. Hesychius.

ple of Diana Corythalia, which was at some distance from the city, being seated not far from that part of the river Tiassa which was near Cleta; here they offered young pigs in sacrifice, during the time of which some of them danced, and were called Κορυθαλλίστριαι; others exposed themselves in antic and ridiculous postures, and were named Κυριττοί. They had likewise a public entertainment at this and some other times, which was called κοπὶς, and to partake of it, κοπίζειν. The manner of it was thus: tents being erected near the temple, and beds furnished therein, and covered with tapestry, all the guests, as well foreigners as natives of Laconia, were invited to supper, where every man had his portion allotted, which was distributed to him, together with a small loaf of bread, called φυσίκυλλος; farther, also, each of them received a piece of new cheese, part of the belly and tripes, and (instead of sweetmeats) figs, beans, and green vetches.

ΤΙΤΑΝΙΑ, in memory of the Titanes[q].

ΤΛΗΠΟΛΕΜΕΙΑ, games celebrated[r] at Rhodes, in memory of Tlepolemus, upon the twenty-fourth day of the month Gorpiæus, wherein not men only, but boys, were permitted to contend; and the victors were crowned with poplar.

ΤΟΝΕΙΑ, the institution and manner of this solemnity are described in Athenæus[s], who tells us it was kept at Samos. The chief ceremony consisted in carrying Juno's image to the seashore, and offering cakes to it, and then restoring it to its former place; which was done in memory of its being stolen by the Tyrrhenians, and (when their ships were stayed in the haven by an invisible force, which hindered them from making away) exposed upon the shore. The name of this festival is derived ἀπὸ τῦ συντόνως περιειληφθῆναι τὸ βρέτας, i. e. from the images being *fast bound* by those that first bound it, because they imagined it was going to leave them.

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΔΙΑ, at Athens[t], in memory of Toxaris, a Scythian hero, who died there, and went under the name of ξένος ἰατρὸς, i. e. the *foreign physician*.

ΤΡΙΚΛΑΡΙΑ, an anniversary festival[u], celebrated by the Ionians that inhabited Aroe, Anthea, and Mesatis, in honour of Diana Triclaria, to appease whose anger for the adultery committed in her temple by Menalippus and Comætho the priestess, they were com-

[q] Moschopulus Collect. Dict. Attica.
[r] Pindari Scholiastes Olymp. Od. vii.
[s] Lib. xv.
[t] Lucianus Scytha.
[u] Pausanias Achaicis.

manded by the Delphian oracle to sacrifice a boy and a virgin, which inhuman custom continued till after the Trojan war.

ΤΡΙΟΠΙΑ, solemn games dedicated to Apollo Triopius. The prizes were tripods of brass, which the victors were obliged to consecrate to Apollo [v].

ΤΡΙΤΟΠΑΤΟΡΕΙΑ, a solemnity [w], in which it was usual to pray for children to the Θεοὶ γενέθλιοι, or *gods of generation,* who were sometimes called Τριτοπάτορες. Of these I shall have occasion to speak afterwards.

ΤΡΙΠΟΝΗΤΑΙ, a festival mentioned by Hesychius.

ΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΑ, solemn games celebrated every year at Lebadea, in honour of Trophonius [x].

ΤΥΠΑΙ, mentioned in Hesychius.

ΤΥΡΒΗ, celebrated by the Achæans, in honour of Bacchus [y].

Υ.

῾ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΑ, an anniversary solemnity [z] at Amyclæ in Laconia in the month Hecatombæon, in memory of the beautiful youth Hyacinthus, with games in honour of Apollo. It is thus described by Athenæus [a]: 'Polycrates reports in his Laconics, that the Laconians celebrate a festival called Hyacinthia, three days together; during which time, their grief for the death of Hyacinthus is so excessive, that they neither adorn themselves with crowns at their entertainments, nor eat bread, but sweetmeats only, and such like things; nor sing pæans in honour of the god, nor practise any of the customs that are usual at other sacrifices; but, having supped with gravity, and an orderly composedness, depart. Upon the second day, there is a variety of spectacles, frequented by a vast concourse of people. The boys, having their coats girt about them, play sometimes upon the harp, sometimes upon the flute, sometimes strike at once upon all their strings, and sing hymns in honour of the god (Apollo) in anapæstic numbers, and shrill acute sounds. Others pass over the theatre upon horses richly accoutred; at the same time enter choirs of young men, singing some of their own country songs, and, amongst them, persons appointed to dance according to the ancient form, to the flute, and vocal music. Of the virgins, some are ushered in, riding in chariots made of wood, covered at the top, and magnificently adorned; others in race-chariots. The whole city is filled with joy at this

v Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 44.
w Etymologici Auctor.
x Pindari Scholiast. Olymp. Od. vii.
y Pausanias Corinthiacis.
z Idem Laconicis, Hesychius.
a Lib. iv.

time; they offer multitudes of victims, and entertain all their acquaintance, and slaves; and so eager are they to be present at the games, that no man stays at home, but the city is left empty and desolate.'

ʽΥΒΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ, at Argos [b], upon the sixteenth, or rather upon the new moon, of the month called by the Argives Hermeas. The chief ceremony was, that the men and women exchanged habits, in memory of the generous achievement of Telesilla, who, when Argos was besieged by Cleomenes, having listed a sufficient number of women, made a brave and vigorous defence against the whole Spartan army.

ʽΥΔΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ, a solemnity, so called ἀπὸ τȣ̃ φέρειν ὕδωρ, i. e. *from bearing water*; and kept at Athens in memory of those that perished in the deluge [c].

Another festival was celebrated at Ægina, to Apollo, in the month Delphinius [d].

ʽΥΜΝΙΑ, at Orchomenos and Mantinea, in honour of Diana Hymnia.

ʽΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ, a festival at Argos, in honour of Venus [e]. The name is derived from ὗς, i. e. *a sow*, because sows were sacrificed to this goddess.

Φ.

ΦΑΓΗΣΙΑ, Φαγησία, or Φαγήσια, or Φαγησιποσία, or Φαγησιπόσια, was a festival, so called from φάγειν, and πίνειν, i. e. *to eat and drink*, because it was a time of good living [f]. It was observed during the Dionysia, and belonged to Bacchus.

ΦΑΓΩΝ, a festival mentioned by Eustathius [g], and (as the name imports) of the same nature with the former.

ΦΑΜΜΑΣΤΡΙΑ, mentioned by Hesychius.

ΦΕΛΛΟΣ, a festival of Bacchus [h], being a preparative to the Διονύσια [i].

ΦΕΡΕΦΑΤΤΙΑ, a festival at Cyzicum, wherein a black heifer was sacrificed to Pherephatta, or Proserpina [j].

ΦΩΣΦΟΡΙΑ, in honour of Phosphorus, or Lucifer [k].

Χ.

ΧΑΛΚΕΙΑ, so called from Χαλκὸς, i. e. *brass*, because it was celebrated in memory of the first invention of working that metal,

b Plutarch. Virt. Mulier, Polyænus, lib. viii.
c Etymologici Auctor. Suidas.
d Pindari Schol. Nemeon. Od. v.
d Athenæus, lib. iii.
f Idem. lib. vii.
g Odyss. φ'.
h Suidas.
i Aristophanis Scholiast, Nubibus.
j Plutarch. Lucullo.
k Plutarch. in Colotem. Hesychius.

which is owing to Athens [l]. It was called Πάνδημον, because ὁ πᾶς δῆμος, i. e. *the whole Athenian nation* assembled to celebrate it. Sometimes also this festival was called Αθήναια, because it was kept in honour of Αθήνη, or Minerva, who was the goddess of all sorts of arts and inventions, and upon that account named Εργάνη, from ἔργον, i. e. *work*. Afterwards, it was only kept by mechanics and handicraftsmen, especially those concerned in brass work, and that in honour of Vulcan, who was the god of smiths, and the first that taught the Athenians the use of brass.

ΧΑΛΚΙΟΙΚΙΑ, an anniversary day at Sparta, on which the young men assembled in arms to celebrate a sacrifice in the temple of Minerva, surnamed χαλκίοικος, from her temple, which was made of brass. The ephori were always present, to give directions for the due performance of the solemnity [m].

ΧΑΟΝΙΑ, a festival celebrated by the Chaonians in Epirus [n].

ΧΑΡΙΛΑ, a festival observed once in nine years by the Delphians, whereof we have this account in Plutarch [o]; ' a great drought having brought a famine upon the Delphians, they went with their wives and children as supplicants to the king's gate, who distributed meal and pulse to the more noted of them, not having enough to supply the necessaries of all: but a little orphan girl coming and importuning him, he beat her with his shoe, and threw it in her face; she indeed was a poor vagrant beggar, but of a disposition nowise mean or ignoble; wherefore, unable to bear the affront, she withdrew, and untying her girdle, hanged herself therewith. The famine hereupon increasing, and many diseases accompanying it, the Pythia was consulted by the king, and answered, that the death of the virgin Charila, who slew herself, must be expiated: the Delphians, after a long search, discovered at length, that the maid, who had been beaten with the shoe, was called by that name, and instituted certain sacrifices, mixed with expiatory rites, which are religiously observed every ninth year to this day. The king presides at them, and distributes meal and pulse to all persons, as well strangers as citizens; and Charila's effigy being brought in, when all have received their dole, the king smites it with his shoe; then the governess of the Thyades conveys it to some lonesome and desolate place, where, a halter be-

[l] Eustaph Iliad. β'. Suidas, Harpocration, Etymologici Auctor.

[m] Polybius, lib. iv. Pausan. Phocicis, p. 618. et Laconicis, p. 193.

[n] Parthenius Erot. 32.

[o] Græc. Quæst.

ing put about its neck, they bury it in the same spot of ground where Charila was interred.'

ΧΑΡΙΣΙΑ, a festival celebrated[p] in honour of the Charites, or Graces, with dances, which continued all night: he that was awake the longest was rewarded with a cake, called Πυραμοῦς.

ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ, a thanksgiving day at Athens[q], upon the twelfth day of Boedromion, which was the day whereon Thrasybulus expelled the thirty tyrants, and restored the Athenians their liberty.

ΧΑΡΜΟΣΥΝΑ, at Athens[r].

ΧΕΙΡΟΠΟΝΙΑ, a festival celebrated by the Χειροπόνοι, or handicraftsmen[s].

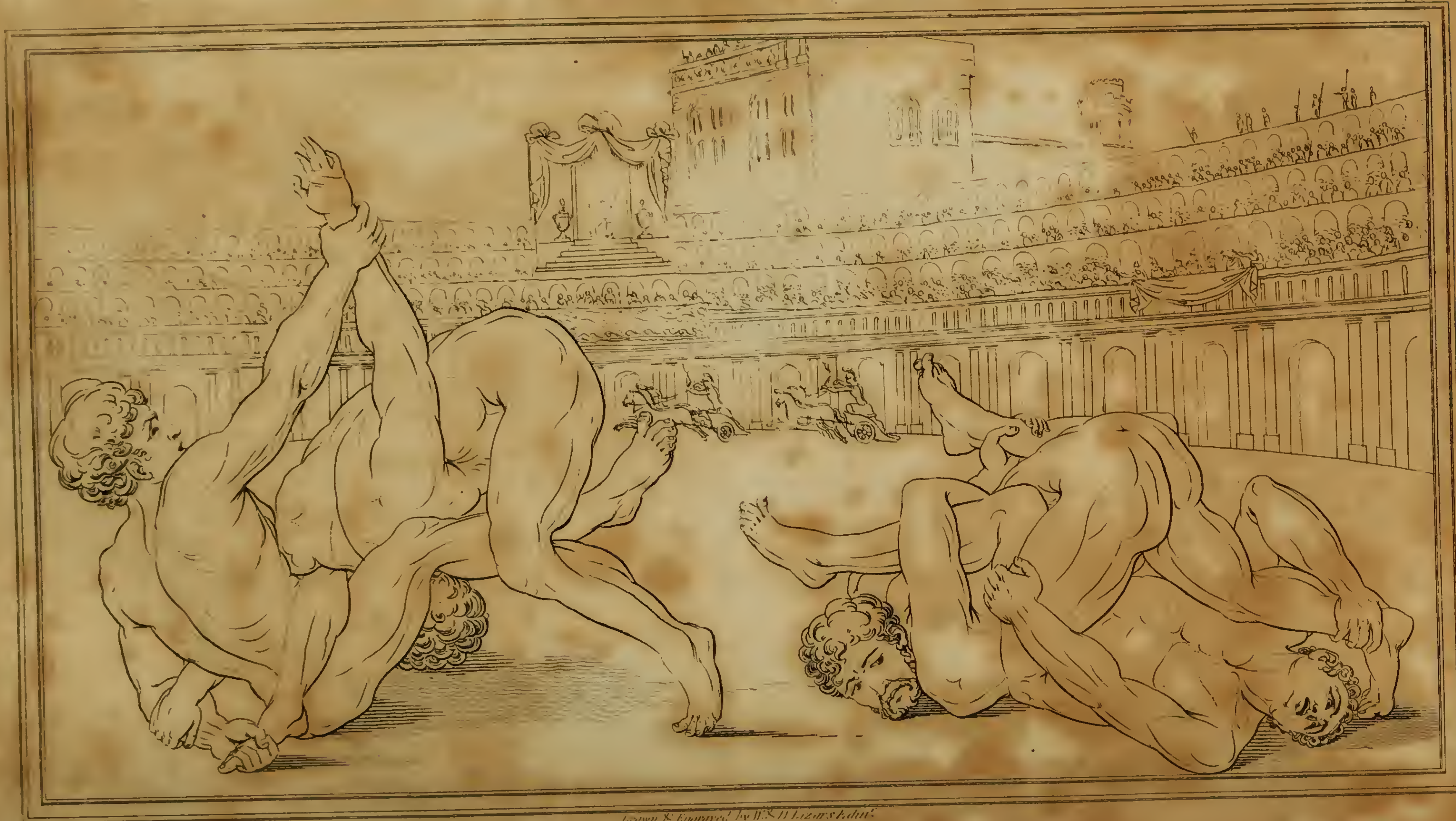
ΧΕΛΙΔΟΝΙΑ, a festival at Rhodes[t], in the month Boedromion, wherein the boys went from door to door begging, and singing a certain song; the doing which was called χελιδονίζειν, and the song itself was named Χελιδόνισμα, because it was begun with an invocation of the Χελιδὼν, or *swallow*: it is set down at large in Athenæus and begins thus:

> Ἦλθ', ἦλθε, Χελιδὼν, καλὰς,
> Ὥρας ἄγουσα, &c.

It is said to have been composed by Cleobulus the Lindian, as an artifice to get money in a time of public calamity. In like manner, to sing the song wherein a raven, in Greek, Κορώνη, was invoked, they called κορωνίζειν. And it seems to have been customary for beggars to go about and sing for wages; so Homer is said to have done, earning his living by singing a song called Εἰρεσιώνη.

ΧΘΟΝΙΑ, an anniversary day kept by the Hermionians in honour of Ceres, surnamed Chthonia, either because she was goddess of the earth, which is called in Greek Χθὼν, or from a damsel of that name, whom Ceres carried from Argolis to Hermione, where she dedicated a temple to the goddess. The manner of this festival is thus described by Pausanias[u]: 'Ceres herself is named Chthonia, and under that title is honoured with a festival, celebrated every summer in this method: a procession is led up by the priests of the gods, and the magistrates that year in office, who are followed by a crowd of men and women; the boys also make a solemn procession in honour of the goddess, being in white apparel, and having upon their heads crowns composed of a flower, which is by them called Κομοσάνδαλος, but seems to be the same

p Eustathius, Odyss. σ'.
q Plutarch. de Gloria Atheniens.
r Hesychius.
s Idem.
t Athenæus, lib. viii.
u Corinthiacis.



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PANCRATIUM

DISCOBOLI

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with hyacinth, as appears as well by the bigness and colour as from the letters inscribed upon it, in memory of the untimely death of Hyacinthus. This procession is followed by persons that drag an heifer untamed, and newly taken from the herd, fast bound to the temple, where they let her loose; which being done, the door-keepers, who till then had kept the temple gates open, make all fast, and four old women being left within, and armed with scythes, they pursue the heifer, and dispatch her, as soon as they are able, by cutting her throat. Then the doors being opened, certain appointed persons put a second heifer into the temple, afterwards a third, and then a fourth, all which the old women kill in the fore-mentioned manner; and it is observable, that all fall on the same side.

ΧΙΤΩΝΙΑ, in honour of Diana, surnamed Chitonia, from Chitone, a borough in Attica, where this festival was celebrated [u].

Another festival of this name was celebrated at Syracuse, with songs and dances proper to the day [v].

ΧΛΟΕΙΑ, a festival celebrated at Athens upon the sixth of Thargelion [w], with sports and mirth, sacrificing a ram to Ceres, worshipped in a temple in or near the acropolis of Athens, under the title of Χλόη, which name, though Pausanias thought to bear a hidden and mystical sense, understood by none but the priests themselves, yet perhaps it may be derived from Χλόη, i. e. *grass*, because Ceres was goddess of the earth, and all the fruits thereof; and is the same with the epithet of Εὔχλοος, or *fertile*, which is applied to her by Sophocles [x].

Τὼ δ' Εὐχλόου Δήμητρος ἐς ἐπόψιον
Πάγον μολοῦσα.——

Where this conjecture seems to be approved by the scholiast, who tells us, that Ceres, surnamed Ευχλοὸς, was worshipped in a temple near the acropolis, which can be no other than that already mentioned. Add to this, that Gyraldus is of opinion that Ceres is called Χλόη, amongst the Greeks, for the same reason that, amongst the Latins, she is named Flava, the cause of which title is too well known to be accounted for in this place.

ΧΟΕΣ, see Ανθεστήρια.

ΧΟΛΕΣ, in honour of Bacchus [y].

ΧΥΤΡΟΙ, see Ανθεστήρια.

[u] Callimachi Scholiast. Hymn. in Dian. Athenæus, lib. xiv.

[v] Stephan. Byzantin. v. Χιτώνη.

[w] Hesychius, Eustathius, Il. ί. Pausan. Atticis.

[x] Oedip. Colon.

[y] Hesych.

Ω.

ΩΜΟΦΑΓΙΑ, a festival[z] in honour of Bacchus Ὠμοφάγος i. e. *eater of raw flesh,* of which I have spoken in the former part of this chapter. This solemnity was celebrated in the same manner with the other festivals of Bacchus, wherein they counterfeited frenzy and madness; what was peculiar to it, was, that the worshippers used to eat the entrails of goats, raw and bloody, which was done in imitation of the god, to whom the surname by which he was adorned at this solemnity, was given for the like actions.

ΩΡΑΙΑ, solemn sacrifices[a], consisting of fruits, and offered in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, that heaven might grant mild and temperate weather. These, according to Meursius, were offered to the goddesses called Ὧραι, i. e. *Hours,* who were three in number; they attended upon the sun, presided over the four seasons of the year, and were honoured with divine worship at Athens[b].

CHAP. XXI.

Of the public Games in Greece, and the principal Exercises used in them.

I COME, in the next place, to the four public and solemn games, which were peculiarly termed ἱεροὶ, i. e. *sacred,* partly from the esteem they had all over Greece, from every part of which vast multitudes of spectators flocked to them, and partly because they were instituted in honour of the gods, or deified heroes, and always began with sacrificing to them, and concluded in the same religious manner.

Their names, together with the persons to whom they were dedicated, and the prizes in each of them, are elegantly comprised by Archias, in the two following distichs:

> Τέσσαρες εἰσὶν ἀγῶνες ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τέσσαρες ἱροὶ·
> Οἱ δύο μὲν θνητῶν, οἱ δύο δ' ἀθανάτων·
> Ζηνὸς, Λητοΐδαο, Παλαίμονος, Ἀρχέμοροιο,
> Ἆθλα δὲ κότινος, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίτυς.

Such as obtained victories in any of these games, especially the Olympic[c], were universally honoured, nay, almost adored. At

[z] Clemens Protrept. Arnob. lib. v.
[a] Hesych.
[b] Athenæus, lib. xiv.
[c] Plut. Synops. lib. ii. quæst. 6. Vitruvius Præfat. in Architect. lib. ix.



PUGILES CUM CESTUBUS

Drawn & Engraved by W. & D. Lizars Edin.r

Edinburgh Published by Doig Stirling & Slade 1818.



LUCTATORES

Drawn & Engraved by W. & D. Lizars Edin.

Edinburgh Published by Oliver & Boyd 1818.

their return home, they rode in a triumphal chariot into the city, the walls being broken down to give them entrance; which was done (as Plutarch is of opinion), to signify that walls are of small use to a city that is inhabited by men of courage and ability to defend it. At Sparta, they had an honourable post in the army, being placed near the king's person. At some places, they had presents made to them by their native city, were honoured with the first places at all shows and games, and ever after maintained at the public charge[d]. Cicero[e] reports, that a victory in the Olympic games was not much less honourable than a triumph at Rome. Happy was that man thought that could but obtain a single victory: if any person merited repeated rewards, he was thought to have attained to the utmost felicity that human nature is capable of; but if he came off conqueror in all the exercises, he was elevated above the condition of men, and his actions styled wonderful victories[f]. Nor did their honours terminate in themselves, but were extended to all about them; the city that gave them birth and education was esteemed more honourable and august; happy were their relations, and thrice happy their parents. It is a remarkable story, which Plutarch[g] relates of a Spartan, who, meeting Diagoras, that had himself been crowned in the Olympian games, and seen his sons and grandchildren victors, embraced him, and said, 'die, Diagoras, for thou canst not be a god.' By the laws of Solon, a hundred drachms were allowed from the public treasury to every Athenian who obtained a prize in the Isthmian games; and five hundred drachms to such as were victors in the Olympian[h]. Afterwards the latter of these had their maintenance in the prytaneum, or public hall of Athens. At the same place, it was forbidden by the laws to give slaves or harlots their names from any of these games, which was accounted a dishonour to the solemnities, as hath been elsewhere observed[i]. Hence there is a dispute in Athenæus[j], how it came to pass that Nemea, the minstrel, was so called from the Nemean games.

There were certain persons appointed to take care that all things were performed according to custom, to decide controversies that happened amongst the antagonists, and adjudge the prizes to those that merited them: these were called *αἰσυμνῆται, βραβευταὶ, ἀγωνάρχαι,*

d Xenoph. Coloph. in Epigram.
e Orat. pro Flacco.
f Plut. Lucullo.
g Pelopida.
h Plut. Solone.
i Lib. i. cap. 10. Lib. iv. cap. 12.
j Lib. xiii.

ἀγωνοδίκαι, ἀγωνοθέται, ἀθλοθέται, though betwixt these two Phavorinus makes a distinction, for ἀθλοθέται, he tells us, was peculiar to gymnical exercises; whereas the former was sometimes applied to musical contentions. They were likewise called ῥαβδοῦχοι, and ῥαβδονόμοι, from ῥάβδος, i. e. *a rod* or *sceptre,* which these judges, and in general all kings and great magistrates, carried in their hands.

After the judges had passed sentence, a public herald proclaimed the name of the victor, whence κηρύσσειν in Greek, and *prædicare* in Latin, signify to commend or proclaim any man's praises. The token of victory was in most places a palm branch, which was presented to the conquerors, and carried by them in their hands; which custom was first introduced by Theseus, at the institution of the Delian games[k], though others will have it to be much more ancient: hence *palmam dare,* to yield the victory; and *plurium palmarum homo,* in Tully, a man that has won a great many prizes.

Before I proceed to give a particular description of the Grecian games, it will be necessary to present you with a brief account of the principal exercises used in them, which were as follow:

Πένταθλον, or *Quinquertium,* which consisted of the five exercises contained in this verse;

Ἅλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην.

i. e. *Leaping, running, throwing, darting, and wrestling.* Instead of darting, some mention boxing, and others may speak of other exercises different from those which have been mentioned; for πένταθλον seems to have been a common name for any five sorts of exercise performed at the same time. In all of them, there were some customs that deserve our observation.

Δρόμος, or the exercise of *running,* was in great esteem amongst the ancient Grecians, insomuch, that such as prepared themselves for it, thought it worth their while to use means to burn or parch their spleen, because it was believed to be an hindrance to them, and retard them in their course. Homer tells us, that swiftness is one of the most excellent endowments a man can be blessed withal[l]:

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ μεῖζον κλέος ἀνέρος, ὄφρα κεν ᾖσιν,
Ἢ ὅ, τι ποσσίν τε ῥέξῃ, καὶ χερσὶν ἑῇσιν.

To fame arise! for what more fame can yield
Than the swift race, or conflict of the field? POPE.

Indeed, all those exercises that conduced to fit men for war were more especially valued. Now swiftness was looked upon as an

[k] Plut. Theseo. [l] Odyss. θ'. ver. 147.

excellent qualification in a warrior, both because it serves for a sudden assault and onset, and likewise for a nimble retreat[k]; and therefore it is not to be wondered, that the constant character which Homer gives us of Achilles, is, that he was πόδας ὠκὺς, or *swift of foot*; and in the holy scriptures, David, in his poetical lamentation over those two great captains, Saul and Jonathan, takes particular notice of this warlike quality of theirs: 'They were,' says he, 'swifter than eagles, stronger than lions.' To return, the course was called ϛάδιον, being of the same extent with the measure of that name, which contains 125 paces; whence the runners were termed ϛαδιοδρόμοι. Sometimes the length of it was enlarged, and then it was named δόλιχος, and the contenders δολιχοδρόμοι; whence comes the proverb, Μὴ ζήτει ἐν ϛταδίῳ δόλιχον, i. e. *search not for a greater thing in a less.* Suidas assigns twenty-four stadia to the δόλιχος, and others only twelve. But the measure of it seems not to have been fixed or determinate, but variable at pleasure. Sometimes they ran back again to the place whence they had first set out, and then the course was called δίαυλος, and the runners διαυλοδρόμοι, for αὐλὸς was the old term for stadium. Sometimes, they ran in armour, and were termed ὁπλιτοδρόμοι.

Ἅλμα, or the exercise of *leaping*, they sometimes performed with weights upon their heads or shoulders, sometimes carrying them in their hands; these were called ἁλτῆρες, which, though now and then of different figures, yet, as Pausanias reports, were usually of an oval form, and made with holes, or else covered with thongs, through which the contenders put their fingers. Ἁλτῆρες were also sometimes used in throwing. The place from which they leaped, was called βατὴς[m]; that to which they leaped, τὰ ἐσκαμμένα, because it was marked by *digging* up the earth; whence πηδᾶν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα is applied to persons that overleap, or exceed their bounds. The mark in the exercise of throwing quoits was also, sometimes, for the same reason, termed σκάμμα.

Ῥίψις, or the exercise of throwing or darting, was performed several ways; sometimes with a javelin, rod, or other instrument, of a large size, which they threw out of their naked hands, or by the help of a thong tied about the middle of it; the doing of it was termed ἀκόντισμα; sometimes with an arrow or little javelin, which was either shot out of a bow, or cast out of a sling; and the art of doing this was called τοξική.

Δίσκος, was a quoit of stone, brass, or iron, which they threw by

[m] Pollux.

the help of a thong put through a hole in the middle of it[n], but in a manner quite different from that of throwing darts; for there the hands were lifted up and extended, whereas the discus was hurled in the manner of a bowl.—It was of different figures and sizes, being sometimes four-square, but usually broad and like a lentil, whence that herb is, by Dioscorides, called δίσκος. The same exercise was sometimes performed with an instrument called Σόλος, which some will have to be distinguished from δίσκος, because that was of iron, this of stone; but others, with more reason, report, that the difference consisted in this, viz. that σόλος was of a spherical figure, whereas δίσκος was broad.

Πυγμική, or the exercise of boxing, was sometimes performed by combatants having in their hands balls of stone or lead, called σφαῖραι, and then it was termed σφαιρομαχία. At first their hands and arms were naked and unguarded, but afterwards surrounded with thongs of leather called *cestus*, which at the first were short, reaching no higher than the wrists, but were afterwards enlarged, and carried up to the elbow, and sometimes as high as the shoulder; and in time they came to be used not only as defensive arms, but to annoy the enemy, being filled with plummets of lead and iron, to add force to the blows. The cestus was very ancient, being invented by Amycus king of the Bebrycians, who was contemporary with the Argonauts, as we are informed by Clemens of Alexandria[o]. Those that prepared themselves for this exercise, used all the means they could contrive to render themselves fat and fleshy, that so they might be better able to endure blows; whence corpulent men or women were usually called *pugiles*, according to Terence[p]:

Siqua est habitior paulo, pugilem esse aiunt.———

Πάλη, or the exercise of wrestling, was sometimes called καταβλητική· because the combatants endeavoured to throw each other down, to do which they called ῥῆξαι. At first they contended only with strength of body, but Theseus invented the art of wrestling, whereby men were enabled to throw down those who were far superior to them in strength[q]. In latter ages, they never encountered till all their joints and members had been soundly rubbed, fomented, and suppled with oil, whereby all strains were prevented. The victory was adjudged to him that gave his antagonist three falls; whence τριάξαι and ἀποτριάξαι, signify to conquer;

[n] Eustathius Odyss. Θ'.
[o] Strom. i. p. 307.
[p] Eunuch. act ii. scen. 3.
[q] Pausanias Atticis.

τριαχθῆναι, or ἀποτριαχθῆναι, to be conquered; and by ἀτρίακτος ἄτα, in Æschylus, is meant an insuperable evil: others make the proper signification of these words to belong only to victors, in all the exercises of the πένταθλος [r]; however, the fore-mentioned custom is sufficiently attested by the epigram upon Milo, who, having challenged the whole assembly, and finding none that durst encounter him, claimed the crown; but as he was going to receive it, unfortunately fell down; whereat the people cried out, that he had forfeited the prize; then Milo [s],

> Ἀνστὰς δ' ἐν μέσσοισιν ἀνέκραγεν, Οὐχὶ τρὶ ἐστιν·
> Ἓν κεῖμαι, λοιπὸν τἄλλα μὲ τὶς βαλέτω;
>
> Arose, and standing in the midst thus cry'd:
> One single fall cannot the prize decide,
> And who is here can throw me th' other two?

But of wrestling there were two sorts, viz. one called Ορθία πάλη, and Ορθοπάλη, which is that already described; and another called Ανακλινοπάλη, because the combatants used voluntarily to throw themselves down, and continue the fight upon the ground, by pinching, biting, scratching, and all manner of ways annoying their adversary; whereby it often came to pass, that the weaker combatant, and who would never have been able to throw his antagonist, obtained the victory, and forced him to yield; for in this exercise, as in boxing also, the victory was never adjudged, till one party had fairly yielded. This was sometimes done by words, and often by lifting up a finger, whence δακτύλον ἀνατείνασθαι signifies to yield the victory; for which reason, we are told by Plutarch, that the Lacedæmonians would not permit any of those exercises to be practised in their city, wherein those that were conquered did δακτύλον ἀνατείνασθαι, i. e. confess themselves overcome by holding up their finger, because they thought it would derogate from the temper and spirit of the Spartans, to have any of them tamely yield to any adversary; though that place has been hitherto mistaken by most interpreters. Martial has taken notice of this exercise:

> *Hunc amo, qui vincit, sed qui succumbere novit,*
> *Et melius didicit,* τὴν ἀνακλινοπάλην.

It is the very same with what is more commonly called Παγκράτιον, which consists of the two exercises of wrestling and boxing: from the former, it borrows the custom of throwing down; from the latter, that of beating adversaries; for wrestlers never struck, nor did boxers ever attempt to throw down one another; but the

[r] Pollux Onomast. lib. iii. cap. 30. [s] Antholog. lib. ii. cap. 1. Epigram. 11.

Παγκρατιασταὶ were permitted to do both; and it was customary for the weaker party, when he found himself sore pressed by his adversary, to fall down, and fight rolling on the ground, whence these combatants were called κυλιστικοὶ, which gave occasion to the mistake of Hieronymus Mercurialis, who fancied there were two Pancratia, one in which the combatants stood erect; the other, in which they rolled in the gravel. This exercise is sometimes called Παμμάχιον, and the combatants Παμμάχοι [t].

Horse-races were either performed by single horses, which were called κέλητες or μονάμπυκες; or by two horses, on one of which they performed the race, and leaped upon the other at the goal; these men were called ἀναβάται, and if it was a mare they leaped upon, she was named κάλπη: or by horses coupled together in chariots, which were sometimes drawn by two, three, four, &c. horses; whence we read of δύωροι, τέθριπποι, τετράωροι, &c. How great soever the number of horses might be, they were all placed, not as now, but in one front, being coupled together by pairs. Afterwards, Clisthenes the Sicyonian brought up a custom of coupling the two middle horses only, which are for that reason called ζύγιοι, and governing the rest by reins, whence they are usually termed σειραφόροι, σειραῖοι, παράσειροι, παράοροι, ἀορτῆρες, &c. Sometimes we find mules used instead of horses, and the chariots drawn by them called ἀπῆναι. The principal part of the charioteer's art and skill consisted in avoiding the νύσσαι, or goals; in which, if he failed, the overturning of his chariot, which was a necessary consequence of it, brought him into great danger, as well as disgrace.

Besides the exercises already described, there were others of a quite different nature: such were those wherein musicians, poets, and other artists, contended for victory. Thus in the 91st Olympiad Euripides and Xenocles contended who should be accounted the best tragedian [u]. Another time, Cleomenes recommended himself by repeating some collections of Empedocles's verses, which he had compiled [v]. Another time, Georgias of Leontium, who was the first that invented the art of discoursing on any subject without premeditation, as we learn from Philostratus, made a public offer to all the Greeks, who were present at the solemnity, to discourse *extempore* upon whatever argument any of them should propound. Lastly, to mention only one example more, Herodotus is said to have gained very great applause, and to have

t Pollux, Suidas, Hyginus, &c.
u Ælianus Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 8.
v Athenæus, lib. xiii.

fired young Thucydides with an early emulation of him, by repeating his history at the Olympian games[w].

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Olympic Games.

The Olympian games were so called from Olympian Jupiter, to whom they were dedicated, or from Olympia, a city in the territory of the Pisæans; or, according to Stephanus, the same with Pisa. The first institution of them is by some referred to Jupiter, after his victory over the sons of Titan[x]; at which time Mars is said to have been crowned for boxing, and Apollo to have been superior to Mercury at running. Phlegon, the author of the Olympiades, reports, they were first instituted by Pisus, from whom the city Pisæ was named.

Others will have the first author of them to be one of the Dactyli, named Hercules, not the son of Alcmena, but another of far greater antiquity, that with his four brethren, Pæoneus, Ida, Jasius, and Epimedes, left their ancient seat in Ida, a mountain of Crete, and settled in Elis, where he instituted this solemnity; the original of which was only a race, wherein the four younger brothers contending for diversion, the victor was crowned by Hercules with an olive garland, which was not composed of the common olive branches, nor the natural product of that country[y], but brought by Hercules (so fables will have it), from the Hyperborean Scythians, and planted in the Pantheum near Olympia, where it flourished, though not after the manner of other olive trees, but spreading out its boughs more like a myrtle; it was called καλλιςέφανος, i. e. *fit for crowns*, and garlands given to victors in these games were always composed of it; and it was forbidden, under a great penalty, to cut it for any other use. These Dactyli were five in number, whence it is that the Olympian games were celebrated once in five years, though others make them to be solemnized once in four; wherefore, according to the former, an olympiad must consist of five, according to the latter, of four years: but neither of these accounts are exact; for this solemnity was held indeed every fifth year, yet not after the term of five years was

[w] Suidas, &c.

[x] Aristoph. ejusque Schol. in Plut.

[y] Aristot. et ex eo Aristoph. Schol.

quite past, but every fiftieth month, which is the second month after the completion of four years [z]; and as these games were celebrated every fifth year, so they lasted five days; for they began upon the eleventh, and ended upon the fifteenth day of the lunar month, when the moon was at the full.

Others (if we may believe Julius Scaliger) report that these games were instituted by Pelops, to the honour of Neptune, by whose assistance he had vanquished Oenomaus, and married his daughter Hippodamia.

Others say, they were first celebrated by Hercules, the son of Alcmena, to the honour of Pelops, from whom he was descended by the mother's side [a]; but being after that discontinued for some time, they were received by Iphitus, or Iphiclus, one of Hercules's sons.

The most common opinion is, that the Olympian games were first instituted by this Hercules, to the honour of Olympian Jupiter, out of the spoils taken from Auges king of Elis, whom he had dethroned and plundered, being defrauded of the reward he had promised him for cleansing his stables, as Pindar reports [b]: Diodorus the Sicilian [c] gives the same relation, and adds, that Hercules proposed no other reward to the victors but a crown, in memory of his own labours, all which he accomplished for the benefit of mankind, without designing any reward to himself, besides the praise of doing well. At this institution, it is reported that Hercules himself came off conqueror in all the exercises, except wrestling, to which when he had challenged all the field, and could find no man that could grapple with him, at length Jupiter, having assumed an human shape, entered the lists; and when the contention had remained doubtful for a considerable time, neither party having the advantage, or being willing to submit, the god discovered himself to his son, and, from this action, got the surname of Παλαιστής, or wrestler, by which he is known in Lycophron [d].

All these stories are rejected by Strabo, in his description of Elis, where he reports, that an Ætolian colony, together with some of Hercules's posterity, subdued a great many of the Pisæan towns, and amongst them, Olympia, when they first instituted, or, at least, revived, enlarged, and augmented these games, which (as

z Isaac. Tzet. in Lycophr. et Johannes Tzez. Chiliad. I. Hist. xxi.

a Solinus Polyhist. et Satius Theb. vi.

b Olympion. initio, Od. ii.

c Bibliothec. Hist. lib. iv.

d Cassandra, v. 41.

my author thinks) could not have been omitted by Homer, who takes every opportunity to adorn his poems with descriptions of such solemnities, had they been of any note before the Trojan war. Whatever becomes of the first author of the Olympian games, it is certain they were either wholly laid aside, or very little frequented, till the time of Iphitus, who was contemporary with Lycurgus the Spartan lawgiver[e]. He reinstituted this solemnity about four hundred and eight years after the Trojan war, from which time, according to Solinus, the number of the olympiads are reckoned[f]. After this time they were again neglected till the time of Chorœbus, who, according to Phlegon's computation, lived in the 28th olympiad after Iphitus, and then instituted again the Olympian games; which, after this time, were constantly celebrated. And this really fell out in the 418th year after the destruction of Troy, or two years sooner, by Eusebius's account, which reckons four hundred and six years from the taking of Troy to the first olympiad; by the first olympiad, meaning that which was first in the common computation of olympiads, which was begun at this time.

The care and management of these games belonged sometimes to the Pisæans, but, for the most part, to the Eleans, by whom the Pisæans were destroyed, and their very name extinguished. Polybius, in the fourth book of his history, reports, that the Eleans, by the general consent of the Greeks, enjoyed their possessions without any molestation, or fear of war or violence, in consideration of the Olympian games, which were there celebrated. And this he assigns as a reason why they chiefly delighted in a country life, and did not flock together into towns like other states of Greece. Nevertheless we find, that the 104th olympiad was celebrated by order of the Arcadians, by whom the Æleans were at that time reduced to a very low condition; but this, and all those managed by the inhabitants of Pisa, the Eleans called Ἀνολυμπιάδες, i. e. *unlawful olympiads,* and left them out of their annals, wherein the names of the victors, and all occurrences at these games were recorded. Till the 50th olympiad, a single person superintended, but then two were appointed to perform that office. In the 103d olympiad that number was increased to twelve, according to the number of the Elean tribes, out of every one of which one president was elected: but in the following olympiad, the Eleans having suffered great losses by a war with the Arcadians,

e Aristoteles in Plutarchi Lycurgo, Pausanias. f Solini Polyhist. cap. i.

and being reduced to eight tribes, the presidents were also reduced to that number: in the 105th olympiad, they were increased by the addition of one more; and, in the 106th, another was joined to them, whereby they were made ten; which number continued till the reign of Adrian, the Roman emperor. These persons were called Ἑλλανοδίκαι, and assembled together in a place named Ἑλλανοδικαῖον, in the Elean forum, where they were obliged to reside ten months before the celebration of the games, to take care that such as offered themselves to contend, performed their προγυμνάσματα, or preparatory exercises, and to be instructed in all the laws of the games, by certain men called Νομοφύλακες, i. e. *keepers of the laws:* farther, to prevent all unjust practices, they were obliged to take an oath, that they would act impartially, would take no bribes, nor discover the reason for which they disliked or approved of any of the contenders. At the solemnity they sat naked, having before them the victoral crown till the exercises were finished, and then it was presented to whomsoever they adjudged it. Nevertheless there lay an appeal from the *hellanodicæ* to the Olympian senate. Thus, when two of the *hellanodicæ* adjudged the prize to Eupolemus the Elean, and the third (they being then only three in number) to Leon the Ambracian, the latter of these appealed to the Olympian Senate, who condemned the two judges to pay a considerable fine [g].

To preserve peace and good order, there were certain officers appointed to correct such as were unruly. These were by the Eleans termed ἀλύται, which word signifies the same persons with those who, by the rest of the Greeks, were called ῥαβδοφόροι, or μαστιγόφοροι, and *lictores* by the Romans. Over these was a president, to whom the rest were subject, called ἀλυτάρχης [h].

Women were not allowed to be present at these games; nay, so severe were the Elean laws, that if any woman was found so much as to have passed the river Alpheus during the time of the solemnity, she was to be tumbled headlong from a rock [i]: but it is reported, that none was ever taken thus offending, except Callipatera, whom others call Pherenice, who ventured to usher her son Pisidorus, called by some Eucleus, into the exercises, and, being discovered, was apprehended and brought before the presidents, who, notwithstanding the severity of the laws, acquitted her, out of respect to her father, brethren, and son, who had all won prizes

g Pausanias Eliac. ϛ'. page 457, 458. edit. Lips.

h Etymologici Auctor.

i Pausanias.

in the Olympian games. But my author reports, in another place [j], that Cynisca, the daughter of Archidamus, with manly courage and bravery, contended in the Olympian games, and was the first of her sex that kept horses and won a prize there; but that afterwards several others, especially some of the Macedonian women, followed her example, and were crowned at Olympia. Perhaps neither of these reports may be altogether groundless, since innumerable alterations were made in these games, according to the exigencies of times and change of circumstances, all which are set down at large in Pausanias, Natalis Comes, and other mythologists.

All such as designed to contend, were obliged to repair to the public gymnasium at Elis, ten months before the solemnity, where they prepared themselves by continual exercises: we are told, indeed, by Phavorinus, that the preparatory exercises were only performed thirty days before the games; but this must be understood of the performance of the whole and entire exercises in the same manner they were practised at the games, which seems to have been only enjoined in the last month, whereas the nine antecedent months were spent in more light and easy preparations. No man that had omitted to present himself in this manner, was allowed to put in for any of the prizes; nor were the accustomed rewards of victory given to such persons, if by any means they insinuated themselves, and overcame their antagonist; nor would any apology, though seemingly never so reasonable, serve to excuse their absence. In the 208th olympiad, Apollonius was rejected, and not suffered to contend, because he had not presented himself in due time, though he was detained by contrary winds in the islands called Cyclades; and the crown was given to Heraclides without performing any exercise, because no just and duly qualified adversary appeared to oppose him. No person that was himself a notorious criminal, or nearly related to any such, was permitted to contend. Farther, to prevent underhand dealings, if any person was convicted of bribing his adversary, a severe fine was laid upon him: nor was this alone thought a sufficient guard against evil and dishonourable contracts and unjust practices, but the contenders were obliged to swear they had spent ten whole months in preparatory exercises: and farther yet, both they, their fathers, and brethren, took a solemn oath, that

j Laconicis.

they would not, by any sinister, or unlawful means, endeavour to stop the fair and just proceedings of the games.

The order of wrestlers was appointed by lots, in this manner: a silver urn, called κάλπις, being placed, into it were put little pellets, in size about the bigness of beans, upon every one of which was inscribed a letter, and the same letter belonged to every pair; now those whose fortune it was to have the same letters, wrestled together; if the number of the wrestlers was not even, he that happened to light upon the odd pellet, wrestled last of all with him that had the mastery; wherefore he was called ἔφεδρος, *as coming after the rest;* this was accounted the most fortunate chance that could be, because the person that obtained it, was to encounter one already wearied, and spent with conquering his former antagonist, himself being fresh, and in full strength[k].

The most successful in his undertakings, and magnificent in his expences, of all that ever contended in these games, was Alcibiades the Athenian, as Plutarch reports in his life: 'his expences (saith he) in horses kept for the public games, and in the number of his chariots, were very magnificent; for never any one beside, either private person, or king, sent seven chariots to the Olympian games. He obtained at one solemnity, the first, second, and fourth prizes, as Thucydides, or third, as Euripides reports; wherein he surpassed all that ever pretended in that kind.'

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Pythian Games.

The Pythian games were celebrated near Delphi, and are by some thought to have been first instituted by Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, or by the council of amphictyones. Others refer the first institution of them to Agamemnon[l]; Pausanias[m] to Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, who having escaped a dangerous tempest as he returned from Troy, dedicated a temple at Trœzen to Apollo surnamed Επιβατήριος, and instituted the Pythian games to his honour: but the most common opinion is, that Apollo himself was the first author of them, when he had overcome Python, a serpent, or cruel tyrant: thus Ovid[n]:

k Cælius Rhodiginus Antiq. Lect. lib. xxii. cap. 17. Alexand. ab Alexandro Genial. Dier. lib. v. cap. 8.

l Etymologici Auctor, Phavorinus.

m Corinthiacis.

n Metam. i.

> *Neve operis famam possit delere vetustas,*
> *Instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos,*
> *Pythia perdomitæ Serpentis nomine dictos.*
>
> Then to preserve the fame of such a deed,
> For Python slain, he Pythian games decreed. DRYDEN.

At their first institution, they were only celebrated once in nine years, but afterwards every fifth year, according to the number of the Parnassian nymphs, that came to congratulate Apollo, and brought him presents after his victory.

The rewards were certain apples consecrated to Apollo, according to Ister,[o], and the fore-cited epigram of Archias, in which he thus enumerates the prizes in this, and the other three sacred games:

> Αθλα δὲ τῶν κότινος, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίτυς,

where Brodæus will have μῆλα to signify *the Delphian laurel*, which, he tells us, brought forth berries streaked with red and green, and almost as large as apples; but this interpretation is by no means genuine or natural, since the word μῆλα is never used in that sense: however that be, it is certain the victors were rewarded with garlands of laurel, as appears from the express words of Pindar, who tells us, that Aristomenes was crowned with ποίᾳ Παρνασσίᾳ, or laurel that flourished upon mount Parnassus[p]: whence some imagine that the reward was double, consisting both of the sacred apples, and garlands of laurel. But at the first institution of these games, the victors were crowned with garlands of palm, or (according to some) of beech leaves, as Ovid reports, who, immediately after the verses before cited, adds,

> *His juvenum quicunque, manu, pedibusve, rotave*
> *Vicerat, esculeæ capiebat frondis honorem,*
> *Nondum laurus erat.*———
>
> Here noble youths for mastership did strive
> To box, to run, and steed and chariots drive,
> The prize was fame; in witness of renown,
> A beechen garland did the victor crown,
> The laurel was not yet for triumph born.

Others[q] report, that in the first Pythian solemnity, the gods contended. Castor obtained the victory by horse-races, Pollux at boxing, Calaïs at running, Zetes at fighting in armour, Peleus at throwing the discus, Telamon at wrestling, Hercules in the Pancratium; and that all of them were honoured by Apollo with crowns of laurel. But others again are of a different opinion[r], and tell us, that at the first there was nothing but a musical contention, wherein he that sung best the praises of Apollo, obtained the

[o] Libro de Coronis.
[p] Pythion. Od. viii. v. 28.
[q] Natalis Comes, Mythol. lib. v. cap. 2.
[r] Strabo. lib. vi. Pausan. Phocisis.

prize, which at first was either silver or gold, or something of value, but afterwards changed into a garland. Here may be observed the different names given to games from the diversity of the prizes; for where the prize was money, the games were called ἀγῶνες ἀργυρῖται; where only a garland, ἀγῶνες στεφανῖται, φυλλίναι, &c. The first that obtained victory by singing, was Chrysothemis, a Cretan, by whom Apollo was purified, after he had killed Python; the next prize was won by Philamon; the next after that, by his son Thamyris. Orpheus having raised himself to a pitch of honour almost equal to the gods, by instructing the profane and ignorant world in all the mysteries of religion, and ceremonies of divine worship; and Musæus, who took Orpheus for his example, thought it too great a condescension, and inconsistent with the high characters they bore, to enter into the contention. Eleutherus is reported to have gained a victory purely upon the account of his voice, his song being the composition of another person: Hesiod was repulsed, because he could not play upon the harp, which all the candidates were obliged to do.

There was likewise another song called Πυθικὸς νόμος; to which a dance was performed. It consisted of these five parts, wherein the fight of Apollo and Python was represented; 1. Ανάκρουσις, which contained the preparation to the fight; 2. Αμπειρα, or the first essay towards it; 3. Κατακελευσμός, which was the action itself, and the god's exhortation to himself to stand out with courage; 4. Ιαμβοι καὶ δάκτυλοι, or the insulting sarcasms of Apollo over vanquished Python; 5. Σύριγγες, which was an imitation of the serpent's hissing when he ended his life. Others make this song to consist of the six following parts: 1. Θεῖρα, or the preparation; 2. Ιαμβος, wherein Apollo dared Python to engage him by reproaches; for ἰαμβίζειν signifies to *reproach*, iambic verses being the common form of invectives; 3. Δάκτυλος, which was sung to the honour of Bacchus, to whom those numbers were thought most acceptable. This part belonged to him; because he had (as some say) a share in the Delphian oracle, or possessed it before Apollo; 4. Κρητικὸς, to the honour of Jupiter, because he was Apollo's father, and thought to delight most in such *feet*, as being educated in Crete, where they were used; 5. Μητρῷον, to the honour of mother Earth, because the Delphian oracle belonged to her, before it came into Apollo's hand; 6. Συριγμὸς, or the serpent's hissing.

By others it is thus described: [s] 1, Πεῖρα, an imitation of Apollo preparing himself for the fight with all the circumspection of a prudent and cautious warrior; 2, Κατακελευσμὸς, a challenge given to the enemy; 3, Ιαμβικὸς, a representation of the fight, during which the trumpets sounded a point of war; it was so called from iambic verses, which are the most proper to express passion and rage; 4, Σπονδεῖος, so called from the *feet* of that name, or from σπένδειν, i. e. to offer a libation, because it was the celebration of victory; after which it was always customary to return thanks to the gods, and offer sacrifices; 5, Καταχόρευσις, a representation of Apollo's dancing after his victory [t].

Afterwards, in the third year of the 48th olympiad, the amphictyones, who were presidents of these games, introduced flutes, which till that time had not been used at this solemnity; the first that won the prize was Sacadas of Argos: but because they were more proper for funeral songs and lamentations, than the merry and jocund airs at festivals, they were in a short time laid aside. They added likewise all the gymnical exercises used in Olympian games, and made a law, that none should contend in running but boys. At, or near the same time, they changed the prizes, which had before been of value, into crowns or garlands; and gave these games the name of Pythia, from Pythian Apollo, whereas, till that time (as some say) they had either another name, or no peculiar name at all. Horse-races also, or chariot-races, were introduced about the time of Clisthenes, king of Argos, who obtained the first victory in them, riding in a chariot drawn by four horses; and several other changes were by degrees made in these games, which I shall not trouble you with.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Nemean Games.

THE Nemean games [u] were so called from Nemea, a village, and grove, between the cities Cleonæ and Phlius, where they where celebrated every third year, upon the twelfth of the Corinthian month Πάνεμος, called sometimes Ιερομηνία, which is the same with

[s] Julius Scaliger Poeticis, lib. i. cap. 23.
[t] Julius Pollux Onom. lib. iv. cap. 10.
[u] Strabo, lib. viii. Pausanias Corinth. Eliac. β'. Pindari Schol. Nemeon.

the Athenian Boedromion. The exercises were chariot-races, and all the parts of the pentathlum. The presidents were elected out of Corinth, Argos, and Cleonæ, and apparelled in black clothes, the habit of mourners, because these games were a funeral solemnity instituted in memory of Opheltes, otherwise called Archemorus, from ἀρχὴ, i. e. a *beginning*, and μόρος, i. e. *fate*, or *death*, because Amphiaraus foretold his death soon after he began to live; or, according to Statius [v], because that misfortune was a prelude to all the bad success that befel the Theban champions; for Archemorus was the son of Euphetes and Creusa, or Lycurgus, a king of Nemea, or Thrace, and Eurydice, and nursed by Hypsipyle, who leaving the child in a meadow, whilst she went to show the besiegers of Thebes a fountain, at her return found him dead, and a serpent folded about his neck; whence the fountain, before called Langia, was named Archemorus; and the captains, to comfort Hypsipile for her loss, instituted these games [w]:

Una tamen tacitas, sed jussu numinis, undas
Hæc quoque secreta nutrit Langia sub umbra,
Nondum illi raptus dederat lacrymabile nomen
Archemorus, nec fama deæ; tamen avia servat
Et nemus, et fluvium; manet ingens gloria nympham
Cum tristem Hypsipylem ducibus sudatus Achæis
Ludus, et atra sacrum recolit trieteris Ophelten.

Langia only, as the God ordain'd,
Preserves his stream with dust and filth unstain'd;
Langia yet unknown to vulgar fame
Nor glorying in the slaughter'd infant's name.
Inviolate the grove and spring remain,
And all their wonted properties retain.
But oh! what honours the fair nymph await,
When Greece, to solemnize her infant's fate,
Shall institute triennial feasts and games,
And ages hence record their sacred names. LEWIS.

Others are of opinion, that these games were instituted by Hercules after his victory over the Nemean lion [x], in honour of Jupiter, who, as Pausanias tells us, had a magnificent temple at Nemea, where he was honoured with solemn games, in which men ran races in armour; but perhaps these might be distinct from the solemnity I am now speaking of. Lastly, others grant indeed, they were first instituted in memory of Archemorus, but will have them to have been intermitted and revived by Hercules, and consecrated to Jupiter.

The victors were crowned with parsley, which was an herb used at funerals, and feigned to have sprung out of Archemorus's

[v] Thebaid. lib. v. [w] Statius Thebaid. lib. iv. [x] Pindari Schol.

blood: concerning it, Plutarch relates a remarkable story [y], with which it will not be improper to conclude this chapter: 'as Timoleon (saith he) was marching up an ascent, from the top of which they might take a view of the army and strength of the Carthaginians, there met him, by chance, a company of mules, loaden with parsley, which his soldiers conceived to be an ill-boding omen, because this is the very herb wherewith we adorn the sepulchres of the dead, which custom gave birth to that despairing proverb, when we pronounce of one that is dangerously sick, that he does δεῖσθαι σελίνυ, i. e. want nothing but parsley, which is in effect to say, he is a dead man, just dropping into the grave: now, that Timoleon might ease their minds, and free them from those superstitious thoughts, and such a fearful expectation, he put a stop to his march, and, having alledged many other things in a discourse suitable to the occasion, he concluded it by saying, that a garland of triumph had luckily fallen into their hands of its own accord, as an anticipation of victory, inasmuch as the Corinthians do crown those that get the better in their Isthmian games with chaplets of parsley, accounting it a sacred wreath, and proper to their country; for parsley was ever the conquering ornament of the Isthmian sports, as it is now also of the Nemean: it is not very long since branches of the pine-tree came to succeed, and to be made use of for that purpose. Timoleon, therefore, having thus bespoken his soldiers, took part of the parsley, wherewith he first made himself a chaplet, and then his captains, with their companies, did all crown themselves with it, in imitation of their general.'

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Isthmian Games.

The Isthmian games were so called from the place where they were celebrated, viz. the Corinthian isthmus, a neck of land by which Peloponnesus is joined to the continent. They were instituted in honour of Palæmon or Melicertes, the son of Athamus, king of Thebes and Ino, who, for fear of her husband (who had

[y] Timoleonte.

killed her own son Learchus in a fit of madness), cast herself, with Melicertes in her arms, into the sea, where they were received by Neptune into the number of the divinities of his train, out of compliment to Bacchus, nursed by Ino. At the change of their condition, they altered their names; Ino was called Leucothea, and her son Palæmon: however, Palæmon's divinity could not preserve his body from being tossed about the sea, till at length it was taken up by a dolphin, and carried to the Corinthian shore, where it was found by Sisyphus, at that time king of Corinth, who gave it an honourable interment, and instituted these funeral games to his memory; thus Pausanias[z]. Others report, that Melicertes's body was cast upon the Isthmus, and lay there some time unburied, whereupon a grievous pestilence began to rage in those parts, and the oracles gave out, that the only remedy for it was to inter the body with the usual solemnities, and celebrate games in memory of the boy: upon the performance of these commands the distemper ceased; but afterwards, when the games were neglected, broke out again; and the oracles being consulted, gave answer that they must pay perpetual honours to Melicertes's memory, which they did accordingly, erecting an altar to him, and enacting a law for the perpetual celebration of these games.

Others report, that they were instituted by Theseus in honour of Neptune; others are of opinion, that there were two distinct solemnities observed in the Isthmus, one to Melicertes, and another to Neptune; which report is grounded upon the authority of Musæus, who wrote a treatise about the Isthmian games. Phavorinus reports, that these games were first instituted in honour of Neptune, and afterwards celebrated in memory of Palæmon. Plutarch, on the contrary, tells us, that the first institution of them was in honour of Melicertes, but afterwards they were altered, enlarged, and reinstituted to Neptune by Theseus: he gives also several other opinions concerning the original of them; his words are these in the life of Theseus: 'Theseus instituted games in emulation of Hercules, being ambitious, that as the Greeks, by that hero's appointment, celebrated the Olympian games to the honour of Jupiter, so by his institution they should celebrate the Isthmian games to the honour of Neptune; for those that were before dedicated to Melicertes, were celebrated privately in the night, and consisted rather of religious ceremonies, than of any

[z] Initio Corinthiac.

open spectacle, or public festival. But some there are, who say that the Isthmian games were first instituted in memory of Sciron, at the expiation which Theseus made for his murder, upon the account of the nearness of kindred between them, Sciron being the son of Canethus and Heniocha, the daughter of Pittheus, though others write that Sinnis, and not Sciron, was their son, and that to his honour, and not to Sciron's, these games were ordained by Theseus. Hellanicus and Andro of Halicarnassus write, that at the same time he made an agreement with the Corinthians, that they should allow them that came from Athens to the celebration of the Isthmian games, as much space to behold the spectacle in, as the sail of the ship that brought them thither, stretched to its full extent, could cover, and that in the first and most honourable place.' Thus Plutarch.

The Eleans were the only nation of Greece, that absented themselves from this solemnity, which they did for this reason, as Pausanias [a] relates. The Corinthians having appointed the Isthmian games, the sons of Actor came to the celebration of them, but were surprised and slain by Hercules, near the city Cleonæ. The author of the murder was at the first unknown; but being at length discovered by the industry of Molione, the wife of Actor, the Eleans went to Argos, and demanded satisfaction, because Hercules at that time dwelt at Tiryns, a village in the Argian territories. Being repulsed at Argos, they applied themselves to the Corinthians, desiring of them that all the inhabitants and subjects of Argos might be forbidden the Isthmian games, as disturbers of the public peace; but meeting with no better success in this place than they had done at Argos, Molione forbade them to go to the Isthmian games, and denounced a dreadful execration against any of the Eleans that should ever be present at the celebration of them; which command was so religiously observed, that none of the Eleans dare venture to go to the Isthmian games to this day (saith my author), for fear Molione's curses should fall heavy upon them.

These games [b] were observed every third, or rather every fifth year, and held so sacred and inviolable, that when they had been intermitted for some time, through the oppression and tyranny of Cypselus, king of Corinth, after the tyrant's death, the Corinthians, to renew the memory of them, which was almost decayed, employed the utmost power and industry they were able in reviving

[a] Elic. *ά*. [b] Alex. ab Alexandro, Gen. Dier. lib. v. cap. 8.

them, and celebrated them with such splendour and magnificence as was never practised in former ages. When Corinth was sacked and totally demolished by Mummius the Roman general, these games were not discontinued; but the care of them was committed to the Sicyonians, till the rebuilding of Corinth, and then restored to the inhabitants of that city, as Pausanias reports [c].

The victors were rewarded with garlands of pine leaves; afterwards parsley was given them, which was also the reward of the Nemean conquerors, but with this difference, that there it was fresh and green, whereas in the Isthmian games it was dry and withered. Afterwards the use of parsley was left off, and the pine-tree came again into request, which alterations Plutarch has accounted for in the fifth book of his Symposiacs [d].

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Greek Year.

The writers of ancient fables report, that Οὐρανὸς, whom the Latins call Cœlus, king of the Atlantic islands, was reputed the father of all the gods, and gave his name to the heavens, which from him, were by the Greeks termed οὐρανὸς, and by the Latins, Cœlum, because he invented astrology, which was unknown till his time [e]. Others ascribe the invention both of astrology, and the whole λόγος σφαιρικὸς, *science of the celestial bodies,* to Atlas: from him these discoveries were communicated to Hercules, who first imparted them to the Greeks. Whence the authors of fables took occasion to report, that both these heroes supported the heavens with their shoulders [f]. The Cretans pretended that Hyperion first observed the motions of the sun, moon, and stars [g]. He was son to the primitive god Uranus, and from his knowledge of the celestial motions, is sometimes taken by the poets and other fabulous authors for the father of the sun, sometimes for the sun himself. The Arcadians reported, that their countryman Endymion first discovered the motion of the moon [h]: which gave occasion to those

c Initio Corinthiac.
d Quæst. 3.
e Diodorus Siculus, lib. iii. p. 132, et Scriptores Mythologici.
f Diodorus Siculus, lib. iii. p. 136, b. iv. p. 163. Clemens Alexandrinus Strom. i. p. 306. Plinius, lib. vii. cap. 56.
g Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. p. 231.
h Lucianus in Comment. de Astrologia Apollonii Scholiastes, in lib. iv.

early ages to feign, that he was beloved by that goddess. Lastly, others report that Actis, by some called Actaeus, who flourished in the isle of Rhodes about the time of Cecrops king of Athens, invented the science of astrology, which he communicated to the Egyptians [i].

But to pass from fabulous to more authentic histories, the first improvement and study of astronomy is generally ascribed to the Grecian colonies, which inhabited Asia. And it is thought to have been first learned from the Babylonians or Egyptians, and communicated to the Grecians either by Thales of Miletus, Pythagoras of Samos, Anaximander of Miletus, Anaximenes the scholar and fellow-citizen of Anaximander, Cleostratus of Tenedos, Oenopidas of Chios, or Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, the master of Pericles, who was the first that taught the Ionic philosophy at Athens, where he opened his school in the same year that Xerxes invaded Greece. Every one of these seems to have cultivated and improved this science, and on that account by different men to have been reputed the inventor, or first master of it in Greece [j]. Before the time of these philosophers, it is certain that the Greeks were entirely ignorant of the motions of the heavenly bodies; insomuch that Thales first observed a solar eclipse in the fourth year of the 48th olympiad. A long time after that, in the fourth year of the 90th olympiad, an eclipse of the moon proved fatal to Nicias the Athenian general, and the army under his command, chiefly because the reason of it was not understood [k]. And Herodotus seems to have been wholly unacquainted with this part of learning; whence he describes the solar eclipses after the poetical manner, by the disappearance of the sun, and his leaving his accustomed seat in the heaven [l], never mentioning the moon's interposition.

From the fore-mentioned instances, it appears, that the Greeks had no knowledge of astronomy, and by consequence no certain measure of time, till they began to converse with the Babylonians, Egyptians, Persians, or other eastern nations. For though it be easy from the returns of the several seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, to discover that a year is already past; yet to determine the exact number of days, wherein these vicissitudes happen, and again, to divide them into months, answer-

i Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. p. 227.

j Suidas, Diogenes Laertius in Vitis Philosophorum. Plinius, lib. ii. cap. 76.

k Plutarchus Nicia.

l Lib. i. cap. 74. Lib. vii. cap. 37. Lib. ix. cap. 10.

ing the motion of the moon, requires much study and observation. Hence, in the heroical ages, the years were numbered by the returns of seed-time and harvest, and the several seasons of labouring and resting. The day itself was not then distinguished into certain and equal portions, but measured τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου ἄλλως ἁπλούστερον κινήσει, rudely and inaccurately by the access and recess of the sun, as Eustathius has observed in his comment upon those verses of Homer, wherein that poet describes the time of a certain battle agreeably to the way of reckoning which was used in the ancient times [m].

> Ὄφρα μὲν ἠὼς ἦν, καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ,
> Τόφρα μάλ' ἀμφοτέρων βέλε' ἥπτετο πίπτε δὲ λαός.
> Ἦμος δὲ δρυτόμος περ ἀνὴρ ὡπλίσσατο δόρπον
> Οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσιν, ἐπεί τ' ἐκορέσσατο χεῖρας
> Τάμνων δένδρεα μακρὰ, ἅδος τέ μιν ἵκετο θυμὸν,
> Σίτου τε γλυκεροῖο περὶ φρένας ἵμερος αἱρεῖ·
> Τῆμος σφῇ ἀρετῇ Δαναοὶ ῥήξαντο φάλαγγας.
>
> Thus while the morning beams increasing bright
> O'er heaven's pure azure spread the glowing light,
> Commutual death the fate of war confounds,
> Each adverse battle gor'd with equal wounds.
> But now (what time in some sequester'd vale,
> The weary woodman spreads his sparing meal,
> When his tir'd arms refuse the axe to rear,
> And claim a respite from the sylvan war;
> But not till half the prostrate forest lay,
> Stretch'd in long ruin, and expos'd to day:)
> Then, nor till then, the Greeks impulsive might
> Pierc'd the black phalanx, and let in the light. POPE.

In another place [n] Achilles is introduced dividing the day, not into hours, which were the invention of more polished ages, but into the more obvious parts of morning, noon, and afternoon:

> Ἀλλ' ἔπι τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιὴ
> Ἔσσεται, ἢ ἠὼς. ἢ δείλη, ἢ μέσον ἦμαρ.
>
> The day shall come (which nothing can avert)
> When by the spear, the arrow, or the dart,
> By night or day, by force or by design,
> Impending death and certain fate are mine. POPE.

Neither were they more accurate in distinguishing the several parts of time, till, πόλον, καὶ γνώμονα, καὶ τὰ δυώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον, *they learned the use of the sun-dial, and the pole, and the twelve parts of the day, from the Babylonians,* as we are informed by Herodotus [o].

Yet, in Homer's time, lunar months seem to have been in use, as also a certain form of years comprehending several months which appears from the following verses, wherein it is foretold that

[m] Iliad. λ'. ver. 84.
[n] Iliad. φ'. ver. 111.
[o] Lib. ii. cap. 109.

Ulysses should return to Ithaca in one of the months of the then present year [p].

> *Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεὺς,*
> *Τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνὸς, τοῦ δ' ἱσταμένοιο.*
>
> Be witness
> That all my words shall surely be fulfilled.
> In this same year Ulysses shall arrive. COWPER.

But that the Grecians had then no settled form of years and months, wherein the solar and lunar revolutions were regularly fitted to each other, appears from what is reported concerning Thales the Milesian, that having spent a considerable time in the observation of the celestial bodies, and observing that the lunar revolution never exceeded thirty days, he appointed twelve months of thirty days each, whereby the year was made to consist of 360 days. Then, in order to reduce these months to an agreement with the revolution of the sun, he intercalated thirty days at the end of every two years, of the above-said months. Whence *id tempus τριετηρίδα appellabant, quod tertio quoque anno intercalabatur, quamvis biennii circuitus, et revera διετηρὶς esset:* that space of time was termed *a period of three years,* because the intercalation was not made till after the expiration of full two years, though really it was only a period of two years; as we are informed by Censorinus [q]. So that this period of two years contained no less than 750 days, and exceeded the same number of years as measured by the true motion of the sun, twenty days; which difference is so very great, that Scaliger was of opinion this cycle was never received in any town of Greece.

Afterwards, Solon observing that the course of the moon was not finished in thirty days, as Thales had computed it, but in twenty-nine days and half a day, he appointed that the months should, in their turns, consist of twenty-nine and of thirty days, so that a month of twenty-nine days should constantly succeed one of thirty days; whereby an entire year of twelve months was reduced to 354 days, which fell short of the solar year, that is, the time of the sun's revolution, eleven days, and one fourth part of a day, or thereabouts. In order, therefore, to reconcile this difference, τετραετηρὶς, *i. e.* a cycle of *four years,* was invented. Herein, after the first two years, they seem to have added an intercalated month of twenty-two days. And again, after the expiration of two years

p Odyss. ξ'. ver. 161.

q Libro de die natali, cap. 18. Conf. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 32, et lib. ii. cap. 4. Geminus, cap. 6.

more, another month was intercalated, which consisted of twenty-three days, the fourth part of one day in every year, arising to a whole day in a period of four years. And thus Solon prevented the lunar years from exceeding those which are measured by the revolution of the sun, and so avoided the mistake so manifest in the cycle of Thales.

But afterwards it was considered, that the forty-five days added by Solon to his period of four years, and containing a (πλήρης) *full lunar month* and an half, would occasion this cycle to end in the midst of a lunar month; to remedy which inconvenience, ὀκταετηρὶς, a term of *eight years*, was instituted instead of the former cycle of four years, to which three entire lunar months were added at several times[r].

After the cycle of eight years, no change was made in the kalendar till the time of Meton, who, having observed that the motions of the sun and moon fell short of one another by some hours, which disagreement, though at first scarce perceivable, would quite invert the seasons in the compass of a few ages, invented a cycle of nineteen years, termed ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρὶς, in which term the sun having finished nineteen periods, and the moon 235, both returned to the same place of the heavens in which they had been nineteen years before.

Afterwards, it was observed, that in the revolution of every cycle, the moon out-went the sun about seven hours. To prevent this inconvenience, Calippus contrived a new cycle, which contained four of Meton's, that is, seventy-six years. And, upon the observation of some small disagreement between the sun and moon at the end of this term, Hipparchus devised another cycle, which contained four of those instituted by Calippus. According to other accounts, one of Meton's cycles contained eight ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίδες, *i. e.* 152 years. This was afterwards divided into two equal parts, and from each part one day, which was found to be superfluous in Meton's cycle, was taken away[s].

From the Grecian years let us now proceed to their months. In the computation of these, they seem neither to have agreed with other nations, nor amongst themselves. In the authors of those times we find different months often set against, and made to answer one another: and learned men have hitherto in vain attempted to reconcile these contradictions. Plutarch, in his life of Ro-

r Conf. Censorinus. s Conf. Henr. Dodwelli librum de anno veteri Græcorum.

mulus, owns, that no agreement was to be found between the Grecian and Roman new moons: and, in the life of Aristides, discoursing of the day upon which the Persians were vanquished at Platæa, he professeth, that even in his own time, when the celestial motions were far better understood than they had been in former ages, the beginnings of their months could not be adjusted. These disagreements seem to have been occasioned by some of these, or the like causes:

1. That the years of different nations were not begun at the same time. The Roman January, which was their first month, fell in the depth of winter. The Arabians and others began their year in the spring[t]. The Macedonians reckoned Dius, their first month, from the autumnal equinox. The ancient Athenian year began after the winter solstice; the more modern Athenians computed their years from the first new moon after the summer solstice. Hence those men will be exceedingly mistaken, who made the Roman January to answer the Attic Gamelion, or the Macedonian Dius, which are the first months of those nations; or that measure the primitive Attic year by that which was used after the time of Meton.

2. That the number of months was not the same in all places. The Romans had at first only ten months, the last of which was for that reason termed December. Afterwards they were increased to twelve by Numa Pompilius. The Egyptians had at first only one month, which was afterwards divided into four, according to the seasons of the year: some of the barbarous nations divided their year into three months. The same number of months was received by the ancient Arcadians. Afterwards the Arcadians parted their year into four months; the Acarnanians reckoned six months to their year; but most of the Greeks of later ages, when the science of astronomy had been brought to some perfection, gave twelve months to every year, besides those which were intercalated to adjust the solar and lunar periods.

3. That the months were not constantly of the same length. Some contained thirty days, others a different number. Some nations computed their months by the lunar motions, others by the motion of the sun. The Athenians, and πλεῖϛαι τῶν νῦν Ελληνίδων πόλεὼν, *most of the present Grecian cities* (saith Galen) make use of lunar months: but the Macedonians *and all the* ἀρχαῖοι, *ancient Greeks*, (or, as some rather choose to read, Ασιανοὶ, the Asiatics),

[t] Conf. Simplicius in lib. v. Physicæ Arstotelis.

with many other nations, measure their months by the motion of the sun [u].

4. That the months of the same nations, partly through their ignorance of the celestial motions, and partly by reason of the intercalated days, weeks, and months, did not constantly maintain the same places, but happened at very different seasons of the year.

However that be, the Athenians, whose year is chiefly followed by the ancient authors, after their kalendar was reformed by Meton, began their year upon the first new moon after the summer solstice [v]. Hence the following verses of Festus Avienus:

Sed primæva Meton exordia sumsit ab anno,
Torreret rutilo Phœbus cum sidere Cancrum.

Their year was divided into twelve months, which contained thirty, and twenty-nine days alternately; so as the months of thirty days always went before those of twenty-nine. The months which contained thirty days were termed πλήρεις, *full*, and δεκαφθινοὶ, as *ending* upon the *tenth* day: those which consisted of twenty-nine days, were called κοῖλοι, *hollow*, and from their *concluding* upon the *ninth* day ἐναφθινοί [w].

Every month was divided into τρία δεχήμερα, *three decades of days*. The first was μηνὸς ἀρχομένυ, or ἱςάμενυ· The second, μηνὸς μεσῦντος· The third, μηνὸς φθίνοντος, παυομένυ, or λήγοντος [x].

1. The first day of the first decade was termed νεομηνία, as falling upon the new moon; the second, δευτέρα ἱςαμένυ· the third, τρίτη ἱςαμενῦ· and so forward to the δέκατη ἱςαμένυ.

2. The first day of the second decade, which was the eleventh day of the month, was called πρώτη μεσῦντος, or πρώτη ἐπὶ δέκα· The second, δευτέρα μεσῦντος, or τρίτη ἐπὶ δέκα· and so forward to the (εἰκὰς) *twentieth*, which was the last day of the second decade.

3. The first day of the third decade was termed πρώτη ἐπ' εἰκάδι· the second, δευτέρα ἐπ' εἰκάδι· the third, τρίτη ἐπ' εἰκάδι· and so forward. Sometimes they inverted the numbers in this manner: the first of the last decade was φθίνοντος δεκάτη· the second, φθίνοντος ἐννάτη· the third, φθίνοντυς ὀγδόη· and so forward to the last day of the month, which was termed Δημητριὰς, from Demetrius Poliorcetes [y]. Before the time of Demetrius, it was called, by Solon's order, ἔνη καὶ νέα, *the old and new*; because the new moon fell out on some part of that day; whereby it came to pass, that the former part

[u] Galenus, Primo ad i. Epidemiorum Hippocratis librum commentario.

[v] Conf. Plato initio, lib. vi. de Legibus. Simplicius in lib. v. Physicæ Aristotelis.

[w] Conf. Galenus, lib. iii. cap. iv. de diebus decret. Item Grammatici.

[x] Conf. Julius Pollux.

[y] Plutarch. Demetrio.

belonged to the old moon, the latter to the new [z]. The same was also named τριακὰς, the *thirtieth*; and that not only in the months which consisted of thirty days, but in the rest of twenty-nine: for in these, according to some accounts, the twenty-second day was omitted; according to others, the twenty-ninth [a]. But which day soever was omitted in the computation, the thirtieth was constantly retained. Hence, according to Thales's first scheme, all the months were called months of thirty days, though, by Solon's regulation, half of them contained only twenty-nine: and the lunar year of Athens was called a year of three hundred and sixty days; though really, after the time of Solon, it consisted of no more than three hundred and fifty-four days. Whence the Athenians erected three hundred and sixty of Demetrius the Phalerean's statues, designing for every day in the year one; as we are informed by Pliny [b], and the following verses cited by Nonius from Varro's Hebdomades:

Hic Demetrius æneis tot aptus est,
Quot luces habet annus absolutus.

The names and order of the Athenian months were these which follow:

1. Ἑκατομβαιὼν, which was πλήρης, or δεκαφθινὸς, a month of thirty days. It began upon the first new moon after the summer solstice, and so answered the latter part of the Roman June, and the first part of July. The name was derived ἀπὸ τῦ πλείςας ἑκατόμβας θύεσθαι τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ [c], *from the great number of hecatombs which were usually sacrificed in this month.* But the ancient name was Κρόνιος, or Κρονιὼν, which was derived from Κρόνια, the festival of Cronus, or Saturn, which was kept in this month. The days of this month, which may serve as a pattern for the rest, were thus computed:

1. Νȣμηνία, ἱςαμένȣ, or ἀρχομένȣ πρώτη.
2. Ἱςαμένȣ δευτέρα.
3. Ἱςαμένȣ τρίτη.
4. Ἱςαμένȣ τετάρτη.
5. Ἱςαμένȣ πέμπτη, sometimes termed πεντάς.
6. Ἱςαμένȣ ἕκτη, or ἑκτάς.
7. Ἱςαμένȣ ἑβδόμη.
8. Ἱςαμένȣ ὀγδόη.

[z] Plutarch. Solone, Aristoph. Scholiast. ad Nubes, Suidas, voc. Ἕνη καὶ νέα.

[a] Proclus Tzetzes, Moschopul. in Hesiodi Dies, ver. 2.

[b] Nat. Hist. lib. xxx. cap. 6.

[c] Suidas

9. Ἱσαμένε ἐννάτη.
10. Ἱσαμένε δεκάτη.
11. Πρώτη ἐπὶ δέκα, or πρώτη μεσȣ̃ντος.
12. Δευτέρα μεσȣ̃ντος, or ἐπὶ δέκα.
13. Τρίτη μεσȣ̃ντος, &c.
14. Τετάρτη μεσȣ̃ντος.
15. Πέμπτη μεσȣ̃ντος.
16. Ἕκτη μεσȣ̃ντος.
17. Ἑϐδόμη μεσȣ̃ντος.
18. Ογδόη μεσȣ̃ντος.
19. Εννάτη μεσȣ̃ντος.
20. Εἰκὰς, or εἰκοςή.
21. Φθίνοντος, παυομένε, or λήγοντος δεκάτη· sometimes termed πρώτη ἐπ' εἰκάδι, or μετ' εἰκάδα, or μετ' εἰκοςήν.
22. Φθίνοντος ἐννάτη, &c.
23. Φθίνοντος, ὀγδόη.
24. Φθίνοντος ἑϐδόμη.
25. Φθίνοντος ἕκτη.
26. Φθίνοντος πέμπτη.
27. Φθίνοντος τετάρτη.
28. Φθίνοντος τρίτη.
29. Φθίνοντος δευτέρα.
30. Ἕνη καὶ νέα, sometimes called τριακὰς, and δημητριάς.

2. Μεταγειτνιὼν, a month of twenty-nine days; so called from Metagitnia, which was one of Apollo's festivals, celebrated in this season.

3. Βοηδρομιὼν, a month of thirty days, so named from the festival Boedromia.

4. Μαιμακτηριὼν, a month of twenty-nine days, so termed from the festival Mæmacteria.

5. Πυανεψιὼν, a month of thirty days, in which the Pyanepsia were celebrated.

6. Ανθεςηριὼν, a month of twenty-nine days; so named from the festival Anthesteria.

7. Ποσειδεὼν, a month of thirty days, in which the festival Posidonia was observed.

8. Γαμηλιὼν, a month of twenty-nine days, which was held sacred to Juno γαμήλιος, the goddess of marriage.

9. Ελαφηϐολιὼν, a month of thirty days; so termed from the festival Elaphebolia.

10. *Μουνυχιὼν*, a month of twenty-nine days, wherein the Munychia were kept.

11. *Θαργηλιὼν*, a month of thirty days; so called from the festival Thargelia.

12. *Σκιῤῥοφοριὼν*, a month of twenty-nine days; so termed from the feast Scirrhophoria.

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